

**THE SPIRITUALITY OF ANDREW MURRAY
JR. (1828-1917). A THEOLOGICAL-CRITICAL
ASSESSMENT**

HEE-YOUNG LEE

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PROMOTER: PROF. DR. R.M. BRITZ

**DEPARTMENT OF ECCLESIOLOGY
FACULTY OF THEOLOGY
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November 2006

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that the thesis hereby submitted by me for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another University/Faculty. I further more cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

Signature: Hee-young Lee

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Hee-young Lee', written in a cursive style.

Date: 18 / November / 2006

ABSTRACT

Andrew Murray Junior (1828-1917) is an internationally known theologian who is famous for his deep and profound spirituality. His mature spirituality led him to be an influential Christian, minister and leader of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa to which he belonged. Moreover his over two hundreds masterpieces make him still influential in the world.

This study started with the burdensome enquiry of a pastor who had served in a Presbyterian church in Korea. Looking at churches that were gradually secularising but not being aware of the facts, he asked of the Lord of the churches and of himself a question: “How do I effectively let them know their situation that goes against the Bible truth?” Discovering Murray gave him an answer to this question.

This study aimed to analyse Murray’s spirituality and its development in the course of his life time diachronically and synchronically, and to identify the main influence on Murray’s spiritual development. Surveying various applicable primary sources, this study identified three stages of spiritual development in Murray’s life time:

The first stage (chapter 2) covered with the period between the years from 1828 to 1845. This study identified the period as the ‘formative period’ of his spirituality. During this period, he had been at Graaff-Reinet (1828-1838), and was at his Uncle’s home in

Aberdeen (1838-1845). While Murray was at Graaff-Reinet, he was much influenced by his godly parents, especially his father Andrew Murray Senior (1794-1866). The atmosphere of the Graaff-Reinet home was reverence itself. Murray Sr.'s wisdom and authority had never failed the obedience of his children. This influence continued even in his children's adulthood. Murray was not excluded from this influence.

When Murray was in Aberdeen his father's influential spiritual inspection continued through letters. His father's advice was never ignored, nor questioned by Murray. So this study calls the specific characteristic of Murray's spirituality of this period 'receptive.' He received everything through his father's instructions, which had been deeply engraved in his heart, which in turn meant that his father's instructions worked as a screening device for Murray's cognition. After finishing his study at Aberdeen, he went to Holland for further study.

The second stage (chapter 3 and 4) of his spiritual development was the period when he stayed in Holland (1845-1848), and worked in the Bloemfontein pastorate as a minister (1849-1860). This study calls this period a 'developing time,' because throughout this period, he struggled with spiritual matters differently from the previous stage.

When Murray was in Holland he experienced his conversion. It was a refreshing experience after a long spiritual struggle with his feelings of sin. The experience renewed his calling to God's ministry, even though shortly after the experience he still struggled with sin. This was representative of his experiences during his stay in Holland. His father's spiritual inspection by letters was duly continued during this period too.

Murray's first ministry began in Bloemfontein. It was a hard time for the young and inexperienced Murray. However, this period exerted no less influence on his spirituality. Theoretical knowledge that he had learnt was tested in the field. His knowledge now gradually became practical. This was different from the period when he was in Holland. His father's spiritual and practical inspection was still continued through letters and sometimes with visitation. After finishing his first ministry successfully, he received a call from the Worcester pastorate (1860).

The third stage (chapter 5 and 6) which this study refers to as the consolidation of his spirituality, covered his ministry in the Cape Colony (1860-1917). During this period, he served in three congregations: Worcester (1860-1864), Cape Town (1864-1871) and Wellington (1871-1906). After retiring from his active ministry (1906), he spent the rest of his life at Wellington (1906-1917).

In the course of this period, he experienced two clear-cut experiences which profoundly deepened and widened his spirituality. The one was the Worcester revival, the other was his divine healing experience. However, the former was more decisive to his spirituality. After experiencing the revival experience, his conviction in faith and power in ministry was astonishing, compared with the previous period when he was in Bloemfontein. It is difficult to find, in his diary and letters, such words like 'doubt,' 'weak' or 'lack of prayer,' etc. This experience was also to be the direct catalyst for his abundant writings.

Murray's divine healing experience was also a clear-cut experience. This experience led

him to change his established perceptions of sickness and disease. It widened his spirituality. It also reinforced his simple faith and simple prayer.

Conclusively, Murray's spirituality was a true Christian spirituality. It was faithful to the contemporary spirituality of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, and it was mainly influenced by his father Andrew Murray Senior. This fact shows us the importance of Christian home for nourishing children's religious commitment and for spiritual maturity in their ongoing life.

OPSOMMING

Andrew Murray Junior (1828 – 1917) is ‘n internasionaal-bekende teoloog wat oraloor erken word vir sy diepgaande spiritualiteit. Hierdie besondere spiritualiteit het daartoe gelei dat hy ‘n invloedryke Christen, predikant en leier van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika geword het. Daarbenewens het sy meesterlike geskrifte (meer as 200 daarvan) hom tot vandag toe gevestig as ‘n sterk en invloedryke figuur in die wêreld.

Hierdie studie het begin met die moeisame navorsing van ‘n predikant van ‘n Presbiteriaanse gemeente in Korea. Hy het met besorgdheid gesien hoe kerke geleidelik besig was om te sekulariseer, sonder om self bewus te wees daarvan. Sy brandende vraag wat hy aan homself en aan die Here van die kerke gestel het was: “Hoe sal ek hulle effektief bewus maak dat hul situasie teenoor die waarheid van die Bybel staan?” Die ontdekking van Murray het vir my die antwoord tot hierdie probleemstelling gebied.

Hierdie studie beoog om Murray se spiritualiteit en die ontwikkeling daarvan deur die loop van sy lewe diachronies en sinchronies te analiseer en om die hoof invloede op sy geestelike ontwikkeling te identifiseer. Aan die hand van verskeie primêre bronne, het hierdie studie drie fases van ontwikkeling in Murray se spiritualiteit geïdentifiseer:

Die eerste fase (hoofstuk 2) dek die periode tussen 1828 en 1845. Hierdie studie noem

dié periode die ‘formatiewe periode’ van sy spiritualiteit. Murray het in hierdie periode in Graaff-Reinet gewoon (1828 – 1838) en was ook aan huis van sy oom in Aberdeen (1838 – 1845). Terwyl Murray in Graaff-Reinet was, het sy godvresende ouers, veral sy vader Andrew Murray Senior (1794 – 1866), ‘n groot invloed op hom gehad. Die atmosfeer van sy Graaff-Reinet huis was die eerbiedwaardigheid self. Murray Senior se wysheid en gesag het konsekwent die gehoorsaamheid van sy kinders opgeroep. Hierdie invloed het die kinders bygebly tot in hul volwassenheid. Murray was nie uitgesluit hier van nie.

Terwyl Murray in Aberdeen was, het sy vader se invloedryke geestelike leiding voortgeduur deur middel van briewe. Sy vader se raad het nooit op dowe ore geval nie en Murray Junior het dit nooit bevraagteken nie. Daarom noem hierdie studie dié spesifieke eienskap van Murray se spiritualiteit tydens hierdie periode ‘ontvanklik’. Hy was afhanklik van sy vader se leiding, wat diep in sy hart gegraveer is. Dit het meegebring dat sy vader se instruksies as ‘n filter gedien het vir Murray se kognitiewe ontwikkeling. Na sy verblyf in Aberdeen, het hy na Holland vertrek vir verdere studie.

Die tweede fase (hoofstuk 3 en 4) van Murray se geestelike ontwikkeling was die periode waartydens hy in Holland gewoon het (1845 – 1848) en later gewerk het in die Bloemfonteinse gemeente as ‘n predikant (1849 – 1860). Hierdie studie noem dié periode die ‘ontwikkelingsperiode’, omdat hy gedurende in hierdie fase met nuwe geestelike kwessies - anders as in die vorige tydperk – geworstel het.

Toe Murray in Holland was het hy ‘n bekering ondervind. Dit was ‘n verfrissende

ondervinding na 'n lang geestelike stryd met sy sonde-besef. Die ondervinding het sy roeping na die voltydse bediening in diens van God hernu, alhoewel hy kort na die ondervinding steeds geworstel het met sonde. Dit was verteenwoordigend van sy ondervindinge tydens sy verblyf in Holland. Sy vader se geestelike leiding is deur middel van briewe ook tydens hierdie periode voortgesit.

Murray se eerste bediening het in Bloemfontein begin. Dit was 'n moeilike tyd vir die jong en onervare predikant, maar het groot invloed op sy spiritualiteit gehad. Die teoretiese kennis wat hy opgedoen het is in die praktyk getoets en dit het stelselmatig prakties geraak. Dit was heelwat anders as in sy studie jare in Holland. Sy vader se geestelike en praktiese leiding het steeds voortgegaan deur briewe en soms deur besoeke. Na 'n geseënde bediening, is hy in 1860 beroep deur die gemeente in Worcester.

Die derde fase (hoofstuk 5 en 6), wat hierdie studie die fase van konsolidasie noem, dek sy bediening in die Kaap Kolonie (1860 – 1917). Hy het drie gemeentes bedien, naamlik Worcester (1860 – 1864), Kaapstad (1864 – 1871) en Wellington (1871 – 1906). Nadat hy emiritaat aanvaar het in die Wellington gemeente (1906), het hy vir die res van sy lewe in Wellington gewoon (1906 – 1917).

Gedurende hierdie periode het hy twee duidelike ondervindings gehad wat gelei het tot 'n invloedryke verdieping en verbreding van sy spiritualiteit. Die eerste een was die geestelike herlewing in Worcester en die tweede was sy ervaring van 'n goddelike genesing. Die eersgenoemde was meer deurslaggewend vir sy spiritualiteit as die tweede. Die herlewingsondervinding het gelei tot 'n ingrypende versterking van sy

geloof en ook 'n kragtige bediening. Dit was merkwaardig in vergeleke met die vorige periode toe hy in Bloemfontein was. Dit is moeilik om in sy dagboek en briewe enigsens woorde soos 'twyfel', 'swak', 'gebrek aan gebed', ensovoorts, te vind. Die herlewing was ook die direkte katalisator vir sy oorvloedige geskrifte.

Murray se ervaring van goddelike (bo-natuurlike) genesing was ook 'n onderskeibare invloed. Dit het veroorsaak dat hy sy gevestigde sienings oor siektes en kwale verander het. Dit het sy spiritualiteit verbreed en terselfde tyd sy kinderlike vertrouwe en eenvoudige gebedslewe versterk.

Ten slotte was Murray se spiritualiteit 'n ware Christelike spiritualiteit. Dit het die kontemporêre spiritualiteit van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika destyds weerspieël en was sterk beïnvloed deur sy vader Andrew Murray Senior. Dit onderstreep onder andere die belangrikheid van die Christelike huishouding vir die kweek van kinders se godsdienstige toewyding en voortgaande groei tot geestelike volwassenheid.

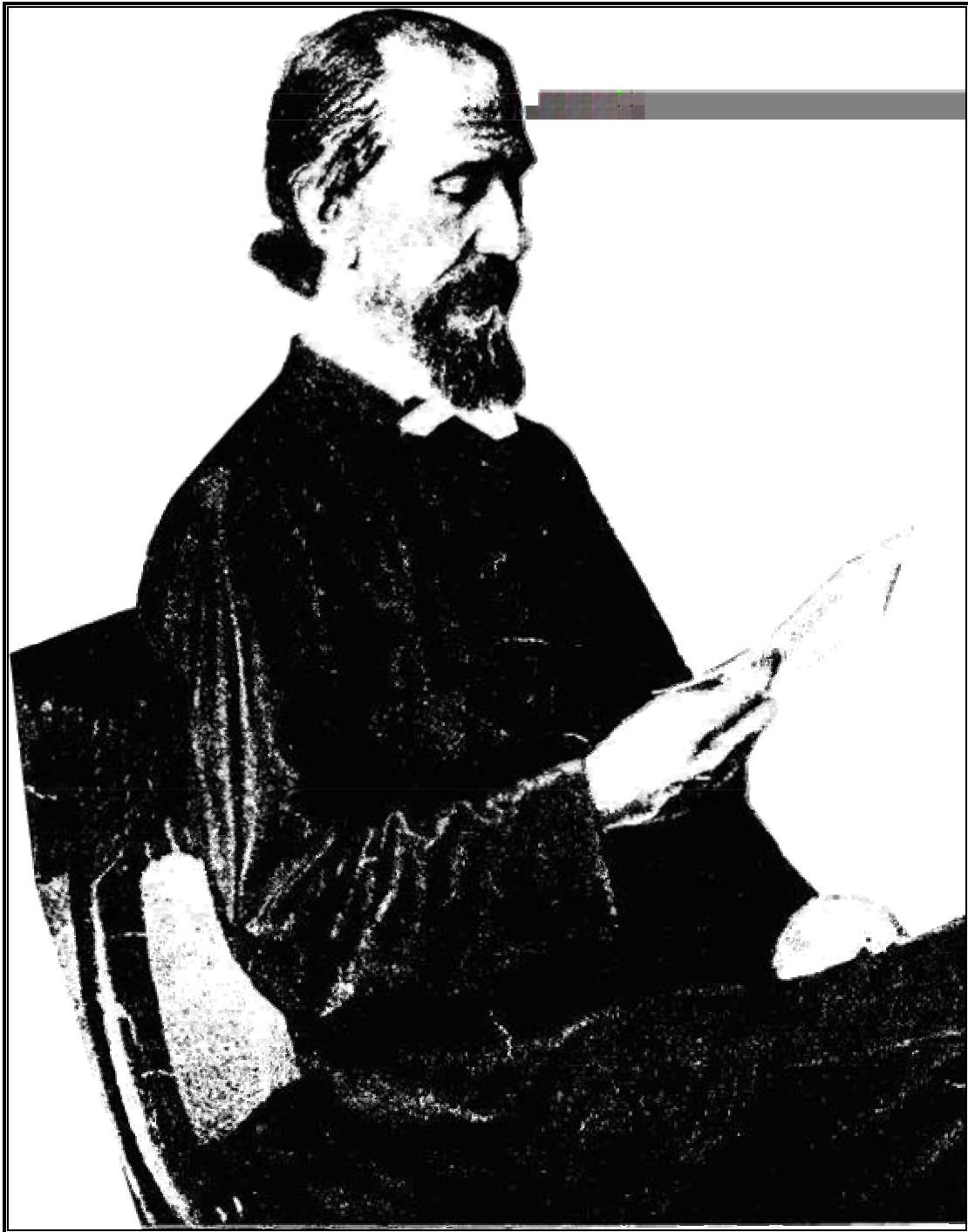


Figure 1. Reverend Andrew Murray (1828-1917) (Du Plessis 1919:iii)

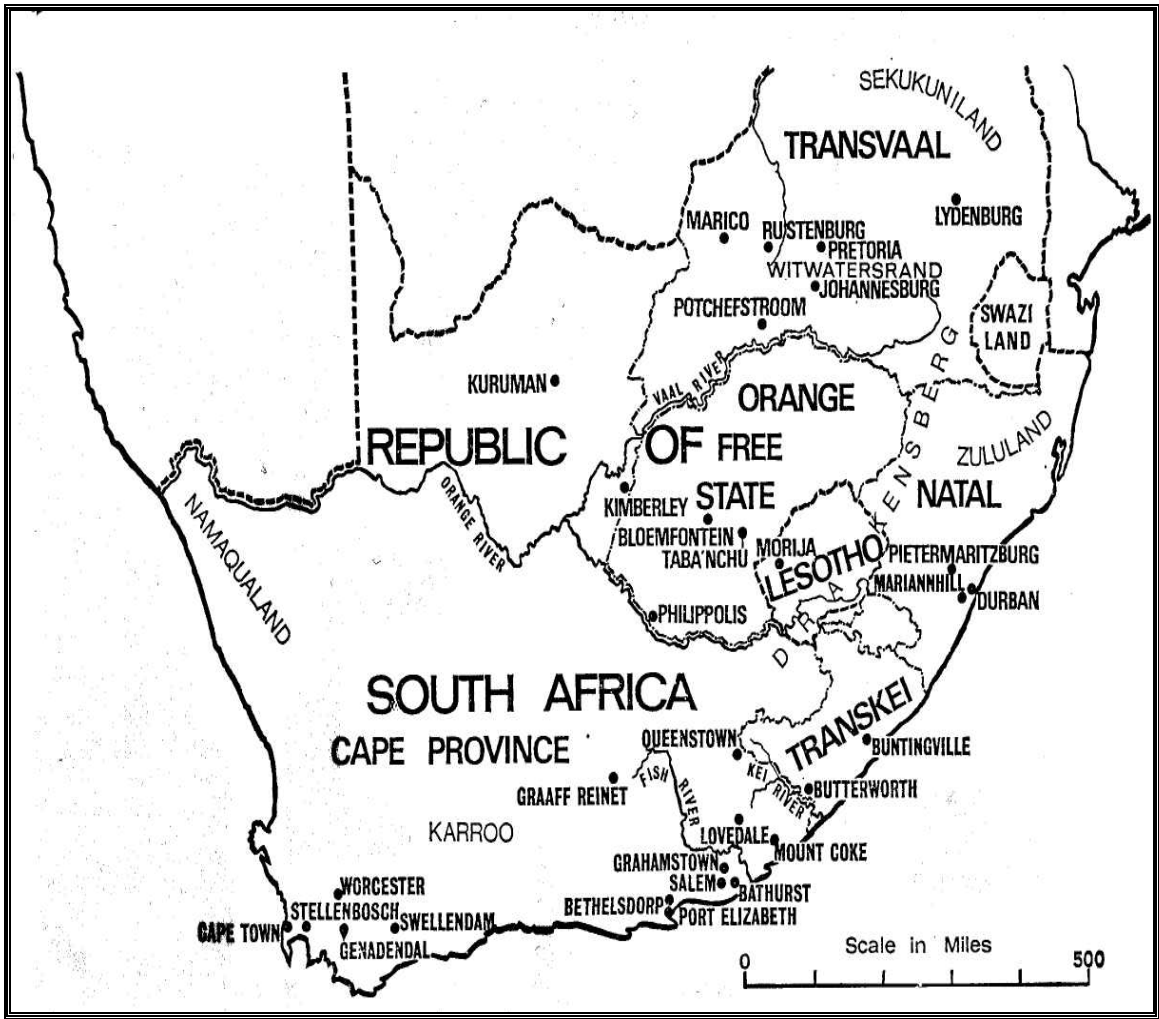


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Chapter 1

Introduction and Orientation

- ◆ **1.1 Andrew Murray Jr.: A spiritual giant who deserves academic assessment**
- ◆ **1.2 Spirituality as a Christian and confessional concept**
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Introduction

This study provides a reasoned assessment of the spirituality of Andrew Murray Junior (1828-1917)¹ who was a famous and influential South African theologian, and who is still read in international circles.

The aim of this study, however, is not to systematise the concept of spirituality in the theology of Murray. The focus is rather on the development of a personal spirituality in Murray's life and work. The study, therefore, has not only a biographical but also a theological-historical concern. Subsequently, the research is ecclesiological in nature. In terms of argumentation and documentation, this thesis thus presents a theological-critical description of the development of Murray's spirituality throughout his life.

It is assumed that Murray's spirituality was mainly influenced by his father Andrew Murray Senior (1794-1866)². This main influence was deepened and widened by some specific experiences and significant events that had an impact on Murray's life. In addition, it is also assumed that a theological-critical analysis of Murray's spirituality in terms of its development would reveal the very essence of Murray's theology, and that his spirituality is thus the hermeneutical key to unlocking his theology. Therefore, for a better and comprehensive understanding of his theology, it is essential to assess his spirituality. One must therefore be cautious to accept an assumption that influences of Methodism, the Holiness Movement, 19th century revivalism or William Law on Murray formed the core of his theology. These church historical developments cannot serve as

¹ Hereafter, 'Andrew Murray Junior' will be referred to as 'Murray'.

² Hereafter, 'Andrew Murray Senior' will be referred to as 'Murray Sr.'

tools in the attempt to penetrate Murray's fundamental beliefs and convictions, since the secret of his theology is locked up in his inner being, his experiences, and his spirituality. This characteristic of Murray's theology, in fact, presents the real challenge and academic contribution of the study.

The first obvious question that arises with respect to the relevance of this study is whether Murray's ecclesiastical and theological inheritance represents a corpus of literature which is comprehensive enough to serve the academic requirements of a Ph.D. thesis.³ The introductory chapter, therefore, starts with a short survey of the writings of and on Murray in this regard.

1.1 Andrew Murray Jr.: A spiritual giant who deserves academic assessment

Without fear of generalisation, it can be stated that Murray, in terms of studies, biographies, and theological references he received, was indeed an influential theologian that deserves theological-critical study. Saayman (1996:206)⁴ is convinced that Murray was a well-known Christian spiritual giant in South Africa and even in the world. Mark Shaw (1996:174) states that Murray devoted himself to "fostering a global emphasis on piety." Horton Davis speaks of Murray as one of the great sons of the country in his book *Great South Africans* (1951). Peter Hinchliff (1968:81) says that "there is no doubt that Murray was one of the greatest, perhaps *the* greatest figure in the

³ Ph.D. is the abbreviation of Doctor of Philosophy.

⁴ Willem Saayman, a professor of missiology at the University of South Africa, is openly critical to Murray, but he admits that Murray was a famous spiritual giant.

Cape Church at that time, and that in almost every way he stood for and summed up the principal influences at work in the Church.” Similarly, Gideon Thom (1989:9) observes that Murray exerted a major theological influence on the Dutch Reformed Church.

These evaluations confirm that Andrew Murray had significantly influenced South Africa and the Dutch Reformed Church to which he belonged. Through the large number of books he wrote, the ecclesiastical and mission conferences he helped to organise and also addressed, his influence was however not restricted to the South African theological scene. He, indeed, had a world-wide following. His power to affect people’s beliefs and actions is undeniable. He is a spiritual giant who thus deserves academic assessment.

1.1.1 Original sources written by and related to Murray, and their translations

Murray is still influential through his various and extensive writings (Ferguson 1917:2). As a prolific writer, he wrote about 250 works, including pamphlets and addresses (Saxe 1993:166). Du Plessis (1919:526-535) arranged some of them chronologically in his book *The life of Andrew Murray of South Africa*. If we consider this chronologically arranged list, the most important are:

Jezus de kindervriend (1858); *De kracht des gebeds* (1860); *Wat zal toch dit kindeke wezen?* (1863), which was translated into English as *Children for Christ* in 1887; *Blijf in Jezus* (1864), translated into English as *Abide in Christ* in 1882; *Waarom gelooft gij*

niet? (1867); *A lecture on Modern theology* (1868); *De tafel des Heeren* (1875), translated into English as *The Lord's table* in 1897; *Like Christ* (1884); *With Christ in the school of prayer* (1885); *Holy in Christ* (1887); *The Spirit of Christ* (1888); *The new life* (1891); *Het gebed en de Heilige Geest* (1892); *Be perfect* (1893); *The holiest of all* (1894); *Let us draw nigh* (1894); *The Lord thy Healer* (1894); *Why do you not believe?* (1894); *The master's indwelling* (1895); *Eagle's wings* (1895); *Daily fellowship with God* (1895); *Have mercy upon me* (1895); *Absolute surrender* (1895); *Humility* (1895); *Niet mijn wil* (1896), translated subsequently into English as *Not my will* ; *The mystery of the true vine* (1897); *The ministry of intercession* (1897); *The school of obedience* (1898); *The two covenants* (1898); *Pray without ceasing* (1898); *The dearth of conversion* (1898); *Thy will be done* (1900); *Prayer union* (1900); *Divine healing* (1900); *Working for God* (1901); *The key to missionary problem* (1901); *Foreign missions and the week of prayer* (1902); *The inner chamber and the inner life* (1905); *The full blessing of Pentecost* (1907); *Aids to devotions* (1909); *The state of the church* (1911); *Prayer life* (1913); *The secret of intercession* (1914), etc.

This is, by no means, a comprehensive list of books written by Murray, not even all of the books classified by Du Plessis, but only some titles chosen from Du Plessis' arrangement by the author. This fact suggests that no problem should arise from a lack of material available for the research. At the same time, through the enumerated titles, it is not difficult to infer the focus of Murray's spirituality and concern. Because his books were full of spiritual nutriment, they were translated into many languages. In 1919, Du Plessis (1919:472) stated that Murray's books - at that time! - were translated into "French, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Danish, Russian, Yiddish, Arabic,

Armenian, Telugu, Malayalam, Japanese and Chinese.” During the 20th century, the list of languages increased. There is e.g. a story that his book *The Spirit of Christ* was the contributory cause for the revival in a city in China (Du Plessis 1919:472-473). More than twenty-five of his books have also been translated into Korean, where they are valued as the best books for spiritual encouragement and development.

These books are as follows: *The children for Christ* (크리스찬의 자녀교육); *Abide in Christ* (주 안에 거하라); *With Christ in the school of prayer* (기도); *Like Christ* (그리스도와 같이); *The new life* (올바로 알아야 올바로 자랍니다); *Holy in Christ* (거룩, 이제는 거룩한 그리스도인으로); *The Spirit of Christ* (그리스도의 영); *The Holiest of all* (지성소); *Absolute surrender* (성령 충만의 길); *Humility* (겸손); *Master's indwelling* (나를 허물고 주님을 세우는 삶); *The deeper Christian life* (보다 깊은 삶을); *Waiting on God* (하나님을 기다리며); *Not my will* (내 뜻대로 마옵시고); *The school of obedience* (순종); *Two covenant* (언약, 하나님과 나를 묶는 띠); *Divine healing* (하나님의 치유); *Key to the missionary problem* (선교문제를 해결하는 열쇠); *Working for God* (하나님을 위해 어떻게 일할까); *The inner chamber and the inner life* (골방에서 만나는 하나님); *The full blessing of Pentecost* (오순절 성령충만); *Prayer life* (기도생활); *The believer's secret of abiding presence* (주님과 동행하는 삶); *The believer's call to commitment* (헌신); *The secret of believing prayer* (응답 받는 기도의 비결) etc.⁵ The popularity of Murray's books in Korea also underlines the necessity and value of this study for Christians in that country. Except for these published materials, there is a vast amount of unpublished original sources in the Dutch Reformed Church Archives, such as letters, diaries, biographical

⁵ Korean characters in parenthesis are the title of each translation.

notes and sermons. This immense supply of original sources clearly supports the relevancy of a study on Murray, with special reference to his spirituality. These primary sources – letters, diaries, notes, sermons and spiritual publications – are the focal point of our research. Secondary sources play only a complementary (though important) role.

1.1.2 Secondary sources on Murray

In addition to the original sources, there is a substantial body of secondary sources also to be consulted. At least four English biographies have already been written on Murray's life: *The life of Andrew Murray of South Africa* (1919) by John du Plessis, *Andrew Murray and his message: one of God's choice saints* (n.d.) by William M. Douglas, *Andrew Murray: apostle of abiding love* (1978) by Leona Choy, and *Andrew Murray* (1996) written by William Lindner Jr.

The first mentioned biography was written from the standpoint of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa (Douglas n.d:5). This, being biographical in nature, contains many original sources and stories of events involving Murray, even though many of the letters referred in this book were, to some extent, edited by Du Plessis because of grammatical problems. The second book was written from the Methodist standpoint. Although Douglas (:5) uses, to a large extent, the same sources that Du Plessis did, he interprets the sources slightly differently.⁶ Comparing these two books provides the reader, to some extent, the benefit of a balanced position (cf. Tuck 1992:276). The book of Choy describes Murray's life in a different way; a dialogue with Murray himself.

⁶ William Douglas (n.d:5) states that “[t]he aim of this work is to set forth the MIRACLE of Dr. Murray's Life (emphasised by Douglas).”

Even though it appears to be fiction, it is quite good as an overview of Murray's life. The last one written by Lindner represents a concise summary of Murray's life. All of them serve a spiritual edifying purpose, but losing an academic and theological-critical treatment of his life, theology and times.

Except for biographies, Murray's theology also received attention. B. J. K. Anderssen wrote '*n Kritiese ontleding van die soteriologiese teologie van Andrew Murray*' (1979), and C. F. C. Coetzee discussed *Die werk van die heilige gees in die teologiese denke van Andrew Murray* (1986). Although these two authors have different views with regard to the evaluation of Murray's theology, they are still good sources to consult for studying similar theological theme. But while Coetzee focused mainly on Murray's doctrine of the Holy Spirit, Anderssen gives specific attention to Murray's *soteriology* (Thom 1989:10). This kind of concentration on a specific aspect of Murray's theology is apt to cause us to lose sight of a comprehensive understanding of Murray's theology. Conclusively, Coetzee is highly critical to Murray's doctrine of the Holy Spirit without any consideration of its background.

R. H. Saxe traced '*Some contributions of Andrew Murray junior to the missionary cause*' (1993) for his D.Miss degree.⁷ In this thesis, he studied Murray's work, focusing on his missionary contributions. L. M. Basson wrote '*n Kritiese analise van verlossing en spiritualiteit in die prediking van Andrew Murray*' (1991). Although he touched on spirituality, he did not analyse it thoroughly. T. C. de Villiers asked '*Is Andrew Murray a mystic?*' (1919) and presented the answer in a thesis for his M.A. degree. G. Oehley

⁷ D.Miss. is the abbreviation of Doctor of Missiology.

described ‘*Die elfjarige ampsbediening van Andrew Murray as predikant te Bloemfontein*’ (1981), and G. van der Merwe wrote ‘*Die bedieningstrukture van Dr. A. Murray en Ds. J.R. Albertijn te Wellington 1891-1906*’ (1988) to obtain their B.D. qualifications.⁸

By now, it is quite clear that Murray has been studied on the basis of his publications. However, this is insufficient, because up to now, despite the fact that Murray is still influential, there has been no thorough study of his spirituality as it influenced his thoughts and acts as a whole. Spirituality is important field of research that awaits treatment (cf. Shin, K-k 2002: 121-124; Houston 2003:28-29)⁹. This study is intended to analyse Murray’s spirituality, and to identify the main influence on its development in the course of his life. Leading questions for the study, therefore, are:

- *What was Murray’s spirituality?*
- *How was his spirituality formed and developed until he had the mature spirituality that is embodied in his books?*

However, before the underlying method for answering these questions is discussed, a survey of the theological importance of “spirituality” as a concept, an ecclesiastical development and a theological characteristic, will serve the purpose of this thesis best.

⁸ M.A. and B.D. are the abbreviations of Master of Art and Bachelor of Divinity respectively.

⁹ Since Kim, Lee, Park and Choi are common Korean surnames, for better reference, this study will refer to Korean surnames accompanied by a given name. For instance, Hee-young Lee will be referred to as Lee, H-y.

1.2 Spirituality as a Christian and confessional concept

Christian spirituality is not an option, but a requirement for Christian life. So, James Packer (1990:200) relates its importance as follows:

“In the same way, we cannot function well as counsellors, spiritual directors, and guides to birth, growth, and maturity in Christ unless we are clear as to what constitutes spiritual well being as opposed to spiritual lassitude and exhaustion, and to stunted and deformed spiritual development. It thus appears that the study of spirituality is just as necessary for us who hope to minister in the Gospel as is the study of physiology for the medical trainee; it is something that we cannot really manage without.”¹⁰

Every Christian has to have a well developed Christian spirituality. If not, we cannot live like ‘salt and light’ in this world. Spirituality is therefore also a given fact. This was true in Andrew Murray’s life and ministry.

The aim of this section is threefold: Firstly, to define the meaning of ‘Christian spirituality’ biblically, because “the Spirit in authentic Christian spirituality is the Spirit who speaks in the Scriptures” (Talbot 2003:133). Secondly, to identify an Evangelical spirituality which has been developed in the course of Protestant church history, because Christian spirituality “must be understood historically and theologically” (Houston 2003:36). Finally, we will obtain a method on the basis of the former two observations in order to analyse Murray’s and his father’s spirituality.

¹⁰ This article is an inaugural address given to the students of Resent College in Canada.

1.2.1 The biblical meaning of the term ‘Spirituality’

It is not an easy task to clearly define the meaning of spirituality. This difficulty is summarised in Carl Henry’s statement:

“Yet if one asks what spirituality is, one is likely to be met by a sidelong stare, as if this question would be raised only by a religious nincompoop, or could be answered by an assortment of examples without any clear definition. To be sure, so we are told spirituality has something to do with spirit, but just what is intended by spirit in this context is often obscure. Talk of spirituality will evoke such identifiers as the sacred, the religious, the transcendental, the charismatic, the saintly the pious. Semantic multiplication does not stop there either. Verbally, all is fuzz (Henry 1992:8).”

Thus, Hingley (1995:807-809) says that defining spirituality is “notoriously difficult.” A reason for this difficulty of definition is that the term spirituality is widely used, not only in Christianity, but also in other religions (Wakefield 1983:361-362; Holt 1996:18-19). Therefore, according to respective researchers, the definition of the term cannot help but vary. It is thus natural for this research to observe the biblical foundation of the meaning of spirituality for defining Christian spirituality.

The term ‘spirituality’ does not directly appear in the Bible (Oh, S-j 1999:133). That means it is not a biblical term (Talbot 2003:125). There is, therefore, no way to extract a meaning of spirituality from the Bible directly, apart from checking for similar terms.

Spirituality, as the translation of the Latin word ‘*spiritualitas*,’ is rooted on *spiritus* which means ‘breath’ or ‘respiration.’ The adjective form of *spiritus* is *spiritualis*, which

means ‘mental’ or ‘spiritual.’ *Spiritualitas* is a derivative noun derived from *spiritualis* (Shin, K-k 2002:137-138). However the very term *spiritualitas* used firstly by Jerome, one of the church fathers, cannot be found in the Latin translation of the Bible (Wood 2003:94). Therefore, the related term *spiritus* or *spiritualis* which is found relatively frequently in the Bible can be investigated, and the biblical meaning of the term spirituality can be defined through the meaning of the Hebrew or Greek equivalent of the term *spiritus* or *spiritualis* (Shin, K-k :136).

1.2.1.1 Meaning of spirituality in the Old Testament

Ruah (רוּחַ) in the Old Testament is translated in the Latin Bible as *spiritus*. Therefore the meaning of *ruah* (רוּחַ) ought to be investigated so as to grasp the meaning of spirituality in the Old Testament (Shin, K-k 2002:136). *Ruah* (רוּחַ) means ‘wind’ and ‘spirit (Brown & Driver & Briggs 2000:1112)’ as well as ‘the breath of the mouth or nostrils’ and ‘the Spirit of God (Tregelles 1857:759-760).’ So the meaning of spirituality in the Old Testament can be understood as the Spirit of God or what is related to Him (Tregelles :760).¹¹ The Spirit of God animates, or gives life to humanity and all other creatures (Ps. 104:29; Ecc. 12:7). The Spirit is the starting point of spirituality in the Old Testament.

1.2.1.2 Meaning of spirituality in the New Testament

The *ruah* (רוּחַ) in the Old Testament is translated into *pneuma* (πνεῦμα) in the New Testament and *pneumatikos* (πνευματικός), the adjective form of the term *pneuma*

¹¹ Samuel Tregelles (1857:760) says in his book *Gesenius’s Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* that “[i]t is clear that all these passages alike speak of the Spirit of God [H]imself and not of any wind supposed to be moved by the breath of God.”

(πνευμα) developed into spirituality (Fee 1992:96). *Pneuma* (πνευμα), like *ruah* (רוח), also means ‘wind,’ ‘breath’ and ‘inner life’ as well as ‘state of mind’ (Newman 1993:145). Therefore, even in the New Testament, the meaning of *pneumatikos* (πνευματικός), viz. spirituality, is also closely related to the Spirit. “For Paul,” Fee (:96) relates, “*pneumatikos* is primarily an adjective for the Spirit, referring to that which belongs to, or pertains to, the Spirit.”

1.2.1.3 Spirituality in the Bible

The Spirit is the key point for spirituality in the Old Testament as well as in the New Testament. Spirituality, especially for Paul, is none other than the life in the Spirit; and the aim of life is to live fully in the power of the Spirit (Fee 1992:98-100). Armerding (1992:42) defines the meaning of spirituality in a biblical sense as “the vital connection between the creature and the Creator, where the mind of the Spirit meets the mind of the believer, shaping the believer’s will and producing a response of love and devotion.”

1.2.2 Defining ‘Christian spirituality’

James Houston (1984:1046) defines Christian spirituality as the “state of deep relationship to God.” Alister McGrath (2003:13) says that “[s]pirituality is all about the way in which we encounter and experience God, and the transformation of our consciousness and our lives as a result of that encounter and experience.” Emphasising obedience to Jesus, Dallas Willard (2003:40-45) defines Christian spirituality as “[u]nion in action with the triune God.” Although Willard also emphasises the relationship with the triune God, he points to obedience to Jesus in authentic Christian

spirituality. James Packer (1990:198) defines it as follows: “[E]nquiry into the whole Christian enterprise of pursuing, achieving, and cultivating communion with God, which includes both public worship and private devotion, and the results of these in actual Christian life.” Basically, all these views see Christian spirituality as Christian life related to the triune God. Similarly, Gerald Bray (2003:115) says that “Christian life is nothing less than the fellowship of the Trinity, in whom we live and move and have our being,” and this fellowship is nourished and maintained by the Holy Spirit who is in the Trinity.

Summarising these views is that Christian spirituality is Christian life which obeys Jesus and which, in every moment, has a conscious relationship with the triune God through the Holy Spirit who nourishes and maintains the relationship. Our cursory survey shows that Christian spirituality is, by definition, linked to specific awareness, consciousness and experience of a deep, real and devout spiritual life. Christian spirituality therefore is defined in this study as *to live like Jesus Christ in the presence of God through the power of the Holy Spirit*.

Christian spirituality, however, does not mean *other-worldliness*, which sees the world in a dualistic way and prefers the spiritual dimension to material dimensions (McGrath 1994:33). The division of human personality into separate spheres of ‘flesh’ and ‘spirit’ is quite unfamiliar in the Bible, even though many people think in such dualistic terms (Armerding 1992:41-42). Therefore authentic Christian spirituality must have the perspective of *two-worldliness* and not that of other-worldliness. Two-worldliness sees that this world is not the final destination. Christian is journeying this world as a

traveller, and finally will reach the Home. This perspective of spirituality is the authentic one that the New Testament speaks of (Packer 1991:235-237).

What Christian spirituality also does not do is to promote and enrich *individualism*. In practice, the biblical truth points out individual faith and the individual consecration to God. People cannot be saved by another's faith; cannot become holy through another's consecration. It thus seems as if the Bible encourages individualism. However, these truths and faith do not root in individualism but root in *individuality*. The Bible tells not of individualism but of individuality (Packer :240-241). Therefore individualism must be resisted because privatized forms of the Christian spirituality may withdraw and limit the enormous impact of the Gospel into the narrow region of the individual (Kretschmar 1998:155). Against this background, Evangelical spirituality must now be discussed.

1.2.3 Evangelical spirituality

Christianity has its roots in the various spiritual traditions of its history. It can, in general, be divided into three: Protestant tradition, Roman Catholic tradition and Eastern Orthodox tradition (Gordon 1991:vii; Brown 2002:18). In respect to this differentiation, Evangelical spirituality, as the spirituality that belongs to Evangelicalism, must be linked more to the Protestant tradition, even though it also occurs in the other traditions (Wells 1994:389).¹²

¹² The term 'evangelical' dates from 16th century. It was originally used by Roman Catholic writers who wished to return to more biblical faiths and practices (McGrath 1995:19). The tendency of wishing to turn back to the Bible was to be a foundation for Reformation (McGrath 1988:2-6). Meanwhile John Tiller says the coherence between Evangelicalism and Protestantism. He states as follows: "It is ultimately both true and trite to say that behind modern evangelicalism lies the whole tradition of Protestant spirituality

The hallmark of authentic Evangelicalism is to make every effort for the honour and glory of Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and to witness the power of the Gospel and the mission of the Church in this world (Gordon 1991:ix). In this sense, Evangelicalism is different from theological Liberalism in the Protestant tradition (Han, S-h 2000:339). Because Evangelicalism is rooted in various Christian traditions within Protestantism, it is useful to observe the influences of those traditions that have helped, more or less, to form Evangelicalism, before we identify the characteristics of Evangelical spirituality.

1.2.3.1 The roots of Evangelicalism

Evangelicalism appears to be a kind of powerful power-plant in the modern Christian church. It motivates people to discover the vitality of the Gospel, and to reach out beyond the church walls. It also brings numerous people to the Gospel and lets them kneel down before Jesus Christ, even in this secularised age (McGrath 1995:17). How does it mobilize such power in modern secularising churches? A reason is, to a degree, that it has accommodated many advantages from various Protestant traditions. Although this mixture sometimes leads researchers into confusion or to an inability to distinguish its significance, it is still possible to identify some distinct characteristics that distinguish Evangelicalism (Han, S-h 2000:340-342).

Historically, Evangelicalism includes several traditions in Protestantism that originated in the 16th century.¹³ If we enumerate those traditions by period, it is as follows: the

(1982:8).”

¹³ Alister McGrath (1995:6) and Stephen Brown (2002:44) say that the name ‘Protestant’ came to the stage after the Diet of Speyer in 1529. However, some say that Protestant spirituality had already existed

16th century Reformation which erupted from wishes to recover evangelical faith; the 17th century Puritanism and Pietism; the 18th century evangelical revival movement led by George Whitefield and John Wesley in England; the first and the second Great Awakening and various sects of Wesleyan-Pietistic movements in America during 18th-19th century; the Fundamental and Pentecostal movement in the early part of the 20th century in America; and the New Evangelical movement led by Billy Graham and Carl Henry that rose against the ‘oppositionalism’ of Fundamentalism from the latter half of the 20th century in America. These various movements helped Evangelicalism to shape itself (McGrath 1995:26). It is thus meaningful to identify the influence of each movement on the shaping of the characteristics of Evangelicalism. However, McGrath (:26) says that the magisterial Reformation, Puritanism and Pietism have “constituted the main fountainheads of Evangelical thinking and offered frameworks through which the New Testament may be read and interpreted.” These three traditions will now be observed.

1.2.3.1.1 The Reformation

Generally speaking, the Reformation is divided into two types: the magisterial and the radical. Although, the Reformation, in the beginning, was based upon the stand *ad fontes*, viz. ‘back to the sources’, two opposing views developed, due to their different approaches to the sources and the Bible (McGrath 1988:4). They both started in order to reform the existing Roman Catholic Church. However, their respective methods of reform were quite different. The latter did not wish to recognize the existing church as

before the Reformation. They see that the ‘Brethren and Sisters of the Law of Christ’ which laid the foundation of the Moravian church in Kunwald on 1 March 1457 was the starting point of Protestantism (Reilly 1978:25; Kim, H-k 1998:13-14). According to Hutton (1895:29), the ‘Sermon on the Mount’ was their criterion of life.

church, and, therefore, wanted to establish a new church outside of Roman Catholicism and to discard everything that appeared to be the heritage of the Roman Catholic Church. On the other hand, the former wished to stay inside the existing church and to reform it according to the Bible. These different views of the correct path to reform created serious tensions between the two reformation groups. Finally, since the radicals were attacked by both of their neighbours; the magisterial and the Roman Catholic, it retreated to the boundary of the battle field, and the magisterial was left to face its giant counterpart, Roman Catholicism, alone (Brown 2002:64). Ultimately it was mainly the magisterial Reformation that exerted a lot of influence on Western Protestantism.

The radical type of Reformation was originally called *anabaptist* by Luther and Zwingli. The term ‘*anabaptist*’ which is a Latin derivative of the Greek ‘*αναβαπτισμος*’ means ‘rebaptism’ (Webber 1979:86). While they tried to live following the biblical ideal of Christian life, they basically had a spirituality of other-worldliness. They believed that the true church was in heaven. They, therefore, thought that the church in this world was a kind of association of believers. Although their view on the church was problematic in itself, their attitude towards this world was none other than dualism (McGrath 1994(c):416). Therefore, although they had a good inward form of piety, they cannot be considered in this study, because this study has already defined that the dualistic attitude is not an authentic Christian spirituality. Anabaptists emphasised ‘new-birth’ (Webber :89). This emphasis on new birth subsequently appeared in Puritanism and Pietism.

The magisterial Reformation which consisted of the Lutheran and the Reformed had a

positive attitude toward the magistracy, existing power structures and tradition. It became a major source and reference point for modern Evangelicalism. Because the magisterial Reformation had a credible and relevant outlook that was grounded in the Bible both academically and pastorally, it influenced Evangelicalism through its central themes, such as the doctrine of justification by faith alone and the highest view on Scripture (McGrath 1995:23).

1.2.3.1.2 Puritanism

Puritanism was a balanced combination of doctrinal Calvinist theology and intense personal piety, and it embodies the totality of Christian life (Gribben 2002:36).¹⁴ Perry Miller (1963:4) says that Puritanism was exemplified by the piety of St. Augustine and it was “another manifestation of a piety to which some men are probably always inclined and which in certain conjunctions appeals irresistibly to large numbers of exceptionally vigorous spirits.” However, Puritans who are regarded to live the most faithful and authentic Christian life in church history, had been thrown out beyond the church wall for a long time, shortly after the decline of the movement. Only relatively recently has the Puritan theology and its spirituality been spotlighted within academic circles (Packer 1994:8).

The origin of Puritanism, even though there are differing assertions, can be dated to 1524. According to Lloyd-Jones (1987:240), the prototype of Puritanism can be found in William Tyndale. Puritanism was also a kind of movement to reform the church as

¹⁴ Stephen Brown (2002:67) says “Calvin’s followers were called Huguenots in France and Puritans in England.”

the Reformation had done. Puritans felt that the Reformation was incomplete in England, because the Episcopal system still existed at that time in the Church of England (Brown 2002:52). They thought that it was not enough merely to change some doctrines and to get rid of Roman Catholic teaching that they thought false. They, concordantly, insisted that the reformation must be carried out in terms of doctrine or of teaching as well as of practice (Tiller 1982:10; Lloyd-Jones 1987:242) and, therefore, pushed for further reforms in order to purify the church more thoroughly (Truman 2002:28).

They thought that all things to be demanded in the church were either things supported in the Bible or things indifferent. So they established a set of criteria for church ministry following the teaching of the Bible. However, as to the indifferent things to which the Bible does not reveal a clear direction, they could decide according to their consciences. This is the unique ethics, 'casuistry', developed by the Puritans (Lloyd-Jones :243; Packer 1992(r):163). This thinking kindled incessant frictions between Puritans and the church officials who were controlled by the State.

The beginning of the schism between Puritans and the Church of England was the result of the debate over wearing vestments in the church. While church officials insisted that they had to wear vestments in the church, Puritans disagreed. The reason was that because "[v]estments are neither ordained in the Bible for use in the Christian church nor are they things indifferent," they were not to be required in the church. However, because of the coercion of the State, church officials could not help but ignore the demands of the Puritans (Lloyd-Jones :243-244).

Ultimately, Puritans resisted the intervention of State in the Church of England, and demanded the complete reformation of the church. They were consequently exiled through political persecution, and were scattered across Europe and North America. The scattered Puritans tried to keep their faith under the hard circumstances of their new lives, and they started to shape their unique Puritan spirituality there. Their spirituality did not come from speculation. They attached much importance to doctrines, and practiced them sincerely in their daily lives, and also laid stress on the communion with God that they experienced in their lives.

The impact of Puritanism on Evangelicalism was deep. English evangelical revivals of the 18th century were based on the foundations laid by Puritanism (Tiller 1982:12; Bebbington 1989:34-35; McGrath 1995:24; Kim, N-j 1997:55). Its influence can be identified as follows:

- **Emphasis on the Word of God and its practice**

To Puritans, individual Christians had to have time to “read, mark, learn and inwardly digest” the Bible, because the Word was the guidance for suitable Christian living. On emphasising the Word of God, Puritans also put big weight on practice. Puritans had to not only understand the Bible but also practice what they had understood (Chirgwin 1954:36; Tiller 1982:9-10).

- **Spiritual discipline**

Puritans emphasised church discipline. They thought that it was not the true church

unless she had the exercise of discipline. So they gave in some degree of authority and responsibility to their pastors. The main function of the discipline was to lead people to repent for their sin, in order to restore their faith vitally (Tiller 1982:10).

- **Emphasis on holy life and two-worldliness**

Puritans emphasised a Christian holy life (Packer 1992:12). Every Christian had to be ready to give all things, such like time and possession, etc. to God, which means that everything in the Christian life was to be holy so that God in holiness could take it (Tiller 1982:11).

Puritans also had the spirituality of two-worldliness. Even though they lived in this world, their hope was always in heaven. However, their attitude toward the world were not dualistic, in contrast to the Anabaptists. While they rejected the worldly values around them, they did not ignore the demands of the world. They worked for society as much as they could (Currie 1994:74; Tiller :10-12). Apart from these characteristics, Puritan emphasis on the personal assurance of salvation and prayer exerted more than a little influence on Evangelicalism (Bebbington 1989:43).

1.2.3.1.3 Pietism

During the latter half of the 17th century, Lutheran orthodoxy had gradually become merely an intellectual system that was appreciated in the mind, but gave little or no warmth to the heart. Pietism was a response to this situation (Tiller 1982:14). It put much emphasis on a personally appropriated faith understood as a ‘reborn’ and ‘personal living relationship with Christ,’ i.e. personal experience, rather than the

passive assent to the creeds (Tiller 1982:15). The phrase ‘living faith’ which had become its motto was utilised in referring to this personal relationship with Christ. Pietism was originated in the practical theology of Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705)¹⁵ and was gradually developed by August Hermann Francke (1663-1727)¹⁶ at the University of Halle in the eighteenth century. Under their influence, Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf¹⁷ was brought up. Although Pietism lacked the intellectual rigor and could easily lapse into little more than a personal devotion to Jesus, it appealed considerably on Evangelicalism. Its influence on Evangelicalism can be summarised as follows:

- **Religion of heart**

Not only the head but also the heart was an important matter in Pietism. The Pietists thought that God “must involve the emotions as well as the intellect” (Tiller 1982:15). Pietism emphasised the concept and practise of ‘born again,’ because only ‘born again’ Christian could enter into a sense of peace and assurance of salvation. Emphasis on religious experience, as in Puritanism, was one of the significant characteristics of Pietism.

¹⁵ Spener, who has been called the “father of Pietism” was born and raised in Alsace, in a family of Lutheran convictions. After completing his theological studies, he became a minister in Frankfurt. In 1675, he published his book *Pia desideria* which was a helpful guidance for promoting piety. He established the University of Halle (Gonzalez 1985:205-206; Kim, K-h 1994II:150).

¹⁶ Francke, the greatest follower of Spener, was also born and raised in a Lutheran family. He emphasised the joy of Christian life more than his teacher, Spener. While he was in the University of Halle as a professor, he tried to pay more attention to the relationship between Pietism and traditional Lutheranism. He worked much for social welfare. He established an orphanage in 1695, and gradually founded other charitable institutions. Annually almost 2,500 children were nourished and educated in the orphanages that he founded (Gonzalez 1985:207; Kim, K-h 1994II:150-151).

¹⁷ Count Zinzendorf was a student of Francke and a godson of Spener. He joined the Herrnhut community and later became a significant leader of the community. He did much for mission work outside their boundaries (Gonzalez 1985:208-209).

- **Emphasis on Christian unity**

Following the instruction of the Bible, Pietists thought that the true church existed where two or three believers gathered in Christ's name. Therefore, fellowship was given more weight than separation. So they were more concerned with the Lord's Supper than with church order, because church order was a symbol of denominationalism (Tiller 1982:16).

- **Christ's ambassadors**

Owing to "a desire to hasten the Lord's return," Pietists emphasised mission. Their passion for mission spurred them outside their boundaries. One significant characteristic of Pietism was to "release the spiritual energies of the laity in the service of Christ (Tiller 1982:17)."

The roots of Evangelicalism and its spirituality must therefore be traced theologically and historically to three constitutive developments in history, *viz.* the Reformation, Puritanism and Pietism. In this cluster lies its foundation. And on this foundation rest the later 19th and 20th century developments, orientations and contextualised interpretations of the evangelical movement we know in our times. In the following paragraph, the characteristics of Evangelical spirituality must now be argued.

1.2.3.2 Characteristics of Evangelical spirituality

By briefly surveying the roots of Evangelicalism, its practical impact on churches has been implied. David Bebbington identified the characteristics of Evangelicalism in his

book *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980s*. He (1989:2-4; 1992:3-5) classified them into four characteristics: *Conversionism*, *Activism*, *Biblicism* and *Crucicentrism*. He explains:

“Evangelical religion: *Conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *Activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism” (Bebbington 1989:3).

Carl Trueman (2002:31) positively assesses this differentiation in his article ‘Reformer, puritans and evangelicals’: “[S]ome useful observations can be made using David Bebbington’s fourfold grid of conversionism, activism, Biblicism and crucicentrism as the standard starting point for modern discussion.” James Gordon (1991:7) also mentions the classification in his book *Evangelical spirituality* as follows:

“A recent study has identified four defining attributes which have been present in Evangelical religion from the 1730s onwards. They are ‘conversionism, activism, biblicism and crucicentrism.’ Though the relative emphasis placed on each has changed, together *they have remained constant distinctive*” (emphasised by Lee).

It is therefore worth while to argue the classification of Bebbington more comprehensively.

- ***Conversionism***

Conversion is related to the theological conviction that humanity is estranged from God due to sin, and that humanity is left under the wrath of God. However, there is no way

of overcoming the estrangement in order to be saved from God's wrath. Only through faith, humanity can be saved. In this context, Jesus Christ has to be trusted as Saviour (Bebbington 1989:6). According to David Bebbington (1992:3), *Conversionism* is "the crisis associated with turning from sin to personal faith." Conviction, contrition, wrestling in prayer and mighty struggling are factors that make up one's conversion which is "the happy day when the peace of God first became his blest possession" (Bebbington 1992:4).

- ***Activism***

Activism is "a commitment to spreading the experience of conversion to others." Converted hearts cannot stay where they are. They will go out to work whole heartedly for the conversion of others. The work includes Gospel work and social concern, even though it puts more weight on the former (Bebbington 1992:4).

- ***Biblicism***

Biblicism is the attitude that gives "the place of honour" to the Bible (Bebbington 1992:4). To Evangelical, the Bible is none other than the inspired Word of God. Therefore it must be interpreted literally (Bebbington 1989:13-14).

- ***Crucicentrism***

Crucicentrism means "a concentration in doctrine on the atoning death of Christ on the cross" (Bebbington 1992:4). Humanity was against God, but through the atoning death of Christ, the relationship with God is recovered. For the gratitude of this

substitutionary death of Christ, Evangelicals tried to do their best for their spiritual growth (Bebbington 1989:14-16).

Paragraphs 1.2.3.1 and 1.2.3.2 can be summarised in a Table as follows:

Table 1. Summary of influences on Evangelical spirituality

Classification	Evangelical Spirituality			
	The Reformation	Puritanism	Pietism	
Influences	*Justification by faith alone	* Assurance of salvation	* Emphasis on born-again	<i>Conversionism</i>
		* Emphasis on practice * Holy life * Prayer life	* Mission work * Charity work * Emphasis on Christian unity	<i>Activism</i>
	* Highest view on the Scripture	* Bible as the Word of God	* Interpret the Bible literally	<i>Biblicism</i>
	* Atoning death of Christ	* Atoning death of Christ	* Atoning death of Christ	<i>Crucicentrism</i>

1.2.3.3 Characteristics of Reformed spirituality

The Reformed tradition, as a tradition which belongs to Evangelicalism, has many aspects common with other traditions (Osterhaven 1971:167; Hesselink 1983:93).

However, it has also some specific characteristics which make it distinguishable from

other traditions. In his book *On Being Reformed*, John Hesselink (1983:93-112) relates several characteristics and distinctive emphases identified in the Reformed tradition. He lists them under the following sub-titles: ‘God-centred’, ‘A people of the Word’, ‘Church order’, ‘Doctrine with a purpose’ and ‘A life and world view.’

Eugene Osterhaven also identifies the constitutive characteristics of the Reformed tradition in his book *The Spirit of the Reformed tradition*. Similarly to Hesselink, Osterhaven (1971:11-12, 167) distinguishes the following: ‘*Ecclesia Reformata*’, ‘Reformed according to the Word of God’, ‘In the presence of God’, ‘The life of the Christian’ and ‘The Christian and the social order.’

In terms of the purpose of the study (i.e. to assess the spirituality of Andrew Murray theologically and critically), the characteristics of Reformed spirituality cannot be overlooked, since Murray was a minister in a Reformed church. These specific features discussed below, fit into the picture of the whole of the research.

- **God-centred**

God-centeredness is “the most fundamental and comprehensive thing that can be said about the Reformed tradition” (Hesselink 1983:94). Although this characteristic can be found in all Christian traditions, its emphasis is different. Traditions belonging to Evangelicalism also elucidate their *theocentric* tendency, but it does not always hold for all traditions. *Arminianism* has a different emphasis from what it means for the Reformed. The former tends to open the human possibility for redemption, but the latter does not. In regard to the concept of ‘God-centred’, the Reformed tradition emphasises

the God's sovereignty, providence, election and predestination (Hesselink 1983:95).

- **A people of the Word**

Even though *sola scriptura* as a core impetus of the Reformation is whole-heartedly accepted in Evangelicalism as significant, it is in the Reformed tradition that the Bible receives special concern and prominence. Hesselink (1983:97) explains the significance as follows:

“A comparison of Reformed and Lutheran confessions bears this out. Lutherans tend to place the emphasis on the *material principle* of the Reformation, namely, justification by faith, whereas Reformed confessions are more interested in the *formal principle*, namely, the authority of scripture” (emphasised by Hesselink).

Specifically Hesselink (1983:100) emphasises the correlation of the Word and the Spirit:

“In addition to the idea of the internal witness of the Spirit, another distinctive of the Reformed tradition is the close correlation of Word and Spirit. Following Calvin, who in turn was greatly influenced by 2 Corinthians 3:6-8, Reformed confessions frequently link Word and Spirit. The Word without the Spirit can be a dead letter and produce a dead orthodoxy.”

Hesselink (:102) also says that “the covenant” is the key to interpretation of the Bible in the Reformed tradition.

- **Church order**

Church order is one of the characteristics of the Reformed tradition which is distinctive

from all the others (Hesselink 1983:103; Coertzen 1998:1-10). Hesselink (:104-105) emphasises two things that are “crucial in Presbyterian church order.” The one is church offices in Reformed/Presbyterian polity; the other is church discipline. As to the church order, he says that there are three church offices: minister, elder and deacon, and the elder is the key figure in these offices. Osterhaven (1971:65) says if there is no office of elder, “the church would lose its character as a Reformed Church.”

Hesselink (:105) also points to church discipline as evidence which distinguishes the Reformed churches. According to him, church discipline intended as an aspect of pastoral care promotes the holiness of the church and the honour of Christ, even if it evokes a negative image.

- **Doctrine with a purpose**

Hesselink (1983:106) says that “doctrinal clarity and purity” has received great concern in Reformed tradition. He adds, even if it emphasises doctrine to an extent, it is not the doctrine itself that Reformed tradition focuses on, but the doctrine that can cultivate the holiness of the church and its members:

“Concern for truth, pure doctrine and sound theology is important, but it should not be an end in itself. If this concern does not result in godliness and the edification of the church it has been reverted. If the approach of the *Heidelberg Catechism* is followed, there will be no problems here. This catechism, very much in the spirit of Calvin, after defining a doctrinal position, invariably asks what “advantage” or “benefit” comes from believing this truth” (emphasised by Hesselink).

This approach is seen in the Reformed stress on sanctification in contrast to the

Lutheran emphasis on justification, and the general interest in ethics (Hesselink 1983:107).

- **A life and world view**

Hesselink (1983:108) stresses that Calvinism is a faith that has a grand outlook on human life and the world where humans live:

“In contrast to Lutheranism’s quest for a gracious God, pietism’s concern for the welfare of the individual soul, and Wesleyanism’s goal of personal holiness, the ultimate concern in the Reformed tradition transcends the individual and his salvation.”

Heretofore, this study observed some characteristics of Evangelical and Reformed spirituality.

In summary, it was shown the significance of Christian spirituality biblically and theologically, and it was also observed the fourfold characteristics of Evangelical spirituality presented by David Bebbington with reference to a historical survey. In addition, the five characteristics of Reformed spirituality argued by John Hesselink and Osterhaven were also listed. Hypothetically, the location of Murray’s spirituality is Evangelical paradigm of spirituality; however, the Reformed confessional perspective serves as a critical agent when academically arguing Murray’s spirituality. When considering this, the study suggests that these characteristics should be utilised in analysing the spirituality of Murray. Characteristics belonging to Evangelical spirituality, Reformed spirituality and Evangelical-Reformed spirituality are summarised in the following Table 2.

Table 2. Comparison of characteristics

	Bebbington	Hesselink	The author
Classification	Evangelical spirituality	Reformed spirituality	Evangelical-Reformed spirituality
Characteristics	<i>Conversionism</i>	* God-centred	* God-centeredness
		* A people of the Word	* Bible-centeredness
	<i>Activism</i>		* Church-centeredness
		* Church order	* <i>Conversionism</i>
	<i>Biblicism</i>		* <i>Activism</i>
		* Doctrine with a purpose	* Holy life
	<i>Crucicentrism</i>		* Prayer life
		* A life and world view	* Emphasis on revival

The next paragraph will indicate how these identified and systematised characteristics of (Reformed) Evangelicalism are to be utilised to ensure that relevant questions to analyse Murray’s spirituality in terms of academic integrity are asked. These observations, therefore, served to plot a frame of reference which had the function of creating the basis for applicable questions to be asked toward the primary sources on which this research is based.

1.3 Relevant questions

In order to establish Andrew Murray's spirituality, and to assess it theological-critical way, a preliminary register of typical questions can be drawn up in terms of the identified characteristics of Evangelicalism as argued above. The rationale is to assure a broad spectrum of questions. Special care will be taken not to play into the hands of the danger to force a predetermined question bank unto the primary sources. The following will underline our intention in this regard.

- **God-centeredness**

The 'God-centeredness' of (Reformed) Evangelicalism suggests questions concerning the Sovereignty of God, the Priority of God's glory, the Priority of the knowledge of God (or Jesus). In addition, this research should also seek for the doctrine of predestination, the doctrine of election and the doctrine of reprobation which are significant especially in Reformed theology.

- **Bible-centeredness**

In Evangelicalism, the Bible is the criterion of the Christian's faith and life and is the inspired Word of God. Because the Bible is the inspired Word of God, the correlation of the Bible and the Holy Spirit is essential. Although the Bible itself has a power as the inspired Word of God, the power cannot be exerted in the readers' heart without assistance of the Holy Spirit (Hesselink 1983:100). In analysing Murray's spirituality with respect to his Bible-centeredness, this study will have to identify his view and

interpretation of the Bible, its inspiration and the role of the Holy Spirit in this regard.

- **Church-centeredness**

‘Church-centeredness’ relates to the ecclesiastical approach that is concerned with church affairs, as well as of having a high view of Christian ministry, and that gives much gratitude to God for His calling into His ministry. “What are the views on ministry, the offices, the sacraments, the church order and the church structure?” is main question in this regard.

- ***Coversionism***

Conversion, seen as an essential and personal event by Evangelicalism, is of major importance and significance to spirituality. Questions related to this issue are accordingly of essential importance. They are interrelated with deeply rooted convictions, and therefore reflect a view of Christian life being its starting point.

- ***Activism***

Especially in this study, Murray’s works with regard to education, mission, social and political matters will be identified. Questions related to these matters are unavoidable.

- **Emphasis on holy life**

As children of holy God, Christians must live a holy life. All teaching and learning of the church must lead her members to a holy life following the Christian principles (Hesselink 1983:106). This is another conviction of Evangelicalism. Murray’s emphasis

on holy life and its relatedness to Puritanism must therefore come under observation.

- **Emphasis on prayer**

Prayer is essential in Christian life. In this study, Murray's views and emphasis on prayer will have to be traced.

- **Emphasis on revival**

Prayer for revival or participation in revival movements is typical of Evangelicalism. The period in which Murray lived was a time of revivals. Many countries where Christianity had been accepted experienced these marvellous events from time to time. Murray also prayed for or actively participated in the works related to revival. What is a revival? Does it differ from revivalism? Why was it emphasised? These questions have also to be asked.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is *to analyse Murray's spirituality and its development in the course of his life time diachronically and synchronically*¹⁸, *and to identify the main influences on Murray's spiritual development*. The analysis, however, must be guided by interrogating questions (see 1.3 above) that have to be aware of the assumptions made with respect to Murray's theology, because one's spirituality must not and cannot be separated from one's theology (Packer 1990:198-200).

¹⁸ *Diachronic* study is what traces the historical development of an event, a language or a person considering its background. On the contrary, a *synchronic* approach is to focus on an event, a language or a person in terms of a particular, temporal and cultural setting without consideration of its historical development (Decker 2003:1,4).

In this regard, some is convinced that Murray was influenced by Methodism, the Holiness Movement and William Law, a famous mystic. They therefore claim that his theology was no longer Reformed (Coetzee 1986: 232-238). Others are of opinion that Murray was a *kenoticist* (Thom 1989:4-6).¹⁹ Are these assumptions correct? Can they be supported by primary sources? If this is the case, then surely these criticisms should have defined his spirituality.

At the same time, Murray has been described as a man with extreme religiousness but with a lack of social insight. Some say that he had a tendency to address complicated social problems naively (Landman 1989:164-167); others say that he withdrew rather than become involved in “worldly matters” (Saayman 1996:206). They say that because Murray’s concern focused only on personal salvation, he gave a way to militate against the depersonalizing tendency (Saayman :209). His apathy on social problems, they say,

¹⁹ Saying that there were some differences in theology between John Murray and Andrew Murray, Gideon Thom, a retired professor at the University of Fort Hare, presents Murray as an evidence that John was not a *kenoticist*. This fact implies that he believes Murray was a *kenoticist*. In his article ‘The Calvinist Pietism of John Murray,’ Thom (1992:29-34) relates as follows: “As far as the Dutch Church is concerned, the *oude schrijvers*-as they were called in South Africa-were all respected ministers of the Reformed Church, although they belonged to the ‘more precise’ among the pietists. Gijsbert Voetius, for example, was certainly within the ‘mainstream’ of the Reformed Church (:29)... It is my [Thom] conviction, however, that neither Hofmeyr nor Andrew Murray[Jr.] fit in very well with Calvinist Pietism of the eighteenth century- they, much more than John Murray, belonged to the nineteenth century (:30)... [Hofmeyr] came to Stellenbosch from Graaff-Reinet, where he grew up among the ‘pious’ who read the *oude schrijvers*, but without receiving an assurance of salvation. His minister there was Andrew Murray senior... [C.F.J.]Muller went on to contrast the teaching of Hofmeyr with that of Andrew Murray senior and John Murray. The difference was that Hofmeyr was able to lead a person to an assurance of salvation. The two Murray’s emphasised man’s sinfulness and the way of salvation by grace, but somehow were not able to lead some one into an assurance of salvation (:33).” As we see in this article, Thom divides the four persons mentioned into two theologically different categories: the one is Murray Sr. and John; the other is Murray and N.J. Hofmyer. This shows Thom’s conviction that Murray was different from his father in theology. This assertion is actually weak, because Murray Sr. emphasised the assurance of salvation to his children from time to time. This fact will be investigated subsequently in the section dealing with Murray Sr.’s spirituality in chapter 2.

opened the gate for the Apartheid theology to enter (cf. Claassen 1994:142-143).²⁰ Is this assumption correct? Is there any primary evidence to support it? Was Murray really apathetic to social problems?

These different assumptions demand thorough historical research on Murray in order to assess his spirituality in terms of its development. This is of utmost importance, because one's spirituality is the basis of one's thoughts and acts, and one's biographical and contextual circumstances can influence one's spirituality (Charry 1997:240; Warford 1997:69; Kamwana 1998:xix). Christian spirituality cannot be defined as just one dimension of the Christian life; it is *the* Christian life (Downey 1997:71). It is not something that can be isolated from the rest of our existence (Bosch 1979:13). So if we want a better understanding of Christians' thoughts and acts, we should consider their spirituality. This is also true for Murray.

1.5 Methodology

Because research into church history is not merely an investigation into given sources, critical evaluation of the sources is necessary. This, however, can bring about differing evaluation of sources by different church historians, *inter alia*, unavoidably the historian's confessional predispositions may intervene in interpreting the materials (Bradley & Muller 1995:49). In this regard, the author makes sure that he will adopt a Reformed perspective for this study.²¹ The reason why this perspective has been chosen

²⁰ J.W. Claassen (1994:142) enumerates persons' who have had the same idea. They are as follows: D. Moodie, J.J.F. Durand, J. Kinghorn, A.J. Botha, D.J. Bosch and J.W. de Gruchy etc. However, Van der Merwe (1934:157) says that "the spiritual revival... was not entirely unrelated to the rising of Boer nationalism, but it was not identical with it."

²¹ There are various kinds of Reformed churches in the Reformed tradition in this world. So the author

is that it conforms to the author's own theological standpoint.

- **Theological-critical approach**

However, despite this unavoidable subjectivity, objectivity is attainable in historical research through sound methodology, even though the objectivity does not guarantee, so-called, complete neutrality (Brown 1969:5). "I believe," says Brown (:5) "objective and critical history writing as well as church history writing is necessary and possible," and he continues: "The historian must and can free himself from uncritical positions and prejudices, or avoidable subjectivity." For objective research into church history, Brown (:1) suggests a "theological-critical method." Because church history deals with the Church, it is theological in nature; and it also demands a critical approach to consider church history as a science in terms of academic scholarship *per se*. Brown (:4-5) relates this as follows:

"The church historian's concern with the past is a theological one... its [church history] theological nature results from a theological perspective as well as from the normative implications of its object, the Church... [C]hurch history must be "based upon organised data gathered by scientific method." Church history... will have to free itself from much uncritical and subjective theological or denominational preconceived ideas and biases, even if absolute objectivity is impossible... The historian, like the church historian, organises and interprets the data collected (or selected), to reconstruct the past, according to a chronologically reasoned order."

This statement confirms that a theological-critical approach is essential in any study of church history. "To be true to its context, the historical course; and to be true to its

uses the term 'a Reformed' rather than 'the Reformed.'

object, the Church,” says Brown (1969:2), “it [church history] must have a critical and theological method on its own score.” Thus, this study will mainly use this approach in order to answer, with academic integrity, the questions posed.

In using this approach, the sources that this study will analyse are archival documents, Murray’s books and related secondary sources. A substantial number of the primary sources in the Dutch Reformed Church Archives and libraries in South Africa²² as well as the secondary sources are written in English, so subsequently the researcher has easy access to them, even though he does not understand Dutch or Afrikaans. The study can thus be completed with integrity. Within this approach, the following theoretical approaches will also be adopted:

- **Multi-dimensional approach**

Events in church history do not happen in a vacuum, which means that we should understand and evaluate an event by considering the historical, political and sociological situation in which the event occurred. In other words, we should undertake to study via a multi-dimensional perspective (Kim, Y-j 2003:33-34). This study will also analyse Murray’s spirituality with respect to his historical context through the multi-dimensional approach. Because Murray was a pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church and worked basically within the denomination, this study will focus mainly on the context of the contemporary Dutch Reformed Church in analysing Murray’s biographical and contextual circumstances.

²² Here, referring to the libraries of the University of Stellenbosch and others, which are connected to the SABINET interlibrary on-line system (www.sabinet.co.za).

- **Comparative approach**

This study will utilise a comparative approach in order to prove that Murray's spirituality was influenced by his father (cf. Gleason 1995:1-2). The approach of 'seeking similarity' as well as 'seeking discrepancy' will simultaneously be used for a fairer interpretation. For a comparative approach, a set of criterion is necessary. The method was devised by the author through consultation of the characteristics of Evangelical spirituality identified by David Bebbington and those of Reformed spirituality identified by John Hesselink.

1.6 Structure of the study

The study comprises of 6 chapters. The first is an introduction and orientation. In this introductory chapter, we argue the reason for the study, its purpose and method. We also define a meaning of Christian spirituality through a biblical and historical survey, and pose a framework (Table 1 & 2) to be of help in analysing Murray's spirituality.

Chapter 2. The formative period of Murray's spirituality (1828-1845)

In this chapter, the first development and formation of Murray's spirituality are considered. He was in Graaff-Reinet, South Africa and in Aberdeen, Scotland during this period.

Chapter 3. Life in Utrecht, Holland (1845-1848): The receiving of a historical orientation

In this chapter, Murray's life as a student in Holland is observed. This includes his conversion experience and his activity in the societies of *Sechor Dabar* and *Eltheto*.

Chapter 4. The ministry in Bloemfontein (1849-1860): The receiving of a ministerial orientation

This chapter will analyse the influence of the ministry of Bloemfontein on Murray's spirituality.

Chapter 5. Experiences deepened and widened Murray's spirituality (1860-1917)

In this chapter, two clear-cut experiences (revival and personal healing), which impacted enormously on Murray's spirituality are analysed

Chapter 6. The consolidation of the spirituality of Andrew Murray (1860-1917)

This chapter will focus more on Murray's publications. In these books, his spirituality comes to full and mature expression.

Conclusion

1.7 Value of the study

The research addresses fundamental questions in the life and theology of Andrew Murray who is an internationally well-known spiritual giant, and is still popularly read outside South Africa. It assumes that the heart of Murray's theology is expressed in his spirituality. This constitutes a new approach in the critical study of this practical theologian who is beloved in Korea.

Chapter 2

The Formative Period of Murray's Spirituality (1828-1845)

- ◆ **2.1 The atmosphere in the Graaff-Reinet home
(1828-1838)**
- ◆ **2.2 Murray Sr.: the major influence on Murray's
spirituality**
- ◆ **2.3 Murray Sr.'s spirituality and its influence
(1838-1845)**
- ◆ **2.4 The influence of Aberdeen, Scotland
(1838-1845)**

Introduction

As is already mentioned in the preparatory introduction, this chapter deals with the formative period of Andrew Murray's spirituality. It covers his early childhood at Graaff-Reinet, a remote town on the border of the Cape Colony in South Africa. It also encompasses the years that he spend in Aberdeen, Scotland where he received part of his formal training.

It is generally accepted that the time of childhood and youth is the most 'receptive' period in human development (Piaget 1965). During this period, people are encountered to many learning experiences. These exercise, to a large degree, a formative influence on them. It can therefore be argued that learning experiences during Murray's youth played a significant role in the shaping of his spirituality. In this regard, his father Andrew Murray Senior (1794-1866) had a deep rooted impact on him. In Aberdeen his uncle John Murray, being of the same confessional and spiritual persuasion as Murray Sr., added to this.

The aim of this chapter is threefold. Firstly, it analyses Murray Sr.'s spirituality as it is expressed in a diary and in letters to his sons. Secondly, the influences of John Murray of Aberdeen as well as the ecclesiastical atmosphere to which Andrew was exposed in Scotland is observed. Lastly, Murray's spirituality as conveyed in letters to his parents is investigated.

2.1 The atmosphere in the Graaff-Reinet home (1828-1838)

Graaff-Reinet, located in the eastern region of the Cape Colony, was one of the largest towns in the Colony in the early part of the 19th century. The congregation in which Murray Sr. served had been founded in 1790 and the church building was not completed until 1822 (Neethling 1909:10). Three years later after the establishment of the church, Johannes Heinrich von Manger was appointed as the first minister, and then Schutte, Ballot and Kicherer followed him as ministers. Abraham Faure, the predecessor of Murray Sr., moved to the *Groote Kerk* in Cape Town. Murray Sr. was the sixth minister of the church (Neethling 1909:10; Du Plessis 1919:21- 23). Andrew Murray was born on the 9 May 1828 in the parsonage as the second son of Murray Sr. and Maria Stegmann (1809-1889).

The atmosphere of the Graaff-Reinet home where Murray had lived for the first ten years of his life was quite affectionate, friendly, solemn and religious. If its characteristics were to be expressed in a word, that would be ‘reverence’. One of Murray Sr.’s daughters, Maria Neethling²³ (:16) recalls it vividly:

“The chief characteristic of the household was reverence. We revered God and God’s day and God’s Word. The wife revered her husband; the children revered their parents; the servants revered their master and mistress. The children were trained in the ways of the Lord. *They were*

²³ Maria Murray was born on 19 June 1831 as the first daughter and fourth child of Murray Sr. In 1852, she married to Johannes Henoch Neethling (1826-1904) who served the Dutch Reformed Church at Prins Albert and Stellenbosch as a minister. She passed away on 5 December 1912 (*Murray-Stamregister* 1955:11, 32).

taught to render obedience in such a way that they never seemed to know it. Their father's word was law; from his decision there was no appeal; his wisdom was never questioned. It was almost curious to see the reverence with which the young men, after years of study in Europe, and themselves ministers, would bow to their father's decision in every matter where they had asked his advice" (emphasised by Lee).

This environment had to have an imposing influence on Murray's spirituality. Some evidence for this assertion can be traced in one of his earliest publications, *Wat zal toch dit Kindeke wezen?*, a book printed in 1863 and written in Dutch. In 1887, it was translated in English and titled *The Children for Christ* (Du Plessis 1919:205, 394-395). This book was compiled with regard to the experience of his ministry at the Bloemfontein pastorate (1849-1860), which means he did not have much knowledge or practical contact with and the skills of the relationship between parents and children. He knew parenthood at first hand during the last three years of the Bloemfontein ministry. The purpose of publishing the book, however, was that "[the] little book may help believing parents to meditate on God's revelation of His purpose with the family, and to see what abundant ground there is for their expecting Him to fulfil their desire to have their house holy to [the] Lord" (Murray n.d.(c):7). For a young man with little practical experience, to formulate such a purpose, and to write a book on it, is extraordinary. The only acceptable explanation that can be offered is that he drew on inspiration and knowledge obtained from his parents, especially from his father. This provided the platform for discussing parents' duties towards their children. In this regard, Murray (:110-111) reveals his thinking on obedience:

"And on the parent the sacred charge is laid of training the child to obey, teaching it to link all the memories of happiness and love in home-life with obedience, working the principle into the very life of mind and heart, not

so much by instruction or reasoning, as by training and securing the habit of obedience. The child is to be taught to honour the parent. The will of child, no less than his mind and affections, is given into the parent's hands to mould and guide. It is in yielding his will to the will of the parent that the child acquires that mastery over it and over himself which will afterwards be its strength and safety, and make it a fit instrument for doing God's will. Man was created free that he might obey; obedience is the path to liberty."

This statement reminds one of the atmosphere of the old Graaff-Reinet home of Murray, which Maria Neethling recollected. The following remark also testifies to this:

"Let us ask God to make us very watchful and very wise in availing ourselves of opportunities. There are times when conscience in a child is specially sensitive, and a word fitly spoken will sink deep into the heart. There are times when conscience has been slighted, and when a word or prayer will help to waken it up and restore its authority. A parent who is in sympathy with God's purpose as to destroying sin, and who holds himself at God's disposal, will be guided from on high as to when and how to speak, to rouse and strengthen in the child the consciousness of sin and its danger" (Murray n.d.(c):158-159).

This argument bears resemblance to, or rather, mirrors the way in which Murray Sr. attended to his children in raising them. Maria Neethling (1909:16-17) remembers:

"Our father's conversations with his children were very instructive. His sons remember rides with him upon which he told them many interesting things connected with natural history or geography. The occasions on which he spoke to his children about their souls were few but well chosen, and his words never failed to make an impression. It was generally on a Sabbath evening after family worship when the child came for a good-night kiss. "Well, dearie, have you given your heart to Christ yet?" or, "Will you not, before you go to bed to-night, give yourself to Jesus?" Or on a birthday he would say, "This is your birthday: are you born again?""

These passages quoted, indicate Murray's interrelation to and contingency upon the influence of his godly parents, especially that of his father. In every aspect, his father was his model; his father's legacy was a number of valuable Christian principles. Because he respected his father, he always asked his father's opinion when he had to take far-reaching decisions. His father's instructions and way of living served as a foundation for the structure of his spirituality even during the formative years of his youth. To understand the development of Andrew Murray's spirituality, and to theological-critical assess it, it is therefore necessary to consider the spirituality of Andrew Murray Sr. more carefully.

2.2 Murray Sr.: the major influence on Murray's spirituality

Murray Sr.'s influence undoubtedly impacted on the shaping of Andrew Murray's spirituality. As a matter of fact, it is not an over-estimation that the father was the major force in Murray's life.

2.2.1 Familial lineage of Murray Sr.

Murray Sr. was born on 26 May 1794. He was the youngest son of Andrew Murray of Mill of Clatt, Aberdeenshire, and Isobel Milne. This sincere and devote family belonged to the so-called Old Light Party within the Church of Scotland (Neethling 1909:7-8). At the end of the 19th century, there was a conflict in terms of the application of Westminster Confession of Faith in the Church. Whereas the New Light Party did not

tolerate the principles of the State over church, the Old Light Party wanted to maintain them following the teaching of the Westminster Confession Article XXIII. Finally they were separated (Cameron, et al 1993:625, 764-765). The Old Light Party sincerely kept the teaching of the Westminster Confession. The New Light Party was elastic, and tolerated theological diversity (Isbell 1993:625).

Murray Sr.'s grandfather, also Andrew Murray, was a godly person who undertook sheep farming at Lofthills in the district of Buchan. Because he was deaf, he unconsciously prayed aloud for his family and for his friends, while wandering in the hills. Almost all for whom he interceded, became earnest Christians (Archive P1A/8/1).²⁴

His father, Andrew Murray of Clatt, was also a very devout Christian, even though he was subjected to poverty. He died comparatively young. When Murray of Clatt was in his deathbed leaving his wife with two young sons and two daughters, he prayed to God for his children, one by one by name. That prayer made his eldest son, John decide to take up the ministry (Neethling 1909:7-8; Van der Watt 1979:8). John Murray of Aberdeen was a twelve year old boy when his father died. Even though he was young, he tried to do his best in order to become a minister, and he also helped his brother, Murray Sr., to follow in his steps (Archive P1A/8/1). Murray Sr. studied theology at King's College in Aberdeen.

Murray Sr. received much affection from his mother. He also loved his mother very

²⁴ The title of the archival document is 'From Generation to Generation'. The document briefly shows Murray Sr.'s life in Scotland, up to his arrival in the Cape Colony.

much and obeyed her. For this reason, although he wanted to be a missionary after completing his theological training, he did not put his intention in effect, because his beloved mother did not permit him to leave for Newfoundland as a missionary²⁵ (Neethling 1909:8).

2.2.2 A call to South Africa

One of the consequences of the official incorporation of the Cape into the British Empire in 1814, was that the historic Cape Dutch Reformed Church (i.e. DRC) now received, as the other churches in this small Christian and British commonwealth, support from the Colonial Government. At the time, the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa was in great need of ministers. It was, however, very difficult or rather impossible to recruit ministers inside South Africa or in Holland. There was no theological school at the Cape to provide for the ministerial needs. To find volunteers in Holland for ecclesiastical duties in the Cape Colony was just as difficult. The low spiritual state of affairs in the churches of Holland was also a contributing factor in this regard (Sass 1956:14; Murray Sr.'s letter on 1 Aug 1844; cf. Orr 1975:10).²⁶ Since there were in different ways congruity between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Scottish Presbyterianism, the Colonial Government turned its eyes to Scotland to recruit willing ministers for a clerical occupation in the Dutch Reformed Church (Sass :17; Hinchliff 1968:19-20).²⁷

²⁵ Missionary zeal of Scottish church was flourished during this period (Murray 1975:159). Iain Murray (1975:159) says in his book *The Puritan hope* that “[n]owhere does the outlook inherited from the Puritan era come to a more powerful or effective expression than in Scotland’s missionaries of the nineteenth century.” This sheds a light on that Murray Sr.’s spirituality was Puritanical.

²⁶ This letter sent to his sons is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 50-52. Meanwhile James E. Orr (1975:10) explains this from another perspective that because there was no revival in Holland in beginning of the nineteenth century, the DRC of South Africa was suffered from a dearth of clergy.

²⁷ On the supplement of Scottish ministers to the DRC, there is another interpretation. It is a more politically oriented approach to the matter that the supplement was a tool of the policy of Anglicisation

Murray Sr. received an invitation in this respect in 1821. The urgings of George Thom (1789-1842)²⁸ who was mandated for recruiting ministers was too serious a call for him to refuse. He boarded a ship, and headed for South Africa and never again returned to Scotland (Du Plessis 1919:16). Francis Clark (1913:85) underlines the significance of this event in *The Christian Endeavor World* as follows:²⁹

“It is not too much to say that, if Andrew Murray [Sr.] had not gone from Scotland to South Africa ninety years ago, South Africa would not be the progressive Christian country which it is to-day. God could doubtless have found some other agency than the Murray family to leaven this part of the Dark Continent; but as a matter of fact He did choose Andrew Murray [Sr.] and his descendants; and through their instrumentality South Africa has been saved not only from the heathenism of its original inhabitants, but from the equally grave dangers of the rationalism and indifferentism of European emigrants.”

After his ordination by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Murray Sr. spent a period of ten months in Holland in order to learn Dutch. He arrived at Cape Town on the 2nd July 1822, and a few days later, was appointed in the charge of Graaff-Reinet by the Government. Murray Sr. settled quickly in Graaff-Reinet where his ministry began. He served the congregation for the next forty-five years until his retirement.³⁰ The dedication to calling and the new country was deep and profound. No one of his children ever heard

(De Gruchy 1979:4).

²⁸ George Thom was born in Aberdeen on 18 June 1789. He ordained at the Church of Scotland in London Wall on 23 April 1812, and then arrived in Cape Town on 24 October 1812, with relation to London Missionary Society. He worked as a Chaplin in the army of Scottish Regiment, Sutherland Fencibles, and as an itinerant pastor in the Cape Colony. However, he left London Missionary Society, and joined the DRC as the minister of Caledon in 1818 following Rev. M.C. Vos who had retired. While on furlough in Scotland in 1821, he secured many able ministers and teachers who exerted a tremendous influence on the development of church and education in South Africa. He also served the DR church at Tulbagh from 1825-1833. He passed at Tulbagh on 10 May 1842 (Sass 1956:17-19).

²⁹ This newspaper containing the article can be found in the DRC Archives P1A/8/1.

³⁰ Murray Sr. retired on 9 April 1866, and died on 24 June 1866, shortly after his retirement.

him expressing the wish to return to Scotland. Maria Neethling (1909:12) recollects her youth and writes:

“He cast in his lot so whole-heartedly with his people that his children cannot remember ever hearing him express the wish to visit his native land. How happy he was among his people only his children, who grew up in the presence of that loving intercourse, can testify. Earnest, affectionate and sincere in all his relations, he never forfeited the respect and esteem accorded him by all.”

After being inducted at the church in Graaff-Reinet, he quickly gained the respect and love of all his parishioners. Characteristic of his ministry was his commitment to strengthen and develop the Dutch Reformed Church in terms of its organisation, evangelical identity and position in the Cape society.³¹ He went to sleep eternally in 1866. His endeavour for the church is well expressed in an article of a newspaper (*Graaff-Reinet Herald* 30 June 1866) published about a week after his death³².

“As the infirmity of increasing years came gradually upon him (Rev. A. Murray) he was often asked to consent to the appointment of an assistant to share the labours of his charge. But this he always resisted, feeling himself unwilling to withdraw from any of the duties which had been the joy and delight of his life, and which had been so abundantly blessed”
(Neethling :36).

The preceding biographical sketch only serves as an orientation towards understanding the broader background of Murray Sr.’s spiritual conviction. In terms of the argument of this chapter and in fact the study as a whole, the focus must now be turned to the

³¹ Murray Sr. worked for the plan for establishment of a theological seminary of the DRC, and also established several new congregations during his period in office as a minister (Neethling 1919:9, 35). Congregations of Aberdeen, Colesberg, Middelburg and Murraysburg were among them (Sass 1956:78).

³² Murray Sr. passed on 24 June 1866, his age was 72 (Neethling 1909:7).

spirituality of Murray Sr. It is a key assumption that his spirituality deeply influenced that of his son and indeed provided the fundamental framework upon which Murray Junior's spirituality rooted.

2.3 Murray Sr.'s spirituality and its influence

In paragraph 2.1, it was strongly suggested that Murray Sr. had exerted profound influence on his children as an exemplary father. He showed to his children what a believer's life must look like. It was not just a word or an instruction by preaching (cf. Murray n.d.(c):110-111). He practically followed the commands of the Bible (Neethling 1909:16). In Murray's letter forwarded to his mother after his father's death in 1866, evidence of this vivid influence is reflected:

“The news of our dear father's departure has just reached us.³³ You will not think it strange if I say that I could not weep. I felt that there was too much cause for thanksgiving. How indeed, can we thank God aright for such a father who was left us such a precious legacy in a holy life, so full of love to us, and labour in his Master's work. May his example be doubly influential now that we have him glorified with his Saviour. For he is still ours” (Du Plessis 1919:241-242).

It is clear: the perception of the father's spiritual legacy is summarised by Murray as embodied in a holiness of life, love towards his children and devotion onto the Kingdom of God. This represents a rough outline of Murray Sr.'s spirituality which, generally speaking, relates to the practical-theological persuasions of Scottish Presbyterianism (De Gruchy 1979:4).

³³ At that moment, Murray was in England in order to appeal to the Queen of England against the unfair decision of the Civil Court of the Colony against the ecclesiastical decision of the Synod of the DRC.

“Scottish Presbyterianism,” says Henderson (1952:103), “was initially very strictly related to Calvinistic doctrine, and this was confirmed by the Westminster documents.” Stewart Brown (1993:5) says that “[t]he Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland had its roots in the eighteenth-century Popular party, which had stood for Calvinist orthodoxy, a direct, emotional preaching, commitment to the parish ministry and concern for Christian discipline.” William Robertson, a son of William Robertson of Swellendam (1805-1879), estimates those who came from Scotland for the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church as “men in real earnest, guided by the highest principles, and preaching the old Gospel in all its simplicity (Sass 1956:250).”

This paragraph, however, aims to substantiate the case from primary sources rather than to argue it from the perspective of applicable and useful studies on 19th century Scottish evangelicalism. Murray Sr.’s diary was identified as the leading and crucial documentary material comprising the spontaneous embodiment of his spirituality. It is on hand as *Joernaal* P1/1 at the Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church in Stellenbosch, South Africa. The diary was also printed as a pamphlet. This can be consulted in the J.S. Gericke Library of University of Stellenbosch, entitled as: ‘Andrew Murray’s diary of [a] voyage to Cape Town 1822’. It includes the names of the first group of Scottish ministers and teachers who were secured by George Thom for occupations in the Cape Colony. The diary also incorporates the detailed voyage schedules and reflects on the difficulties suffered during the voyage. Its church historical significance appertains to the commencement of Scottish theological influence in the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa (cf. Sass 1956).

A second set of documentary material comprises of the collection of letters between Murray Sr. and his sons, catalogued as P1A/2/1a in the mentioned Archives. A close and theological-critical examination of both the diary and the letters revealed valuable substance for a portrayal of Murray Sr.'s spirituality. The examination resulted in the disclosure of the prominence of a conscious glorification the sovereignty of God, the redemptive work of Christ Jesus, the authority of the Bible as God's revelation, his esteem of the church as the body of Christ, his regard of the Christian vocation and ministry, his emphasis on conversion, prayers and a holy life. These different aspects or qualities of Murray Sr.'s spirituality, however, operated in an open, spontaneous and coherent way in his diary and letters. It is clearly significant articulations of a living faith, firmly implanted in biblical phraseology. The characteristics of Murray Sr.'s spirituality are treated further down systematically. It is done for the sake of a structured argument and not to neglect the coherence in which they are met in the primary sources.

2.3.1 The sovereignty of God

Murray Sr. consciously aligned himself with God's almighty sovereignty. In the diary kept during his voyage to Cape Town from Scotland, he would often praise God's grace, glory, providence, election and guidance. For example, being on board, one of the passengers, Mrs. Dawson, delivered a son. At the same time, a child of Mrs. Milne, also a passenger, died. Thus Murray Sr. commented:

“Astonishing dispensations, that the Great disposer of all events should be pleased to add one to, and take away another from their small number.

“God plants his flowers at any time

And plucks at any age”

(Murray 1822:2).

He employed the same line of argumentation when it became clear that their departure for Cape Town was detained long due to bad weather. Passengers on board were debilitated, disappointed and stressed. However, Murray Sr. thought that it was God’s will of providence in order to provide a favourable wind for a secure voyage, even though he was also subjected to exhaustion (Murray 1822:6). He also recognised God’s hand in nature.³⁴ After their ship passed the coast of Portugal, he saw an owl in the midst of the ocean at least 120 miles distant from the nearest land. He remarked:

“How such an animal should be supported at so great a distance from land appears rather inexplicable; however He who feedeth the birds of the air can anywhere open his hand and liberally supply the wants of every thing which lives” (Murray 1822:7).

Murray Sr.’s absolute belief in God’s sovereignty, supreme providence and disposition led him to emphasise such a God-centred life to his children. This fact is strongly accentuated in almost every letter forwarded to his children, especially to Andrew and his brother John. A striking example can be found in a letter. After Andrew and his brother John departed for Aberdeen, their father wrote the letter to them. Although Murray Sr. knew from experience that the sea journey of his sons was inevitably difficult and dangerous, he left all anxiety in God’s sovereignty through prayer. In a letter to his sons dated on 30 August 1838, this approach is illustrated:

“We [Murray’s parents] have been as it were following with our fervent prayers that the God of the ocean may have been your Protector and your Guide, and we cherish the strong confidence they shall have been heard

³⁴ This is a typical Calvin’s thought on God’s sovereignty (Kim, Y-h 1994:14), and also it is quite fit a teaching of Westminster Confession of Faith (V.1).

and answered. We trust also that you have not forgotten to cry to this God, 'Thou art my Father, the Guide of my youth'" (Archive P1A/2/1a:9-11).³⁵

Since Andrew and his brother John left for Aberdeen in July from Port Elizabeth and the duration of the voyage was about four months, this letter was written while they were still at sea. Considering this fact, Murray Sr. illustrated his belief in the sovereignty of God. To him, God was the Master of the ocean who controlled the wind and tide and God was the gracious One who led and guided believers.

In February 1839, the parents received a letter sent by their sons. Seven months had already passed since they left for Scotland. It was a long time to wait with patience. Their joy can easily be imagined when they received the first letter of their sons. They express their joy in a reply on 21 February 1839: "You cannot conceive how anxiously your Mamma and I were looking out for letters from you, when last week to our great joy we were put in possession of your letters of the 10 Nov 1838 from Aberdeen" (Archive P1A/2/1a:12-13). In the same letter Murray Sr. again refers his typical way to tell God's gracious guidance and sovereignty; referring to the Bible:

"You may depend upon it you are never forgotten by us, we think on you and mention you daily to our Heavenly Father. He is the Home of His children, wherever they are Ps.xxvii:10 and lxxi:3. He can protect and guide and comfort all who seek to put their trust in Him. I hope that while you try to prepare your lessons as well as you can, and keep as far up in your class as may be – you will always remember that even in these things it is the blessing of God that can secure success" (Archive P1A/2/1a:12-13).

In these remarks of Murray Sr. concerning the sovereignty of and glory to God, one is, to

³⁵ Many of letters that belong to P1A/2/1a, at present, have their own numbers which can be used as their pages. So this study will use those numbers as their pages.

some extent, reminded of the Westminster Confession of Faith. In chapter V.1 'Of providence,' for example, it is professed that "God the great Creator of all things doth uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all creatures, actions and things from the greatest even to the least, by his most wise and holy providence according to his infallible foreknowledge and the free and immutable counsel of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy" (Schaff 1919:612). It also teaches that all things was created in the beginning "for the manifestation of the glory" of God's eternal power, wisdom and goodness (Schaff :611; Westminster Confession III.1). God has "all life, glory, goodness, blessedness, in and of himself; and is alone in and unto himself all-sufficient, not standing in need of any creature which he hath made, nor deriving any glory from them, but only manifesting his own glory in, by, unto and upon them..." (Schaff :607; Westminster Confession II.2). It is premature to assume that Murray Sr. was deeply influenced by the Westminster Confession in the sense that this Confession confined his spirituality to itself. It must though be said that his explicit reverence to God was qualified by that of the Confession.

2.3.2 The redemptive work of Christ in man

As can be expected, Murray Sr. did not let a single opportunity go by to emphasise the redemptive work of Christ Jesus. He really desired his children to possess the true, existential and personal knowledge of Christ as Redeemer through His atoning death. His insistence on this particular, personal knowledge of Christ was presupposed not only the decisive divine judgement in this redemptive historical work of Christ, but also the human appropriation thereof. It, thus, boils down to experiential knowledge that

touched the human heart at its centre.

What Murray Sr. had on mind in this regard is illustrated in a letter to his sons on 13 October 1842. The letter contains an account of a serious epidemic in Graaff-Reinet. Murray Sr. and his wife suffered from a severe illness which accompanied with high fever and swelling in the throat and face and a state of stupor and delirium. Many people suffered during the epidemic and some of them ultimately died. However owing to the goodness of God, the parents recuperated shortly. Giving thanks to God for His grace, Murray Sr. then continues:

“Let me now write about things concerning yourselves, and first of all [:] Are you getting acquaintance with Christ?... [I]t is infinitely more important to know Christ. Do you feel any heart felt pleasure in reading about His life, sufferings, death and resurrection? Do you sometimes experience a going out of the cove of your hearts to [H]im? Nothing would delight your Parents’ hearts more than the well-grounded hope that you are become or are at least anxious to become lovers of Christ” (Archive P1A/2/1a:26-28).

In this statement, Murray Sr. clearly emphasises the Christ’s redemptive work, and challenges his sons existentially to receive it and verifiably to experience of it.³⁶ In another letter written on 4 May 1843, the same persuasion is found:

“Sometimes ago I wrote you jointly about the importance of seeking a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. I cannot but refer to this subject again and I beg you to consider of it and to communicate the views you may have formed of its importance. A right knowledge of Christ is of all things the most important. An interest in Him can make us happy in

³⁶ According to Bebbington (1989:14), the doctrine of atonement as a dire importance teaching in Christianity is “the distinguishing point between Deism and Christianity.”

health and sickness in life and in death in time and through eternity”
(Archive P1A/2/1a:32-34).

In the letter forwarded to his sons on 15 August 1845, a similar sentiment is expressed:

“It is of vast importance to be contemplating Christ as having not only finished the work of our redemption, but also as exalted to begin carry on and finish a work of grace in us through the operations of his Holy Spirit”
(Archive P1A/2/1a:59-61).

Murray Sr.’s concern for his sons to have an effectual and real knowledge of Christ as Redeemer reverberates the intention of chapter XIV of the Westminster Confession on ‘Of saving grace’ (Schaff 1919:630ff). The father is indeed caring whether the “principal acts of saving faith” which are the accepting, receiving and resting upon Christ alone “for justification, sanctification and eternal life” have already come about in the sons’ lives. This, in fact, must be linked to another fundamental urge in Murray Sr.’s ministry: the conversion of ‘souls.’ He disclosed a great desire to achieve the conversion of others. This immediate ministerial insistence is already reflected in his diary compiled during the voyage to Cape Town in 1822. On 21 May 1822, he wrote:

“Mr. M[urray] stopped up till about 3 o’clock. In the course of the night he had an opportunity to speak to most of the seamen one by one on spiritual and eternal subjects. He was happy to find that they generally paid more attention to these subjects than could well have been expected” (Murray 1822:17).

Because he cared so much for the souls of others, he observed his rejoicing when the seamen gave attention to his spiritual counselling. A characteristic of Murray Sr.’s spiritual counselling is his understanding of conversion as an experience or predominant

spiritual event. In this regard, he emphasised the necessity of conversion and advised his children to seek this spiritual experience.³⁷ In a letter written on 28 July 1842, Murray Sr. challenged his sons to struggle for their souls' affairs mentioning it as their parents' great joy:

“You cannot conceive how much it would rejoice your mother’s heart and mine to hear that you are both anxious to make some work for Eternity although young. You know not how soon you may be exceed away - Be entreated to seek Christ and His love above all other things” (Archive P1A/2/1a:23-25).

Murray Sr. held conversion theologically as essential and vital. In a letter dated 13 October 1842 to the sons in Scotland, he states:

“Christian parents’ heart feels too keenly about the eternal interests of children to remain silent. I hope each of you will write something about your soul’s concerns” (Archive P1A/2/1a:26-28).

It seems that Murray Sr.’s concern for his sons’ ‘souls’ culminated during the second half of 1842 when they were teenagers. In a letter written on 20 October 1843 to his sons he reflected:

“What John wrote me, at my repeated request, on that most important subject of personal religion, on the whole pleased me much as showing a state of mind, although not yet sufficiently engaged in the pursuit of salvation as the one thing needful, nevertheless, I trust candid, and at times inquiring. I am well aware, my dear boys, that neither you nor I can ever change the heart, but let me entreat you both, with all the intense affection of a Christian clergyman and a loving father, to pray daily that God may in

³⁷ Murray Sr. emphasised religious experience to his sons from time to time. This fact shows a glimpse that why Murray thought religious experience importantly in Christian life. This will be debated with respect to the influence of William Law in chapter 6.

mercy be pleased to do so by His Holy Spirit” (Archive P1A/2/1a:35-36).

The “change of heart” clearly means conversion in this statement. Murray Sr. admits that “neither you nor I can ever change the heart.” This is in accordance with the teaching of the Westminster Confession. “God converts” sinners and translate them into a state of grace the Confession professes (cf. Westminster Confession IX.4; Schaff 1919:623). In chapter X.1 (Of effectual calling) the Confession is even more explicate: “[a]ll those whom God hath predestined unto life, and those only, he is pleased, in his appointed and accepted time, effectually to call by his Word and Spirit, out of that state of sin and death;... to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ” (Schaff :624). Man is only enabled “to answer this call and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it” after being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit (Westminster Confession X.2; Schaff :625). In chapter XI.4 the Confession uses even more fundamental terms to emphasise biblical teaching: “God did from all eternity, decree to justify all the elect, and Christ did, in the fullness of time, die for their sins, and rising again for their justification: nevertheless they are not justified until the Holy Spirit doth, in due time, actually apply Christ unto them” (Schaff :627).

In his pastoral caring for their “souls,” Murray Sr. does not link up with these confessional grounds or even line of argumentation. As will be shown below, his approach is rather marked by a contemporary evangelical concern. In this approach, the concern was with the “assurance of grace and salvation” (cf. Westminster Confession XVIII; Schaff :637). In this regard the Westminster Confession speaks of an “infallible assurance” and the inward evidence of the graces unto which the promises of salvation we made (cf. Westminster Confession XVIII.2, XVIII.3; Schaff :638). Against this

background, Murray Sr. mentioned Maria's spiritual wrestling to her brothers in the letter of 1 August 1844. He characterised the outcome as "the best news about Maria, I have ever had to communicate to you." He continues:

"The last conversation I had with her, was at Somerset, when there in the beginning of year to subscribe for the Sustentation Fund in Scotland showed me that she was earnest about the salvation of her love letters from herself, and from Mrs. Pears³⁸ since received seem to confirm the opinion I then formed. Every Parent wishes to see his family getting on, as it is termed; but what unspeakable joy for the heart of a Christian Parent to have good grounds for believing that his children shall have an eternal inheritance in Heaven!" (Archive P1A/2/1a:50-52).

His emphasis on the importance of the conversion experience ends with a question to his sons "Oh! When may I, through the Free Grace of God, have this soul's joy with respect to you both?" For Murray Sr., this was a real concern. And it led his children to seek it with eagerness. Maria Neethling (1919:30-31) says in her book *Unto Children's Children* that "[i]n some cases only could they tell the day or hour of their new birth. God our covenant God, has in his great mercy granted that the same experience has in many cases been repeated in the families of the second generation."

In the quotations from Murray Sr.'s diary and letters regarding the redemptive work of Christ in man, a shift of emphasis can be detected. While the Westminster Confession in an emphatic way discloses the redemptive work of Christ objectively as the work of Christ through the Holy Spirit and the Word of God, Murray Sr. shows a tendency to a more subjective approach; an approach that underlines the subjective appropriation of

³⁸ She was minister's wife of Somerset-East.

the work of Christ by the individual person. This way of dealing with a vital pastoral and theological question allows one to see Murray Sr.'s indebtedness to early 19th century evangelicalism and portrays a spirituality that was practically executed with solicit instigation. It can be related to Murray Sr.'s own religious experiences. It is true that converted believers have a great desire to achieve the conversion of others (cf. Lee, H-k 1997:574-576).

2.3.3 Prayer and a devoted life of holiness

Murray Sr. was a man of prayer. This also constitutes a fundamental aspect of his spirituality. Murray Jr. was deeply touched by this. In a sermon that Murray preached at the family gathering ceremony on 24 February 1913³⁹ he stresses the point:

“A godly parentage is a priceless boon. Its blessing rests not only upon the children of the first generation, but has often been traced in many successive generations. But its blessings will depend upon the keeping up of the spirit of prayer, with that direct sense of belonging to God... It is well for a family that acknowledges what it owes to the prayers of ancestors” (Archive P1A/8/1).

Murray, here, pointed to “the keeping up of the spirit of prayer” which his ancestors had handed down. This shows Murray Sr.'s influence. When his sons started for Aberdeen, Murray Sr. wrote, in his first letter dated 30 August 1838, to them:

“Do pray daily to God that He may be pleased to guide you in the paths of righteousness for his own name's sake. If you only seek to give your hearts to Christ, your lives must be safe and your deaths happy” (Archive

³⁹ The Murrays met together regularly. They had already met on 10 November 1906 at Kalk Bay before this meeting. According to the pamphlet, 68 out of 310 were gathered at Kalk Bay meeting. This pamphlet is preserved at the DRC Archives P1A/8/1.

P1A/2/1a:9-11).

He even taught his children a way to pray by disclosing and discussing his own experiences when he was young. In a letter to his daughter, he says:

“I may tell you now that I write so familiarly, that when I was somewhat about your age, I found myself embarrassed with some little difficulties; and I knew prayer was the way to relief in great matters, but I thought it would be dishonouring to the great God to go and speak to Him about my little things. I spoke to my brother on the subject, who assured me I could not honour God more than by talking my little needs to Him, if in a humble frame of mind, and with a desire to obtain His direction and assistance” (Neethling 1909:27).

Murray Sr.’s emphasis on the prayer can be found in every letter he wrote. In close coherence with Murray Sr.’s devotion in terms of a life of prayer is his emphasis on a life of holiness, a life of avoiding what was considered to be sinful. He never grew weary of deliberately warning his children and his congregation in this respect. And, it made a deep impression. When Andrew and John left for Aberdeen, in the first of Murray Sr.’s letter on 30 August 1838, he advised his sons to keep themselves from various temptations which could deplete their spiritual nourishment:

“You will, thereby as you have frequently heard in my addresses to young people, be preserved from many temptations into which others fall and which must cause remorse of conscience in this world or the next” (Archive P1A/2/1a:9-11).

Murray Sr.’s concern of a holy life is also clearly represented in a letter written on 23 April 1845, which he had sent to Andrew and John shortly before their departure for Holland:

“You may soon hear sentiments broached among the students, and even by professors, on theological subjects which may startle you, but be cautious in receiving them, by whatever names or number of names they may be supported... One temptation you will be exposed to through companionship is the use of Hollands (alias! gin) and water, and smoking tobacco or cigars. Do resist both these abominable customs. If necessary at any time, entertain your friends with tea or coffee, which are both excellent in Holland, Do not be afraid to be singular in such things” (Archive P1A/2/1a:56-58).⁴⁰

In the letter forwarded to his sons on 15 August 1845, Murray Sr. in this regard warns them:

“Let no companions or anything else induce you to learn to drink strong drink or smoke tobacco. Do not think that these are trifling things in which we may conform to usage, and by Christian principle keep within bound or lay aside at pleasure. These things make man slaves; they have cast down strong men” (Archive P1A/2/1a:59-61).

Considering these letters, Murray Sr.’s spirituality of holy life is surely similar to that of Puritans (cf. Packer 1994:329-332). “Exalt the Saviour and promote our holiness” was his frequent advice to his sons (Murray Sr.’s letter on 15 Sept 1847). Murray Sr.’s emphasis on a holy life must be linked to an important aspect of his spirituality.⁴¹ In this respect, it must be noticed that the Westminster Confession deals with this aspect of Christian life in chapters XIII, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX and XXI (cf. Schaff 1919:629). Chapter XIII treats sanctification: “[t]hose who are effectually called and regenerated... are further sanctified, really and personally... by His Word and Spirit... in

⁴⁰ In this statement, we can also see Murray Sr.’s non-compromised spirituality except for his emphasis on holy life.

⁴¹ Murray also emphasised Christian holy life through his writings. His special emphasis on the subject led him to be criticised from time to time. This will be observed in chapter 6.

the practice of true holiness.” “This sanctification is throughout in the whole man, yet imperfect in this life; there abideth still some remnants of corruption in every part... yet through the continual supply of strength from the sanctifying Spirit of Christ, the regenerate part doth overcome; and so the saints grow in grace, perfecting holiness in fear of God” (Schaff 1919:629-630). It is quite clear that Murray Sr.’s concern for a devout and holy life shared the sentiments of the evangelical movement and its coherence to the Westminster Confession. Murray Sr. also gave prominence to the Bible as the Word of God. He kept the Bible in high respect. This also is an expression of his spirituality.

2.3.4 Bible as the Word of God

Every aspect of Murray Sr.’s spirituality thus far discussed, is in fact tied up with his view and understanding of the Bible. Obviously he took the Bible serious. It played a major role in his own life. Therefore, he duly taught the Bible truth to his children. So his children had no difficulty in accepting the Bible as the Word of God. Maria Neethling (1909:31-32) recalls her father’s teaching of the Bible:

“These and many other sweet Words out of God’s Word became engraved in the hearts of the children by their hearing their father repeat them with such feeling and emphasis. Indeed, he has left them to us as a most precious legacy. The Word of Christ did indeed “dwell in him richly” (Col.iii.16), and he taught and admonished us in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in his heart unto the Lord.”

The quotation also reflects a personal and devout relation between Murray Sr. and the Bible. The Word of Christ, his daughter remembered, dwelt in him. Is it too much said

that this indeed constituted his way of living? Fact of the matter is that Murray Sr. believed the Bible to be God's Word, and that this Word is the revelation of the living Christ. In everyday life, this revelation comprises the presence of Christ and his real accompaniment. All his references to the Bible advised biblical reflections, suggestions etcetera, in the letters to his sons, must be understood within this frame work. In this regard, he would always refer to biblical texts or quote them.

In a letter of 15 December 1840, he says: "Wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace. The promise is, those who seek the Lord early shall find Him" (Archive P1A/2/1a:20-22). In this statement, he trusted that the promise written in the Bible would surely come true, and advised his sons to seek the Lord. In a letter on 27 July 1850, he also wrote "I would recommend to your perusal the first half of the 16th Ch. of Acts" (Archive P1A/2/1a:156-157).

While he stressed the importance of the Bible in their daily lives, he also did not miss the importance of the Holy Spirit who led people to understand the Bible truth rightly (cf. Westminster Confession I.5-6). When Andrew and his brother John were to go to Holland for their further study, their father wrote to them on 23 April 1845, shortly before their departure:

"Try to act like the noble Bereans Acts 17 v 11. By studying your Bibles and your own hearts I doubt not, under the guidance of the blessed Spirit, you will be led into all truth... Whatever books may be recommended to you, be sure not to neglect the study of the Holy Scriptures. This must be a daily exercise, and must be attended to with humility and much prayer for the guidance of the Holy" (Archive P1A/2/1a:56-58).

Murray Sr. taught his sons not only to study the Bible patiently but also to interpret it soundly. When Murray studied in Holland, he took part in a society, *Sechor Dabar*⁴² with his brother John. At the beginning, the members of the society just read a sermon together in every Sabbath evening. However, when they felt the necessity to study the Bible itself, they decided to study it in their meeting on every Sabbath evening. Murray studied the Bible in preparation for every meeting, but he found himself depending fully on commentaries. So he asked his father how to use the commentaries and how to interpret the Bible verses, in a letter of 9 November 1846 (Archive P1A/2/1a:77). Murray Sr. answered his son in the letter of 20 February 1847:

“As to what Andrew mentions about the use of commentaries in explaining a portion of Scripture - I have only to observe that they have their use and their abuse. Few extremes are to be carefully avoided - On the one hand young men should not despise the pious and persevering labours of judicious commentators as if what strikes themselves only were given and would be owned by the Spirit. On the other a too servile following is to be guarded against as cramping the mind and making it distress itself in almost every idea that is not sanctioned by the favourite commentator. I fear I have fallen too much into the second error especially in lecturing. The best way would be to study a passage first without any help, and after an opinion is formed on it and that noted down then consult such helps as one may have access to” (Archive P1A/2/1a:78-80).

Without compromising his view of Scripture, Murray Sr. thus maintained a balanced position. This position requires a passing remark. Could it be that Murray Jr. received the tendency to a balanced position in his own theology from his father?⁴³

⁴² More information of this society will be given in chapter 3.

⁴³ Murray's attitude not to stand any extreme, sometimes, brought about various criticisms. For example, his view on the baptism of the Holy Spirit and Christian perfection is the representing case of his attitude

By now, it should be clear that Murray Sr.'s understanding of the Bible as the Word of God and the criterion of Christian life was assigned to his children. He conveyed the teaching of the Westminster Confession on Scripture unto them. The Confession explicitly professes the authority of Scripture which ought to be believed and obeyed. This authority does not depend upon the testimony of any man or church, but on God, the Author thereof (Westminster Confession I.4; Schaff 1919:602). This is the fundamental reason why the Bible played such a central role in Murray Sr.'s letters to his sons, in his life and spirituality. The Belgic Confession stated it as follows: "We believe that this Holy Scripture fully contains the will of God and that whatever man ought to believe for salvation is sufficiently taught there in." Bible-centeredness is to believe the Bible as the Word of God which ought to be the norm of Christian life (Westminster Confession I.2). The next aspect of Murray Sr.'s spirituality, derived from these primary sources, is his high regard for the church and the vocation to serve Christ. This is attended to in the next paragraph.

2.3.5 Concern for the church

In his letters to the two sons in Scotland, Murray Sr. frequently alludes to church affairs in South Africa which he discussed with them. His letter on 30 August 1838 gives us a glimpse of this:

"Mr. Frames, you may have seen at Port Elizabeth, has been nominated to the Governor by the School Commission for the situation Mr. Blair had... Mr. Faure and Mr. Robertson have both asked me for William, as they

seeking for balance. This fact will be observed later in chapter 6.

have Latin schools in Town and at Swellendam, but we do not like to part with him yet. Tell your Uncle that I have this day received his letter of the 22nd of May, and that I shall in common with many of my brethren ever feel grateful to him for his exertions in behalf of the interests of our Church in the case of Mr. Shand. We earnestly pray God may long spare him to come out for his cause” (Archive P1A/2/1a:9-11).

This statement reflects on the domestic educational situation and church affairs. In this short statement, three ministers’ names appear: Abraham Faure, minister of Cape Town, William Robertson (1805-1879), minister of Swellendam and Robert Shand (1804-1876), minister of Tulbagh. This shows Murray Sr.’s special concern on church affairs. Meanwhile the case of Shand was related to the problem of baptism. Shand refused to baptise the children whose parents, in his thinking, were inappropriate for it. This refusal evoked “much trouble in the church courts” (Du Plessis 1919:38). This event reported by his father, must have been good instruction to Murray. When he ministered Bloemfontein pastorate, he also thought that there were problems in the confirmation operated in the Dutch Reformed Church. However, he did not move himself, but asked his father’s opinion and dealt with it carefully. More detailed reference in this regard can be found in chapter 4.

According to the letter, Murray Sr. might frequently consult his brother (John Murray of Aberdeen) on church affairs for advice. It should also be observed although Murray Sr. did not include any details. He presupposed familiarity with church affairs and ecclesiastical concerns. His sons were well informed in this regard. They grew up with an awareness of ecclesiastical matters raised. The next letter forwarded to his sons on 21 February 1839, Murray Sr. also raised the Shand case in South Africa:

“Tell your Uncle (or show him this letter) that the majority of the clergy in South Africa some of the Africans as well as the Dutch feel themselves under the deepest obligations for his prompt exertions in the case of Mr. Shand of Tulbagh. If we had the half of his firmness, we might move the Divine blessing bid defiance to all the enemies of our church. That a letter from Mr. Shand since his return to Tulbagh, he informs me he meets with the same opposition from church wardens and some leading people, but many of the congregation are coming round to support him.- I shall write your Uncle some time soon” (Archive P1A/2/1a:12-13).

The correspondence also indicates that both sons were interested in church matters despite their young age. In a letter written by them on 15 September 1841, which is unfortunately not preserved, they might have asked their father some questions related to church affairs in South Africa. This can be derived from Murray Sr.’s letter (20 January 1842) to them:

“I was duly favoured with yours of the 15th September... I like your desire after information, but I must confess some of your queries could not be answered in a single letter; e.g. “Describe the Constitution of the D. R. Church in South Africa” is in a letter no easy task” (Archive P1/1/2a).

Reflected by Murray Sr.’s church-centeredness is his high view of Christian vocation and ministry. Murray Sr. was deeply conscious of this and never neglected to thank God for making him a minister of His Church (Neethling 1909:31). The particular evangelical embodiment and exemplification of his vocation⁴⁴ and ministry did not prevent him to relate this to the church as an institution. In his letters since 1840, Murray Sr. also started to stimulate his sons to ponder the idea of an ecclesiastical

⁴⁴ To evangelical ministers in the 19th century who were influenced by revivals, it was natural to put the soul-saving work at the higher stage (Meek 1993:716-717; Chadwick 1990:342; Stanley 1990:57). The concern on soul-saving spurred the missionary zeal. Murray Sr.’s emphasis on soul-saving work indicates his anti-Liberal tendency well. For more information, consult *Revivals in the Highlands and Islands in the nineteenth century* written by MacRae and *Scottish revivals* written by Couper.

vocation. In the letter on 5 March 1840 in which he positively reflected on their study results, and admired them for their accomplishment, he wrote:

“We were delighted to learn that John had gotten prizes, and that you, Andrew, stood so near to him. What gave me the greatest satisfaction was that you, John, seemed at least to take pleasure in communicating to us Andrew’s respectable appearance in his classes. I trust you will take continue to do your best, as these prizes are valuable as marking standing in the class... It affords me joy to hear of any number of souls brought to Christ anywhere, and it would increase the joy to think, my dear Boys, that you, though young, begin to take some interest in such things” (Archive P1A/2/1a:18-19).

He took this further in a letter dated on 20 January 1842:

“I am fully of Aunt’s opinion.⁴⁵ I should not like, after going from Graaff-Reinet to Aberdeen and to College, to learn a business or trade. It could have learned as well at the Cape of Good Hope. I should never wish you to think of the law, as our Bench and Bar and notaries of such principles and morals, that I should tremble for any contact with them. Should you feel inclined to turn your attention to theology or medicine or mercantile⁴⁶ pursuits, I have no doubt there will always be openings at the Cape, as well as at other places. If I were in your circumstances I should cast an eye towards the Indian Missions: there is something there worthy the ambitions of great minds” (Archive P1/1/2a).

By 1844, a year before the sons would graduate from College, the concern for a

⁴⁵ The sons’ letter on 15 September 1841 is unfortunately not preserved as mentioned above. So we cannot know what was written in the letter. All we can do is to reconstruct it through a few clues. Their Aunt, the wife of John Murray of Aberdeen, must have advised them to have Christian ministry as their life vocation. She must have known the will of Murray Sr. about his sons’ vocation. In addition, her husband, John Murray of Aberdeen, preferred Christian ministry to other vocations, so he himself became a minister and helped his brother Murray Sr. to be a minister. See the letter written by Murray Sr. on 11 April 1844; Archive P1A/2/1a:43-45.

⁴⁶ Marischal College that Murray studied was strong for mercantile subject. So merchants preferred the College (cf. Sefton 1993:544). More information about Marischal College will be in ‘2.4 The influence of Aberdeen, Scotland (1838-1845)’ in this chapter.

vocation received increasing attention from Murray Sr. His inclination towards the choice of Christian ministry becomes clear. His letter of 11 April 1844 indicated:

“[I]t will now be time for you to consider and decide on the avocations. You intend to follow in future life, if it shall please God to spare your lives. It would no doubt be agreeable for your Parents and your Uncle with whom you will not fail to consult to see one or other or both of you make choice of the work of the Lord in the ministry” (Archive P1A/2/1a:43-45).

The letter of 1 August 1844 reveals the same sympathies: “Young men ought to be decided on that subject before they have nearly finished their course at College.” Subsequently he went straight to the point that he had already made in the letter of 11 April 1844:

“I wrote to you on the 11th April on the subject expressing my desire, should the Lord incline your hearts that way, that you should devote yourselves to His service and glory first, and then devote yourselves to the service of the Sanctuary” (Archive P1A/2/1a:50-52).

This is followed by information concerning occupation possibilities for ministers in the Cape:

“I trust you will see not to disappoint our expectations, and enter on avocations you might have equally well acquired here, without ever having left our shores. It has been lately proposed by our Governor to employ four additional clergymen in connexion with our Church; but there are not so many at present unemployed in the Colony and very few at present in Holland studying for our Church” (Archive P1A/2/1a:50-52).

Andrew decided for the ministry before John did. This decision was communicated to the parental home on 7 September 1844. The response was written on 1 November 1844.

Murray Sr. congratulated his son's choice of the profession, and gave further information about his vision of the profession in the Dutch Reformed Church as follows:

“The service in the Church in South Africa does not promise you much wealth nor ease in this world, but a field of usefulness as extensive as you could desire amongst a kind and indulgent people. I may now mention for your encouragement that I have for upwards of twenty-two years enjoyed much happiness in the work, and, I, humbly trust through the blessing of God, have had some success in the same” (Archive P1/1/2a).⁴⁷

When Andrew and his brother John chose to pursue theology for their further studies to be ministers, their family was delighted. It was surely their father's preference that helped them to this choice (Murray Sr.'s letter on 23 Apr 1845).⁴⁸ It is significant that five sons of Murray Sr. did go this way. Four of the daughters were married to clergymen (*Murray-Stamregister* 1955).⁴⁹

2.3.6 Concern for religious awakening

For the purpose of this study (as will be seen) it is of importance to take note of Murray Sr.'s convictions that religious awakenings are of utmost importance to redress society and church in terms of biblical teaching. This correlated with his emphasis on “soul-saving” work. He devoted every Friday night to prayer for revival. He would adjourn to his study so as to pray and read of former revivals in Scotland and other countries. His

⁴⁷ This letter is not classified into Murray's archive. It is in the box of Murray Sr. P1/1/2a; box 1139 PV28.

⁴⁸ This letter sent to his sons is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 56-58.

⁴⁹ Murray Sr. bore 16 children, but four of them died young aged under 6. John, Andrew, William, Charles and George the twelfth belong to the five sons, and Maria, Jemima, Isabella the ninth and Elizabeth belong to the four daughters.

children vividly recalled their “standing outside his study door and listening to the loud crying to God and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.” He sometimes storied to his children about “[t]he outpouring of the Spirit on the Kirk of Scotts,” or “[r]evival in Kilsyth and Cambuslang” (Neethling 1909:33). His weekly prayer for revival and the stories about it were very impressive to his children.

When Murray Jr. was in Scotland, he heard the news of a revival sweeping the land. Because he was already familiar with the subject of religious revival through his father, he notified his father of the events happening in Scotland. His father’s answer on 5 March 1840 would have much impact on the responsive Murray that “[n]othing could afford me greater delight than to hear of those revivals of religion” (Archive P1A/2/1a:18-19).

2.3.7 Summary

In summary, Murray Sr.’s spirituality was an Evangelical-Reformed spirituality characterised by God-centeredness, Bible-centeredness, Church-centeredness, and the emphasis on a Holy life, revival and Prayer life. His spirituality was also that of a devout person, in which confession and practice met.

2.4 The influence of Aberdeen, Scotland (1838-1845)

Murray spent his first ten years at the Graaff-Reinet home under the direct and powerful influence of his father whose uncompromising, Puritanical and strict but sincere spirituality. However, in the year 1838 at the age of ten, he had to leave Graaff-Reinet

and the Cape Colony to be educated in Scotland in order to develop his life. This was one of the turning points in his life. He was subjected to another social and spiritual context and as a young student exposed to many new influences. In the preceding part of this chapter, the prominence of the influence of his father was argued. The attention now shifts to the Scotland context, which also had a profound effect on the development of Andrew Murray's spirituality.

In 1840's, the educational system in the Cape was deplorable. While special impetus was evoked in 1820's by the able teachers who had been secured by George Thom, the impetus gradually decreased in the second half of the next decade.⁵⁰ There were several reasons: the most significant was, however, the problem of welfare for teachers, *viz.* low salaries. Teachers' salaries were comparatively lower than those of other vocations in this period, so it was impossible to find competent teachers. Owing to the low salary, most teachers were discharged soldiers, so the teachers' quality was questioned (Du Plessis 1919:34-35). The result was a lack of educational institutions. With regards to the white population in 1838, there were about 100,000 in the Cape Colony in total. However, more or less 23 schools were subsidised by the government, and there was correspondingly a lack of educational institutions for the public (Du Plessis :34). According to Sass (1956:147-148), in 1844, there were twenty-five established schools with 1,851 out of 4,000 pupils who had belonged to schools including twenty-five aided mission schools, but they were gradually reduced. So there were only nineteen established schools left in 1858. However, pupils attending to schools reached about

⁵⁰ George Thom secured six Scottish teachers for the Cape Colony: James Rose Innes, M.A; William Robertson, Archibald Brown, William Dawson, James Rattray, and Robert Blair (Sass 1956:16). For more related information, consult Abraham Dreyer's book *Boustowwe vir die Geskiedenis van die Ned. Geref. Kerke in Suid Afrika 1804-1836*. vol. III.

20,000. Many pupils were educated in 25 farm schools and 150 mission schools, or other ways.⁵¹

Due to this questionable educational situation in South Africa, the Murray brothers were sent to Scotland to study. This occurred in July 1838, when they were aged ten and twelve respectively. This as well as promising academic motivation encouraged Murray Sr. to make the hard decision to let his sons go abroad to study. They would be accommodated John Murray, his brother in Aberdeen.

The brothers arrived in Aberdeen in the autumn of 1838 after a miserable four months voyage. Their study began the very next day, and they worked hard over the next seven years. Andrew's inborn ability and the foundation of his home education helped him to achieve consistent honours in his school. He attended a Grammar school and then Marischal College where he received his Master of Art degree in 1845. Marischal College was founded in 1593 by George Keith, fifth Earl Marischal. It was founded on the base of "an extreme Presbyterian foundation." There was a divinity course in the college but it could not provide "complete theological curriculum." The College was popular to merchants. Later, the College became the University of Aberdeen by uniting with King's college (Sefton 1993:544-545).

2.4.1 Uncle, John Murray of Aberdeen (1784-1861)

Andrew Murray lived almost 7 years at his uncle John Murray of Aberdeen's home. It

⁵¹ For more related information, see *The history of the South African College* written by Ritchie.

was not a short period, considering that he stayed at the Graaff-Reinet home only about 10 years after his birth. To some extent, it can possibly be argued that the influence of John Murray of Aberdeen may have been more substantial than that of Murray Sr., especially when Andrew's age is taken into account.⁵² In this regard, it is rather a matter of strengthening the father's influence, since John of Aberdeen and Murray Sr. shared in many respects similar views.

Uncle John Murray, a minister of Scottish Presbyterian Church in Aberdeen⁵³, was born in 1784 in the parish of Clatt in Aberdeenshire. As the first born son, he experienced hardship after his father died relatively early. With the help of his uncle and due to his own great effort, he was able to enter Marischal College in 1806. Because he showed potential in mathematics, he got an offer for a Colonial Professorship of Mathematics. He, however, declined the offer and took the Divinity Course at the University of Edinburgh. After completion of his theological studies, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Peebles on 7 August 1811 (Thomson 1908:7-9).

In 1815, he was called to the Trinity Chapel of Ease where he ordained. After his induction to Trinity Chapel, the numbers of the congregation increased remarkably. It soon exceeds 1,400 (Thomson :9-11). On 24 August 1824, John was appointed as successor of the late Rev. Robert Doig of the East Church. It was a collegiate charge, and he ministered with Dr. James Foote. They worked together most harmoniously. When the East Church was divided by the magisterial policy, John Murray took the charge of

⁵² The period that Murray stayed his uncle's was the most susceptible period in the course of emotional development (Piaget 1965).

⁵³ After the Scottish Church Disruption in 1843, he became a minister of the Free Church (Thomson 1908:7).

establishing the North Parish. He worked there the rest of his life (Thomson 1908:11-12).⁵⁴ The question of course is whether John Murray played a significant role in the formation and development of Andrew Murray's spirituality. It seems appropriate to accept that this was the case.

Murray Sr. often advised his sons to listen to their uncle and obey him. In his first letter, the father informed to them that their uncle would continually check their spiritual state (Murray Sr.'s letter on 30 Aug 1838). This was accompanied with a telling characterisation:

“You must try to be always open and candid with him. You may think him sometimes rather too strict, but believe me he will always have your real good at heart. Do not then do or even plan anything you would not like him to know of” (Archive P1A/2/1a:9-11).

In this statement, Murray Sr. asked his sons to try to get to know their uncle better and to obey him in whatever he proposed or asked. In another letter on 21 February 1839, he advised his sons that if they had any difficulty and question about prayer, they should ask their uncle. Because his brother was a person who was under the blessing of God, he could give them all directions required:

“I recollect well when I was somewhat older than you are, and found Latin difficult. I sometimes wished to pray to God to help me on with it; but through my ignorance, I was at that time afraid I might dishonour Him by troubling Him about such a trifling matter as Latin lessons... Should you wish to know about anything of this kind, you have only to ask your Uncle who, under the blessing of God, can and will give you all needful

⁵⁴ Scottish Church Disruption happened in 1843. Before this time, the church was called the old North Church, but after the Disruption it was called the North Free Church (Thomson 1908:12).

directions” (Archive P1A/2/1a:12-13).⁵⁵

In the decision concerning their vocation, Murray Sr. also demanded his sons to consult their uncle. In his letter on 11 April 1844, he wrote: “It would no doubt be agreeable for your Parents and your Uncle with whom you will not fail to consult to see one or other or both of you make choice of the work of the Lord in the ministry” (Archive P1A/2/1a:43-45).

In the letter on 1 November 1844, explaining the situation of the ministry in the church in South Africa, Murray Sr. also recommended his sons to consult their Uncle. Murray Sr. believed that his brother is best suited to help them:

“Dear boys you will thus see that I have not written to you as I usually do, seeing your letters required to be noticed separately. I should perhaps have given you many more directions and counsels, at this important period than I have done, were it not that I can rest assured that your Uncle can and will make up for what may be lacking on my part” (Archive P1/1/2a).

These references above indicate that Murray Sr. encouraged his sons to share their lives, their problems, etc., with their uncle. His counselling and instruction were highly regarded by their father. One must therefore assume that Uncle John Murray’s spiritual

⁵⁵ This statement can be easily understood if it is connected with the same story expressed in another letter which has already been referred to in the section of 2.3.3. In the letter, Murray Sr. advised his daughter to pray to God even if it seemed to her a trifle thing. He told her his past experience: “[Murray Sr.] may tell you [Maria Neethling] now that I write so familiarly, that when I was somewhat about your age, I found myself embarrassed with some little difficulties; And I knew prayer was the way to relief in great matter, but I thought it would be dishonouring to the great God to go and speak to Him about my little things. I spoke to my brother [John Murray of Aberdeen] on the subject, who assured me I could not honour God more than by taking all my little needs to Him, if in a humble frame of mind, and with a desire to obtain His direction and assistance (Neethling 1909:27).” As we can find in this statement of Murray Sr.’s past experience, he learned much from John Murray of Aberdeen, as far as the prayer was concerned. So he said to his sons with confidence that if they had any question about the prayer, they could ask it to their uncle. Murray Sr. must have recalled his past experience when he talked to his sons about prayer.

influence on Andrew Murray Jr. effectively strengthened that of his father. Both of them exercised a significant influence on the young Graaff-Reinet boy who was now at school in Aberdeen.

In the following paragraphs, the focus shifts to the young Andrew Murray himself, and to the spiritual and ecclesiastical circumstances - and events - that also played a role in shaping the spirituality of the receptive and juvenile heart and mind.

2.4.2 Ecclesiastical events in Scotland

It is rather risky to give an analysis of Murray's spirituality during this period of his life, because he was still very young. This period was also Murray's formative period, which means that he was just receiving everything. Of course, there cannot be any doubt of the fact that the instructions of his father might be the criterion for receiving; those instructions acted as a screening device for Murray's perception on every religious matter. Du Plessis (1919:41) says that Murray was "so susceptible to religious appeal." However, it is difficult to say that he showed any specific spiritual orientation in this period. The primary sources, on which such an analysis should rest, are also limited. Only three letters to his father of this period survived.⁵⁶ From these letters, it is difficult to identify any distinct religious sentiments or orientation except for concerns of ecclesiastical matters.⁵⁷ The consequential question to be asked is whether certain ecclesiastical events exerted influence on him while staying in Scotland with his uncle? In this regard, the contemporary revival as well as the well-known "Church Disruption"

⁵⁶ These are the letters on a day of March or April 1843, on 11th of April 1844 and on 4th of July 1844.

⁵⁷ During this period, his age was between 10 and 17; those preserved letters were written when his age was at 15 (a letter) and 16 (two letters).

of 1843 cannot be overlooked. Andrew Murray Jr. experienced both, and it is a fact that his uncle was deeply involved in both and that the leaders in this regard were often received in the parsonage. Murray Jr. most certainly met with them personally.

2.4.2.1 The Church Disruption in Scotland (1843)

The Church Disruption of Scotland in 1843 is one of the memorable events in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland (Brown & Fry 1993:viii). In defence of the spiritual independence of the Church,⁵⁸ over four hundred and fifty ministers⁵⁹ and many elders following David Welsh (1793-1845)⁶⁰ the Moderator, Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847)⁶¹, Robert Candlish (1806-1873)⁶² and William Cunningham (1805-1861)⁶³ marched that year out of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and constituted new General Assembly of the Free Protestant Church of Scotland (Hamilton 1993:246-247; Brown & Fry 1993:vii-viii; Kerr 1905).

In order to apprehend the main reason behind the Scottish Church Disruption in 1843, it

⁵⁸ See Brown 1893:26.

⁵⁹ According to Murray, the number of minister who followed was 470 (Murray's letter on 4 July 1844).

⁶⁰ David Welsh was born on 11 December 1793. He was professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, and was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland when the Disruption of 1843 happened. He headed the secession, and then chaired the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. He passed on 24 April 1845 (*Web Encyclopaedia*: [www.wikipedia.org/David Welsh](http://www.wikipedia.org/David_Welsh)).

⁶¹ Thomas Chalmers, a Scottish theologian, minister and philanthropist, was born at Anstruther in Fifeshire on 17 March 1780. He studied at St. Andrews University. In 1815, he became minister of the Trone Church Glasgow and worked successive eight years there. In 1824, he accepted the chair of moral philosophy at St. Andrews. In 1828, he went to the University of Edinburgh as the chair of the faculty of theology. After Disruption, he became principal and a professor of theology at the New College. He passed at Edinburgh on 31 March 1847 (Cates 1881:219-220).

⁶² Robert S. Candlish (1806-1873), preacher and leader of the Free Church. He was born in Edinburgh and studied at Glasgow University. In 1834, he became minister of St. George's in Edinburgh. In 1839, he rejected the state control on church in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In 1843, he joined the Free Church, and appointed Principal of New College in 1862 (Wolffe 1993:134).

⁶³ William Cunningham (1805-1861), a leading Calvinistic theologian, worked as a professor at the New College after the Disruption (Hart, et al 2000:105).

is necessary to understand the *Erastian* character of the prevailing Church Order. *Erastianism* is named after Erastus (1524-1583), and was operated as one of the theories regarding the governance of the Church. *Erastians* consider the Church as a society whose existence and order depends on the state legislature (Berkhof 1949:579). The ministers of the Church and other Church officials have no power or right to rule her members except for teaching and preaching the Word. The Church only has spiritual authority: jurisdiction belongs to the State. Church governance, discipline and her personnel management including all other administrative matters belong to the State, not to the Church herself.

Following the teaching of Westminster Confession of Faith XXIII, the State establishment was one of the cardinal principles in the Church of Scotland (Henderson 1952:105). However, from the latter half of 18th century, a new force gathered strength, and it was very clear that there would have to be conflict shortly in future (Brown 1993:6). In the Assembly of 1832, when Chalmers was the Moderator, the question of a popular veto against the nomination of a patron was raised. It was petitioned that this patronage should be abolished from the Legislature (Brown :6-7). This persuasion went further. It was argued that the Church herself should legislate the matter. Consequently a Veto Act was formulated and passed in 1834: a majority of the male heads of households, being communicants, were empowered to veto a presentation (Ross 1988:4-5; Brown :7).

In addition, the Chapel Act that ministers belonged to the Chapels had the equal right in the General Assembly was also passed in the same year (Brown :7).⁶⁴ Because all of

⁶⁴ Heretofore, ministers who belonged to the new Chapels of Ease and supported by voluntary effort,

those that supported these motions aligned with the anti-Moderate party, the decision, politically, meant increasing the anti-Moderate element in future Assemblies. Given these circumstances, the “Ten Years Conflict” (1834-1843)⁶⁵ was staged in the assemblies. The main issue, at this time, was not the problem of the legality of patronage but the right of the Church whether she controlled herself or not. A series of lawsuits, the Auchterarder case, the Marnoch and Strathbogie case etc., showed that the Scottish tribunals were adverse to the Church’s claim, and the House of Lords affirmed their judgment (Brown 1893:21-25).⁶⁶

In 1842, at the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, a resolution condemning patronage was submitted by William Cunningham and the Assembly adopted it. It meant that the Church would proclaim the sole Headship of Christ, and that the Church government was placed in the hands of office bearers distinct from the civil magistrates. However, the Cabinet received these declarations with apathy and refused to act (Brown :49-80; Ross 1988:5; Hamilton 1993:247).

In March 1843, Fox Maule tried to appoint a committee to inquire into the whole

although they were much popular, were not admitted as parish ministers, thus they could not sit in the Church court.

⁶⁵ This conflict started in 1834, and finished eventually with the Scottish Church Disruption in 1843, when Murray was in Aberdeen.

⁶⁶ Let see the Auchterarder case alone within these cases. In 1834, the parish of Auchterarder had become vacant and the Lord Kinnoul had presented a Robert Young a licentiate of the church. By appointment of the Presbytery, he preached for two Sundays running. The Congregation was required to meet to consider a call. Only two members out of 289 of the heads of families signed it. The Presbytery could not proceed with the call. Young’s legal adviser had appealed to Synod on the grounds of irregularities in making up the role of members. The Synod dismissed the appeal and so did the General Assembly, the final court of appeal in the church. Presbytery met again to consider the call and there was a huge veto against Young. The Presbytery did not proceed. Young had now another adviser, Hope, the Dean of the Faculty. Hope took the case to the Law Courts. In 1838, the Court gave a decision in favour of Young by eight judges to five. The majority of the justices had bowed to Hope’s argument that the Church of Scotland was formed, instituted and established, by the State.

question. It failed. This made the Disruption certain (Brown 1993:20). On 18 May 1843, the Assembly met in St. Andrew's Church in Edinburgh. After reading a solemn protest, David Welsh, the Moderator, walked to the door, followed by Chalmers, Candlish and Cunningham. Through an alley of a vast multitude they marched down to Tanfield Hall where Chalmers was elected Moderator by acclamation. After the singing of Psalm, the first Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland was constituted (Brown :21). This separation has an ecclesiological significance in the sense that it reaffirmed that Jesus Christ is the sole Head of the Church following the teaching of Westminster Confession XXV.6 (cf. Song, T-h 2003:51).

From the start, the new Assembly undertook many duties. In its first year, it built five hundred churches, and it founded and carried on schools and religious ordinances for the land. It established its own colleges, and more than anything else, it supported its own ministry (Brown 1893:97-99).

John Murray of Aberdeen was one of the leaders of the evangelical party (Du Plessis 1919:44). He was a decided man. In the Disruption, he signed related principles and played a core role in the Free Church⁶⁷ movement without a moment of hesitation, even though he knew what kind of sacrifices those principles demanded (Thomson 1908:15-16; Du Plessis :44; cf. Brown 1993:1). It can be assumed that Andrew gained first hand knowledge of the Disruption, and its ecclesiastical and theological effects. His uncle's

⁶⁷ Kenneth Ross (1988:9) says that Free Church was strictly adhere to the "Westminster Calvinism," and continues "The church formed in 1843 claimed to be Free but her character was formed equally by the fact that she was Evangelical, Calvinistic, Puritan." In regard to Westminster Confession of Faith, Ian Hamilton (1990:iii) says that "apart from the Bible, the Westminster Confession of Faith has had the greatest influence in moulding the life and doctrine of Scottish Presbyterianism... [It] exercised an historic role as the watchdog of theological orthodoxy within the Scottish Presbyterian churches."

thinking and action would have had an impact on Murray's thinking.⁶⁸

In the mentioned three letters that are preserved, Murray's special concern for church affairs, more or less is expressed on every page. In the letter written in 1843⁶⁹, he mentions the sending of a box containing "the Scottish Tract Society Magazine," copies of "the pastoral address by the General Assembly for a national fast," and a copy of "the Memorial of the Convocation to Government and their address to the people of Scotland," and that "a number of *Witness*" containing Sir James Graham's article on the Memorial of the General Assembly would also arrive at Graaff-Reinet shortly after the box (Archive P1A/2/1a:29-31).

He also writes about projects and efforts of the Free Church at its above Assembly. In the letter of 11 April 1844, he informs his parents in this regard:

"The Rev. Mr. MacDonald of Blairgourie has been here lately collecting for a scheme for building 500 schools, giving £ 100 to each, which however will not in all places wholly build the school. At a public meeting he held here £ 1,942 was subscribed, and at a second public meeting the amount announced as having been collected in three days was £ 3,533, to be paid in five years by instalments. He requires £ 50,000, and wants yet about £ 10,000, which will soon be raised however, as he is a very good beggar" (Archive P1A/2/1a:39-42).

It is clear that Andrew was in the grip of events. He continues:

"After the Synod was over last night, there was a meeting to hear from those ministers who had been sent in Deputations to England, an account

⁶⁸ We must not forget that Murray Sr. frequently advised his sons to obey their uncle.

⁶⁹ The exact date of this letter is impossible to know. It was written in March or April 1843 (cf. Du Plessis 1919:47).

of their proceedings. The amount received from England will be about £ 50,000 a considerable help. Some ministers have been sent to America, and a good deal will be gotten, about £ 10,000. Puseyism is making great progress in England, and there is a considerable chance of there being another Disruption there, but only about 2,000 ministers, I believe, will come out - a small proportion to the 500 of Scotland.”

In his preserved last letter of this period written on 4 July 1844, he continues the story of church affairs:

“The Free Church is prospering well beyond all expectation. Four hundred and seventy ministers came out at the time of the Disruption, and 113 have been ordained since, and there are more than one hundred additional charges to be supplied. The attendance at the Free Churches in Aberdeen, according to a report made by a magistrate, as about 5 times greater than that at the Established Churches, and two of the Est[ablished] Churches in which ministers are about to be settled average an attendance of only 13! There is still considerable distress produced by the refusal of sites in some districts. The Duke of Sutherland, however, has given sites. We sent you the *Witness* containing the account of the two Assemblies” (Archive P1A/2/1a:46-49).

John de Gruchy (1979:4-5) observes that “[t]he Murrays [Murray and John] had personal experience of the church-state controversies which had split the Church of Scotland in 1843.” Thus, he concludes, Murray was equipped ideally against the *Erastianism* which arose in the Cape afterward. There may be little objection to his assumption, because Murray had experienced the Scottish Church Disruption, and he himself was a strong warrior fighting against the *Erastianism* in the Cape afterward (Sass 1956:22).

It must however be taken into consideration that in the preserved three letters, he did not reveal any special sentiment about the pervasiveness of *Erastianism* as the cardinal

matter of the Scottish Church in those days. He enumerated several church affairs without any comment of his own evaluation in the three letters. This means that his “personal experience of the church-state controversies” itself had little influence on his being equipped as an antagonist of *Erastianism*. At this stage of his life, Murray was still too young; and on the other hand, there was an influence on him distinct from his “personal experience of the church-state controversies” itself. That influence was that of Uncle John Murray as well as his father. He was influenced not by the Disruption as an event, but by his father’s as well as his uncle’s thinking and assessment of the event.

His father had a notable concern of church affairs when Murray still lived in Graaff-Reinet.⁷⁰ Maria Neethling’s recollection sheds light on this: “Not that preaching was ever a burden to him; it was his highest joy that he had been permitted to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ” (Neethling 1909:31). He never thought of his church ministry as a heavy burden. This sort of attitude toward church ministry made Murray Sr. be venerated by his congregation:

“The place which Rev. A. Murray occupied in the affection of his friends and congregation can never be filled by any other. The veneration and love towards him which was so universally felt, were the slow growth of years, the effect of his consistent and holy example, the grateful acknowledgement of priceless services of unselfish devotion to those among whom he was called to minister” (Neethling :37).

This attitude toward church ministry must have impacted on Murray when he stayed in the Graaff-Reinet home. The father also gave detailed information on enquiry of his son in regard to church affairs. In a letter dated 20 January 1842, he wrote: “[t]his Church is

⁷⁰ Some evidence is referred to “[Murray Sr.’s] Concern for the church” in this chapter.

Presbyterian, has its sessions, presbyteries and synod. New laws are about to be submitted to the first meeting of Synod in November next, in which it is proposed to have a General Assembly as a highest court of appeal in spiritual things” (Murray Sr.’s letter on 20 Jan 1842). And he also showed his own concern about church affairs:

“I have felt deeply interested in the affair of the Church of Scotland, and bless God that so many have been enabled to hear such an equivocal testimony to the Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ. I pray and trust the Lord will preserve and bless them a thousand fold in this world, in showering down His Spirit on them and their people, and granting them through grace life everlasting in the world to come” (Murray Sr.’s letter on 20 Oct 1843).

Statements like these would encourage his sons to ally themselves with the cause of the Free Church of Scotland. This was where their father had also gone. This was also the context in which Murray Sr. reflected on the relation of the Cape Church and Colonial government in South Africa. In his letter forwarded to his sons on 20 January 1842, he explains the situation of the Cape church as follows:

“[A] congregation in South Africa would never dream of seriously opposing the man the Governor nominated: such would be thought open rebellion in this Colony. I may, however, mention that the majority of ministers and elders in last Synod carried a proposal of giving congregations a right to call their own clergymen, subject to the approval of the Governor; and every Governor has consulted more or less the feelings of the people” (Archive P1A/2/1a).

Then, he reveals his anti-*Erastian* attitude. In his letter sent to his sons on 20 October 1843, he complained: “Some of us here have to struggle against Erastianism and have not yet a people to support us who can see the evil thereof” (Archive P1A/2/1a:35-36).

In Maria Neethling's recollection, Murray Sr.'s anti-*Erastian* attitude is also remembered:

“He had warm sympathy with every good work by whoever begun or in whatever part of the world. He watched with great interest the progress of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, his brother being one of the ministers who came out. How his enthusiasm was roused by looking at a facsimile of the handwriting of the signatures to the “Act of Separation and Deed of Demission” (Neethling 1919:34).

In summary, Murray's view of the church, and his reflection on ecclesiastical-theological matters were mainly influenced by his father, not by ecclesiastical events themselves as they occurred in Scotland. This was strengthened by his uncle. This impacted on the young and receptive mind of Andrew. Was the foundation thus laid upon which he grounded his later view of the church and the church's position in the world? In later chapters, we return to this question. We have first to attend to a second important event that had a significant influence on Andrew Murray during his Aberdeen schooling and College years. The religious revival during those years did not pass unnoticed.

2.4.2.2 The experience of religious revivals

“Your long expected and very agreeable letter of the 7th November gave us all very great pleasure indeed” is the opening sentence of a letter written on 5 March 1840, to the sons in Scotland. According to the letter, the reason Murray Sr. overjoyed was two pieces of received as news: the first was for his sons' success in their class and the other, more joyous reason, was for Murray's allusion to the religious revival in the West region of Scotland (Archive P1A/2/1a:18-19).

The Scottish revival was led by several famous divines: Robert M. McCheyne⁷¹, Thomas Chalmers etc. (Brown 1893:7). It was however William C. Burns (1815-1868)⁷², unknown to others theretofore, who, in practice, rose to be the most powerful instrument for revival. Burns was famous for incessant and passionate prayer, fasting, and his ability to make people who heard his sermons feel a sense of God's presence. He also had an ardent sympathy for other souls, and this led him to the missionary field in China. Burns visited Uncle John's house regularly and took a personal interest in Murray. It did not take too much time for them to develop a good friendship. Murray even served by carrying Burn's coat and Bible when they walked together to several meetings. Through this close relationship, Burns exerted influence on Murray (Du Plessis 1919:40-41). His passionate preaching and great concern about spiritual revival left an impact on the young boy's heart.

William Chalmers Burns was born in Dun of Angus, Scotland in 1815. His father, William Hamilton Burns was a minister and he was the third son. His father and family wanted him to take up Christian ministry as his life-long vocation. So his father eagerly persuaded him to do so, but he wanted to be a lawyer rather than a minister. It was his desire to lead a rich life that led him to vehemently prefer being a lawyer to being a

⁷¹ Robert Murray McCheyne (1813-1843) gained prizes in all classes while he was in the University of Edinburgh. He learnt theology under the inspection of Thomas Chalmers. In 1836, he was ordained to the new charge of St. Peter's church at Dundee. He actively worked there until his departure in spite of his ill health (Hamilton 1993:504-505). There are some writings on and of him: *Memoirs and remains of Robert Murray McCheyne* edited by Andrew Bonar; *Let the fire burn : a study of R. M. McCheyne, Robert Annan, Mary Slessor* written by J. H. Hudson, et al; *Robert Murray McCheyne* written by S. Alexander. His several sermons were also published titled *Sermons* in the Banner of Truth Trust.

⁷² The article 'Mode of conducting a revival of religion: hindrances in Christians, hindrances in the world' was written by Burns. This article is in the book *The revival of religion: addresses by Scottish Evangelical leaders delivered in Glasgow in 1840*. His several sermons which were edited by Barbour were published titled *Revival sermons*.

minister. His father reluctantly permitted him to be a lawyer and he went to Edinburgh in order to be an apprentice (Burns 1870:21-22).

Because the college attendance certificate had not yet arrived, he could not take the apprenticeship. While he was waiting for the certificate, his intention to be a lawyer was changed abruptly. All of a sudden, he decided to be a minister. His father and family were overjoyed by the decision (Burns :23-24).

After the decision, he had a deep intuition about sin, so he frequently spoke about self-loathing to other people.⁷³ While he was in University, he distinguished himself as a student. He excelled in all subjects, especially mathematics (Burns :31). During the period of University, his disposition was calm, serious and strict, and his faith merely confessed and obeyed at the “customary channels of Christian confession” (Burns :32).

In 1834, he graduated from University with distinction and headed for the University of Glasgow for further study. The class that he took was deplorable. Under these circumstances, some divines who preached at the chapel of the University influenced him. John Murray of Aberdeen, Murray’s uncle, was one of them (Burns :38). In the Glasgow University, he was a leading participant in the Student Mission Society. This participation stimulated him to have a penchant for missionary work (Burns :39).

In 1839, while he was waiting for a call from the mission fields, he received a suggestion from Robert M. McCheyne to take the pulpit of Dundee, where the famous divine was

⁷³ According to Ian Hamilton (1993), Burns was converted in 1832.

working as a minister. Robert Murray McCheyne (1813-1843) was “widely regarded as one of the most saintly and able young minister of his day.” Burns accepted the challenge (Burns 1870:55-56). During Burns’ preaching ministry in Dundee (after McCheyne left for Palestine on a missionary charge), a remarkable awakening took place; thousands were aroused to their condition in the sight of God, truly converted, and marched in the heavenward way. Remarkable scenes were witnessed in the old church of St. Peter’s too (Burns :56-63; Meek 1993:505).

On the evening of a Lord’s Day in Kilsyth where his father served as minister, after preaching to a crowded congregation, Burns felt that the Holy Spirit moved the people gathered, and he felt deeply burdened by the souls of people. So he decided to preach again to the people in the market place where many people who absented themselves from church could be easily approached, before returning to Dundee. He preached to the people with great power. With the result that, the whole congregation melted under the message that he preached, and many wept and cried to God for mercy. A glorious work of conversion followed (Burns :90-93).

From that time onward, until his going to China, Burns gave himself whole heartedly to itinerant Gospel preaching. From Perthshire to as far north as Aberdeen, he preached in barns, market places, and wherever the people could be gathered together to hear the Word. While his message was plain, thousands were awakened and many were saved through the message (Hamilton 1993).

Believing it to be the call of the Lord, he went forth to China as the first missionary of

the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland in June 1847. For years, he toiled alone, sometimes with a few helpers, in China, in the midst of overwhelming hindrances, but his faith in God never degenerated. Sowing the seed of the Gospel, he reached the borders of Manchuria. In a small and comfortless room in Nieu-chang, he departed for Heaven on the 4 April 1868 (Hamilton 1993).

Burns as an itinerant preacher of the Free Church of Scotland vindicated the Reformed persuasion on Pentecost.⁷⁴ After the experience of subsequent spiritual awakenings, it seems that he slightly changed his view in this regard. While preaching, he witnessed and experienced marvellous spiritual awakenings in many churches. As the awakening continued and expanded, he reassessed the Pentecost event at the beginning of the New Testament church. He regarded Pentecost not as “an isolated event, but as a pattern of what the church might hope in any age to see, it might be even still more gloriously.” He thought that “the cloven tongues” and “the gift of many languages” as phenomena of the specific age had indeed disappeared, whereas “the cries of stricken conscience” and “the loud sobs of broken hearts” did not pertain only to that age but was in fact part of every age (Burns 1870:58). It seemed clear to him that Pentecost was not so much a once for all event but a special event that happens in the course of salvation history (cf. Kim, M-h 1998:155)⁷⁵ Revival was just imaginary to Burns until he himself experienced it (Burns :59). This experience changed his view on the significance of Pentecost for the contemporary church.

⁷⁴ The Reformed perspective on Pentecost is that it was once and for all event in order to establish the New Testament Church (Kim, M-h 1998:135).

⁷⁵ Myung-hyuk Kim is one of the leading Reformed theologians in Korea. His church belonged to one of the conservative Presbyterian denominations, and he taught church history at the Hapshin theological seminary. He cautiously suggested to the Korean Presbyterian Church that it is better to understand the Pentecost not as a once for all event but as a specific event that happened in the course of salvation history (Kim, M-h 1998:155).

The relationship between Murray and Burns started when Andrew resided in Aberdeen. When Burns was studying at the University of Glasgow in preparation for the Christian ministry, he felt a deplorable spiritual depression caused by the theological lectures presented in the classrooms. There were very few lectures that drew his interest. While suffering spiritual depression, a sermon given in the chapel by John Murray of Aberdeen (Murray's uncle) existentially helped him. His brother, Islay Burns (1870:35-38), relates it:

“The revered professor of divinity, Dr. Stevenson Macgill, had by that time fallen into the “sere and yellow leaf”, and no longer exercised that effective influence over the minds of his pupils which he had done in earlier years. The air of the church history class was indescribably slumberous.... And so it was ordered of God that this singular instrument of his grace, who at the beginning and further progress of his spiritual course had been helped onward by other able ministers of the Word, should receive his last touch of preparation for his great work from that scribe well instructed in the kingdom of God.”

One of the able ministers stated above was John Murray of Aberdeen (Burns 1870:38). He was estimated “a ripe scholar, a sound divine, a brave and godly man and a stirring and successful preacher” (Burns :164). Owing to the fact that he received much help and edification from the preaching of John Murray of Aberdeen, Burns came to Aberdeen in 1840 in order to repay the debt that he had owed from his early days (Du Plessis 1919:41)⁷⁶. Because Burns had stayed at John Murray's house, he and Murray naturally had an intimate fellowship with each other. Burns was adored by Murray. Du Plessis

⁷⁶ In addition to this fact, Burns was a cousin of Mrs. Murray, the wife of John Murray of Aberdeen (Thomson 1908:13).

(1919:42) comments on Burns' impact on Murray as follows:

“Indeed, the impression made by William Burns upon the responsive youth was perhaps deeper and more permanent than Andrew Murray himself suspected. For the description of Mr. Burns’s pulpit manner and speech are largely applicable, differences of temperament being allowed for, to the preaching of his younger contemporary. Andrew Murray, too, was gifted with “no peculiar charm of poetry or sentiment or winning sweetness.” But while with both there was no effort at oratorical display, there was that true eloquence which is born of impassioned earnestness and an intense realization of things spiritual and invisible.”

This statement portrays the impression that Murray wanted to follow Burns' preaching style. This estimation seems reasonable. In fact, after induction as a minister of Bloemfontein, Murray often used extempore preaching when he preached. In the letter on 27 June 1849, although his father raised some questions in this regard, he gave an excuse and defended the reason why he used it:

“Many thanks for Papa’s kind advice as to my preaching. I can assume Papa that I do not wish to preach extempore, but there is so little privacy here, that I feel it difficult. I know I might do more, and have very many misgivings when Saturday evening comes, and cannot look forward to Sabbath with the confidence arising from a sense of having some what I could... My dear Papa must not think that I approve of my own extempore preaching- and I trust that there will [be] as little of it [in] future as possible” (Archive P1A/2/1a:101-104).

Extempore preaching was a typical way of preaching used by itinerant preachers of revival like Burns (Burns 1870:98-99).⁷⁷ This was a quite different style of preaching

⁷⁷ Itinerant revival preachers usually preached extemporely, because they had to preach so much everyday. In the case of Burns, there was no exception. He had to pray and lead the prayer meeting during the day time and preach every night. Prayer was his major concern rather than preaching: “For weeks before he was full of prayer; he seemed to care for nothing but to pray. In the day-time, alone or with others, it was

compared to that of his father. In case of Murray Sr., according to his daughter, he tended to prepare every sermon before preaching:

“As a rule the text for the Sabbath had to be found before Thursday evening. The sermon, written out Word for Word on Friday, was committed to memory on Saturday. The notes for the afternoon sermon had also to be written down” (Neethling 1919:14).

As Du Plessis rightly points to, Andrew Murray Jr. was influenced by Burns in his preaching style. In addition, Burn’s view on revival and Pentecost also would influence Murray to some degree. For example, Burns believes in the fact that revival surely comes from above, *viz.* God’s sovereign work. However, he believes that there are some means of prompting the glorious work in connection with the Divine sovereignty: The first, “holiness to the Lord” (Burns 1840:333), the second, “prayer, unceasing and earnest” (:334), thirdly, “not be subjected rigidly to ordinary rules” (:338-339), the fourth, “the sound, zealous, pointed preaching of Christ” (:341), fifthly, “pastoral visitation” (:343), sixthly, “Bible classes” (345), and lastly, “the appointment of days of fasting and of thanksgiving” (:346). Those enumerated are quite easily found in Murray, even though they are similar to the factors of an ordinary Christian ministry.

Summing-up, this paragraph made the point that Andrew Murray in his personal association and fellowship with Burns, had been influenced by him. This means that his familiarity with religious revivals already acquired at home, was strengthened. Was this orientation on revivals and revival preaching also incorporated into his spirituality later? And, can his view on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit be traced back to Burns?⁷⁸

his chief delight, and in the night watches he might be overheard praying aloud (Burns 1870:98-99).”

⁷⁸ Murray’s doctrine of the Holy Spirit will be observed in chapter 6.

The two Murray boys at this time stood at the brink of a new phase in their life. Their education in Aberdeen was completed. In 1845, both of them moved to Holland to enter theological training at the University of Utrecht. Chapter 3 covers their life in Utrecht as theological students. The focus, however, remains on the development of Andrew Murray's spirituality.

Conclusion

We have observed the formative period of Andrew Murray Jr.'s spirituality in this chapter. It spanned both his living in Graaff-Reinet (1828-1838) and in Aberdeen (1838-1845). In order to know Murray's spiritual development and to identify influences which formed his spirituality during this period, three matters came into view: (1) an analysis of Murray Sr.'s spirituality. It played a major role in the development of his sons' spirituality (2) the influences of ecclesiastical events (the Disruption and revivals) as well as people like John Murray of Aberdeen and William Burns were designated (3) In addition to these, it was intended to analyse Andrew Murray Jr.'s spirituality during this period.

Murray Sr.'s spirituality, as was pointed out, was a Evangelical-Reformed spirituality. Murray Sr. directly influenced his son through his exemplary life in Graaff-Reinet, and indirectly by letters written to him while he was residing in Aberdeen. The influence of John Murray of Aberdeen and William Chalmers Burns is not to be ignored, even though their influence operated as a reinforcement of what Andrew Murray had already had. His

uncle was, in every aspect, the same as Murray Sr. This, in a sense, means that John Murray affected Murray to almost the same extent as Murray Sr. did. His spiritual inspection, Puritanical-confessional spirituality, and his zeal for church affairs guided Murray. William Burns with his preaching style also had an effect on Murray, and it can be guessed that Burns' changed view on Pentecost, after his revival experience, impinged on Murray too.⁷⁹

It was however not possible to identify Andrew Murray Jr. with any specific spiritual orientation or to argue a distinct spirituality during this period. He, although superficial, showed not a little interest in church matters. The contemporary revival movement also caught his attention. But, he was still too young for self-reflection in a spiritual way. There is little evidence that he struggled with inner conflict and affliction during this period. However, the next period of his life was quite different. In the next chapter, this will become evident.

⁷⁹ More about this will be observed in chapter 5 and 6.

Chapter 3

Life in Utrecht, Holland (1845-1848):

The receiving of a historical orientation

- ◆ **3.1 A challenging situation in Utrecht 1845-1846**
- ◆ **3.2 Andrew Murray's Utrecht Diary**
- ◆ **3.3 An intense and exceptional spiritual experience
in 1845**
- ◆ **3.4 Practical realisation of his spirituality**
- ◆ **3.5 Andrew Murray's developing Evangelical
spirituality**
- ◆ **3.6 Murray's ordination by the Hague Committee**

Introduction

This chapter deals with the period of Andrew Murray Jr.'s life in Holland where he stayed for about three years (1845-1848) in order to complete his theological training. For a second time of his life, he had to leave a familiar and secure environment. This time he and his brother John had to adapt themselves to a Dutch cultural and university situation that was completely foreign to them. They had to contend not only with the language but also with the challenges of modern scientific theology. The key question is: how did the experience of and the exposure to this context influence Murray's spirituality? Can one detect a consolidation or a change in this regard? Had Murray to come to terms with critical theology and did this impact on his spirituality? Do the primary sources indicate a progress, an inner growth, and a development in terms of which his spirituality can be delimited in comparison to the previous phase of his life?

The aim of this chapter is therefore to assess Murray's spirituality within the Holland context. Notice will be taken of the influential challenges of the Utrecht context. The main interest will however remain with Murray's reflections as it were expressed in his letters and an important diary. At the same time, the influence of Murray's father is also considered.

The other difference of this period from the previous is that whereas in the previous period he was just receptive, he, now, began to apply what had formed in his heart through joining *Sechor Dabar* and establishing *Eltheto*.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ These two societies will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.1 A challenging situation in Utrecht 1845-1846

As was shown in chapter 2, Murray, following his father's advice, decided to become a minister. He went to Holland to study theology with his brother John in June 1845. In going there, they were faced with the difficulty that they had almost forgotten Dutch. When they were in Graaff-Reinet they were quite capable of the Dutch language. However, the seven years absence from Graaff-Reinet (they left the town at the ages of 10 and 12 respectively) with no exposure to Dutch-speakers, consequently, led them to the loss of the ability to communicate in Dutch (Du Plessis 1919:56). This was a stumbling block which they had to contend with after their arrival in Holland. But, there were other impediments as well. In fact, their father warned them beforehand. Prior to Murray's journey to Holland, Murray Sr. sent a letter to his sons on 23 April 1845. It related to the religious and spiritual situation of Holland and the experience of that country when he stayed in Holland about 20 years before. Because he could not speak Dutch well, he informs his sons, he was sometimes overcharged buying articles. He thus gives practical advice how to deal with typical and unavoidable situations that they would encounter:

“At first, being what the people termed an Engelschman, they overcharged me, but when I once knew a little of the language and could enquire for myself, I lived cheap and comfortably. At Utrecht especially you can get two rooms, furnished, at a moderate rate, also your dinner sent from an eating house, and the person who hires the rooms provides breakfast and supper, and brushes clothes, shoes, etc. I found this much cheaper and more comfortably than I had found boarding. But if your Uncle may have made any previous arrangement, you must not be hasty in breaking through them” (Archive P1A/2/1a:56-58; 23 Apr. 1845).

This statement shows Murray Sr.'s carefulness. He directed his sons how to act in their preparation for living scrupulously. This fact reminds us of his continual influence on Murray.

In addition, in the same letter, Murray Sr. urged his sons not to follow precarious customs of their peers who were living life in a secularised way (Murray Sr.'s letter on 23 Apr 1845). Indeed, the religious and spiritual condition of Holland was questionable (Du Plessis 1919:57).⁸¹ Secularism and rationalism even penetrated the theological classrooms of the University of Utrecht where both of the Murray boys had the intention to study (Du Plessis :61-61-64). According to Du Plessis (:61-62), Murray attended the classes which were taught by Professor Hermannus Bouman (1789-1864)⁸², Henricus Egbertus Vinke (1794-1862)⁸³ and Herman Johan Royaards (1784-1854)⁸⁴. Professor Bouman was responsible for Latin, and Professor Vinke taught Practical Theology. Professor Royaards was famous for Church Polity. They were excellent scholars, but did not exert any experiential spiritual influence to their students, because their academic attitude and method were too rational. Professor Opzoomer (1821-1892)⁸⁵ who occupied the chair of philosophy at the University in 1846 was extremely liberal.⁸⁶ Aware of this, John interpreted the atmosphere to his father as “universal

⁸¹ The related spiritual and theological atmosphere in Netherlands and Europe will be observed subsequently in this chapter.

⁸² For more information, consult a web site: www.dbnl.org/auteurs (negentiende eeuw), or *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde. 1900.* pp. 261-326.

⁸³ For more information, consult a web site: www.dbnl.org/auteurs (negentiende eeuw), or *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde. 1863.* pp. 339-365.

⁸⁴ For more information, consult a web site: www.dbnl.org/auteurs (negentiende eeuw), or *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde. 1854.* pp. 50-70.

⁸⁵ Cornelis Willem Opzoomer (1821-1892) was a Dutch jurist, positivist, philosopher and theologian. For more information, consult *Web Encyclopaedia.* www.wikipedia.org

⁸⁶ Later year, Murray harshly criticised Opzoomer's liberal teaching in a conference which was held in

coldness” in a letter forwarded to his parents on 19 September 1846. He subsequently writes:

“[A]bove all, I forgot to mention the scandalous morals of the theological students. I solemnly assure you the name of God is profaned in the theological classrooms, even by the orthodox and respectable students” (Archive P1A/2/1a:75-76).

Divested of the protected religious warmth of home and the spiritual communion that surrounded and cherished Andrew Murray, he was now confronted with a different situation in which not only the trusted Scottish spirituality lacked but in which the very foundations of the Christian belief was subjected to criticism. In this situation, Andrew also had to face up to an inner conflict. In a letter to his parents dated 14 November 1845, he reflected on a spiritual struggle:

“When I now look back to see how I have been brought to where I now am, I must acknowledge I see nothing. For the last two or three years there has been a process going on a continual interchange of seasons of seriousness and then of forgetfulness, and then again of seriousness soon after” (Archive P1A/2/1a:65-66).

According to this, he had already experienced spiritual affliction two or three years prior to the writing of this letter. However, it was not critical until he came to Holland.

Murray continues:

“In this state, I came here [Holland], and as you may well conceive there was little seriousness amid the bustle of coming away. After leaving [Scotland], there was however an interval of seriousness tho[ugh] the three days, we were at sea - our leaving Aberdeen - the sea, recollections of the

Cape Town in 1868. The address was published as the title *A lecture on Modern Theology* (Murray 1868:20, 42; 43-45).

past- all calculated to lead one to reflect. But after I came to Holland I think I was led to pray in earnest more. I cannot tell, for I know it not” (Archive P1A/2/1a:65-66).

This affirms that although Murray was exposed to spiritual questioning during the last two years of his Aberdeen life, it was in Holland that he really became confronted with it. He kept a diary of his self-reflection in this respect. “I begin this book to record if possible what I see of my own character” was the purpose of writing the diary that he began a month after his arrival in Holland (Murray’s diary on 3 Aug 1845).⁸⁷ For the purpose of this study, the diary is of exceptional importance. It is considered as a key source in analysing the character and growth of Murray’s spirituality. This inner struggle caused him to keep a diary in order to reflect and try to come to his own. His diary entry on 3 August 1845 significantly reads:

“I begin this book to record if possible what I see of my own character. I think that I am a Christian. But is my walk, such as becomes one who professes to have been, bought with the blood of the Son of God? There can be no doubt about the answer. And why is it so? I do not live with in and on God. And I w[oul]d for this reason desire to record my sins here that I may be enabled more distinctly to confess them before God... Oh! [M]ay this reflection keep me from ever flattering my pride with the idea of my humility, no recording my sins” (Archive P1A/1a:1).⁸⁸

These words are sincere. And they convey a deep religious subjectivity and conceptualisation of these inner most feelings and their impact on his emotions, mind

⁸⁷ This diary is in the DRC Archives P1A/1a. The notebook in which this diary was written has the title ‘Andrew Murray German Class Marischal College.’ It starts from the day of 3 August 1845, roughly a month after his arriving at Utrecht, to 4 January 1846. This diary has a value in the sense that it, as a diary, gives some information about Murray’s personal, private and inner feelings and thoughts during this period, distinct from his other writings. Unfortunately, this diary has been damaged; some sentences cannot be traced clearly.

⁸⁸ There is no page number in this diary. However, because it was written on a little note book, the author gives a number to every page for convenience.

and life. In terms of the aim of this study (i.e. to trace and describe the development of Andrew Murray's spirituality), this diary which accompanied a turning-point in his life was recognised as an essential primary source. This diary kept in the archives of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa at Stellenbosch, is unfortunately partly damaged. But it provided substantial material for the research and was therefore scrutinised carefully.

3.2 Andrew Murray's Utrecht Diary

Murray's diary starts on the 3 August 1845 and ends on the 4 January 1846. As mentioned above, the diary was written for the purpose of self analysis of his own condition. It is interlarded with feelings of sincerity, agony and guilt. To begin with, in entry of 3 August 1845, he revealed the reason why he wrote the diary, and confessed his deficiencies. These deficiencies are his pride as already stated above, and his lack of prayer.

“I have here to note my general deficiency of prayer. No groaning, crying wrestling praying without ceasing. “Oh Lord I desire to acknowledge before [T]hee that awful sin of mocking [T]hee when I come into [T]hy presence. Oh give the Spirit in prayer. And let me make this a subject of special prayer to implore the Spirit of Grace and of supplication.” Oh Help Lord [!] Save me from the hands of my enemies” (Archive P1A/1a:2).

His deficiency of prayer is described in honest and sincere manner. The entry on 4 September begins as follows: “Another day of sin & deadness” (Archive P1A/1a:2). In addition, he refers to another sin discovered in his life. It was eating too much. He referred to the biblical clause 1 Corinthians 10:31: “To do all things to God's glory

whether eating or drinking,” and thought how to overcome it. Then, he confessed his human weaknesses:

“Then how can I conquer this. Whenever I think I begin to transgress[.] [L]et me see whether I can conscientiously ask God’s blessing on what I am to take. Simple tho[ugh] this be, I know that even thus much I cannot do in my own strength[.] May my weakness be made strength. Lord Come quickly” (Archive P1A/1a:4).

On 13 September 1845, he confesses similarly: “A week of sin and deadness.” The significance of this note is that he was contemplating profound doubts in his faith. He was a Christian and he clearly knew this fact more than anybody else, as already implied in the above diary entry. To this, the fact that he had already decided to take up the ministry should be added. Besides he had grown up in the pious homes in Graaff-Reinet and in Aberdeen under the spiritual inspection and guidance mainly of his father and of his uncle John Murray who both were godly, sincere and confessional men. Andrew, however, experiences a spiritual conflict on the very matter of faith.

“I find that thus I can do nothing. But I have been commanded to “work out my own salvation with fear and trembling.” This is to caution me against thinking that I am waiting patiently on God while I am careless about the matter. But all that I can do is to wait in God’s strength, to cry and to pray. - But may not all this be unbelief? May I not be making a difficulty about believing while there is none. May I not be just making a God of my states of mind imagining that I must feel so much, & pray so much, & wait so much... At times too I think that I am [t]rusting on Christ, but of this I cannot be sure. Why should it be so? What are the evidences of those who depend on Christ?” (Archive P1A/1a:5-6).

The entry written on 14 September 1845 begins with a quite different statement in its

sentiment from that of the previous day: “I think that I have this day thro[ugh] Divine Grace, been enabled to believe. I am a sinner, and out of Christ can find no happi[ness].” All of a sudden he confesses that he accepts that he is a sinner. He though, has already clearly confessed his sin in previous entries in the diary. He also confessed the necessity of God’s power in order to conquer his sins owing to his human weakness (Murray’s diary entry on 4 Sept). However, here (on 14 September), he repeats the same problem pervading his thoughts again with different feelings. This shows his spiritual ups and downs; spiritual agony and guilt. Although the diary entry on 14 September begins with positive sentiment, his deficiencies and supplication for God’s help are also expressed:

“Oh Lord. [H]elp me Oh [E]nable me ever firmly to believe. May I not mock Thee thro[ugh] unbelief in everything, but may I ever be looking to Christ as offered in Thy free promises.- Let me be enabled to look not to mine own faith as the means, but only as the method of salvation, but may I keep my eye fixed on Him who was crucified for my sins, and raised for my justification. May I not trouble myself about states and feelings, but give me Grace Lord, ever to be aiming to see Him, and to be made liker Him. Lord [L]ead me” (Archive P1A/1a:7).

On 24 September, he also begins with this clause: “Still the cry “Unclean, Unclean”, and then, goes straight on to the supplication:

“Oh Look on [T]hy son continually offending a Gracious Father, wandering from Thee into the cold regions of darkness. Oh [D]o [T]hou ever hold me near Thee that I may be enlightened & taught by Thee” (Archive P1A/1a:8).

He is exposing his thoughts of guilt against God. Selecting several Bible sentences

speaking about time, he mentions the preciousness of time in the diary on 26 September 1845:

“Eph[esian] V.16 Redeeming the time, because the days are evil. I Cor[inthian] X.31 Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God. I Cor[inthian] VII. 29 The time is short. II Peter III. 10 [T]he day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night. Eccles[iastes] IX. 10 Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest. Isa[iah] LXIV. 6 We all do fade as a leaf.

And numerous other passages inculcate the shortness of time, the necessity of watchfulness & above all the living not to ourselves but to Him that died for us. And if time is thus short, how ought I to improve & redeem (what has been spent of) it. If I have been bought with a price, & if I am the temple of the Holy Ghost seeing that time is short & the day, I know not how near “what manner of person ought I to be in all [h]oly conversation & godliness, looking for the day of God.” “And seeing that I look for such things how diligent ought I to be that I may be found of [H]im in peace without spot & blameless (II Pet III. 11, 14).” (Archive P1A/1a:10).

In the above statement, he relates to himself as a person who had been bought at a price, and as a temple of the Holy Spirit. This consciousness led him to a question how he had to live for the glory of God during such a short period. However, he did not know how to do this. He continues in the same entry:

“And here I have the same inducements as before. “Shall I who am the temple of the Holy Ghost, who have been bought with a price, who profess to be a pilgrim travelling thro[ugh] a wilderness.” Shall I loiter here & dishonour my God. May I remember my high vocation. If we have to give an account of every idle word we speak, can it but be dishonouring to Him in those who profess to have His glory in view in all that they do - let me work diligently, but far more let me strive to work to His glory. Let

me, in my intercourse with others; strive to have my speech always with grace seasoned with salt. Let me be a burning and a shining light reflecting the image of Him whoever went about doing good. Let me do everything heartily as to the Lord knowing that of the Lord” (Archive P1A/1a:10).

The diary entry of 11 October echoes again a tone of sincerity, agony and guilt:

“It is now above a fortnight since I have written here - and how has the interval been spent. Oh! [T]he same tale has to be told, and what is worse a carelessness, and a deadness in prayer that too surely make a soul far from his God. - I would almost say dead. But I have at the same time to thank my God for appearances of a revival. - I have been enabled to say, and to say it. I think sincerely “The will of the Lord be done in my darkness.”- But here again am I looking at what I have done while the blessed Jesus is despised while I am looking at self” (Archive P1A/1a:12).

Considering all the entries between August and 11 October 1845, it is clear that Andrew Murray underwent much spiritual strain. His spiritual life and experiences differentiated, and he was vulnerable to confusing and contradicting emotions. He related it to biblical texts, and tried to find rest by integrating these with his existential experience of life and thoughts. However, he was apparently not able to find rest. At this point in time, it is important to notice that the diary entries stop on 11 October 1845. It is not before 7 December, nearly two months later, that it continues. The tone from there onwards is remarkably different. Something far-reaching had happened in his life. After 11 October 1845, he experienced a special and unique spiritual awakening or revival. What happened and what was the effect of it?

3.3 An intense and exceptional spiritual experience in 1845

In a letter to his parents dated 14 November 1845, Andrew testifies that he has received peace of mind. In the letter (14 November 1845), Murray expresses the joy and relief that followed on the special and exceptional spiritual experience as “far gladder tiding.” This immense relief led him to praise God. We can see it in the same letter as follows:

“[P]raise the Lord with me. “Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless His Holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits. Who forgiveth all thine iniquities, who healeth all thine diseases, who redeemeth thy life from destruction, who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and with tender mercy.” At present I am in a peaceful state” (Archive P1A/2/1a:65-66).

The immediate question that rises is whether this change in emotional and mental state must be ascribed to conversion? David Bebbington (1989:5) explains the interpretation and common situations that evoke conversion within Evangelicalism, and its expressiveness in this regard. He says that conversion accompanies not only **sincerity** but also **agony**, **guilt** and immense **relief**.⁸⁹ He also describes the effects of conversion: “[t]he great crisis of life could stir deep emotion.” Comparing these symptoms with all the above stated symptoms which are identified from Murray’s diary and letters, they appear quite similarly. In the letter forwarded to his parents on 14 November 1845, Murray calls this spiritual experience “far gladder tiding” and uses the notion “born again.” In the same letter but dated on 24 November 1845, he refers to it as “great subject” (Archive P1A/2/1a:65-66). And in a letter sent to his parents on 7 May 1846,

⁸⁹ The four words are emphasised by Lee.

he talks of this experience as “my conversion” (Archive P1A/2/1a:67-68). In addition, he also calls the experience “conversion” in the letter forwarded to his parents on 18 March 1848 (Archive P1A/2/1a:54-55). Although its implications are slightly different, the same story can be found in the diary entry of 7 December 1845. He relates to the experience as a “season of much spiritual happiness.”

Taking all the references into mind, it is clear that he experienced something on a day between 11 October and 14 November in 1845, and he himself understood it as his “conversion.”

3.3.1 Was it an emotional or theological conversion experience?

This question must, however, be asked. In the secondary literature and biographical studies on Murray, it is indeed a question whether this exceptional spiritual experience can be called his conversion. Pointing to the influence of “uncongenial surroundings” on Murray’s psyche, Du Plessis (1919:63-64) is convinced that it must be interpreted as Murray’s conversion that exerted not a little influence on Murray. Leona Choy (1978:42-43) is in agreement: it is his conversion experience. Williams Lindner (1996:19, 25-26) has the same persuasion. Murray’s sister, Maria Neethling (1909:86) also sees it as Murray’s conversion.

Le Roux (1992:44-45), on the other hand, suggests that the experience can not be a conversion; rather it was just a psychological disruption or turmoil due to the sense of

depression caused by the separation from his relatives and by unaccustomed atmosphere of his new circumstance. He asserts:

“If the life of Andrew Murray until 14 November 1845 is surveyed, his references to a conversion sound rather strange. He had already experienced too much of the life and teaching of the church and, therefore, a conversion seems out of place... It is likely that Murray had his intense experience somewhere between August and December 1845. Probably it was triggered off by the separation from his Uncle and his family as well as the strange surroundings of his new country. An inner struggle, feelings of despair and moments of joy accompanied an intense religious experience. Murray then called this his ‘conversion’. Perhaps this term was used because it played such an important role in his theological vocabulary.”

Whereas Le Roux acknowledges that the event had a significant impact on Andrew, he hesitates to call it his conversion. The reason for his hesitation is that Murray had grown up in a godly home, and was always influenced by a very religious father. In addition, he consistently read the Bible, and he had also decided to be a minister before the experience. According to Le Roux (1992:44-45), all these examples testify to the fact that he had already experienced his conversion without realising it.

Le Roux’s conclusion is reasonable, because the circumstances of Holland were practically unfamiliar to Andrew. As already mentioned, the religious and moral conditions of Holland were deplorable to Murray who was familiar with the godly, puritanical and confessional religious atmosphere of his uncle’s home and the Scottish Church. In addition, before he came to Holland, his uncle’s family met his every need. But in Holland, it might be clear that everything was his responsibility and had to be

resolved by him. In a letter⁹⁰ forwarded to his parents on 27 November 1845, Murray indirectly reveals this fact:

“I stated in the beginning of this letter that I received your letter after having been out of Town 3 days. It was to Amersfoort where I was with the family of one of our fellow students - Schijvliet. I enjoyed the visit much, the parents & son being truly pious people” (Archive P1A/2/1a:65-66).

In this statement, Murray’s longing for his family is revealed indirectly. More apparent evidence appears in a letter forwarded to his mother about one year later after his arrival in Holland. Dated 1 September 1846, Murray exposes his loneliness:

“I feel in writing, especially when there has been so little direct communication as between us in the last 9 years. Although we feel ourselves very happy here, yet we often feel a great want in having no family intercourse with parents & sisters, and we have not hitherto succeeded in finding a pleasant family in which we might be, to a certain extent, able to supply the want. Our desires for a fireside were very much excited a couple of months ago (when we look against, for a week, to some friends) in meeting such pleasant families for a short time, where there were father, mother, brothers [and] sisters altogether, and I believe that when we do get home, we shall feel the more pleasure from the contrast to what we have had here - associating with none but students... But still the mind especially of excitable young people long for the softer relation of family intercourse” (Archive P1A/2/1a:69-71).

It is thus apparent how Murray longed to be with his family. He missed his family very much, especially, when he visited a friend’s family. Whenever he saw happy families, he was reminded of his Graaff-Reinet home. The language problem would be another aspect of the difficulties that he had to bear. Because when he arrived at Utrecht his

⁹⁰ This letter is written on the same paper of 14th of November 1845.

Dutch was very poor, he had to use Latin for communication at the beginning of his stay in Holland (Du Plessis 1919:54, 56).

Three immediate factors could have played a role in causing him to be vulnerable to conflicting feelings: (1) The demands and challenges of an academic and critical environment in which the Christian faith and theology was questioned. He was not prepared to come to terms with theology as a modern critical science. (2) The unfamiliar Dutch context to which he had to adapt and where there was no support system of family and close relatives or even friends available. (3) Especially, during the initial phase of his stay in Utrecht, the inability to communicate in Dutch impacted on interpersonal relations.

The question, however, is whether these factors provide ample and condign explanation for the confliction he experienced? Were these fundamental to his “conversion” experience as a drastic way to come to terms with the context and situation? Or, was it more than that?

3.3.2 Murray’s view on conversion

According to Andrew’s letters on 14 November 1845, on 24 November 1845 and on 7 May 1846, he utilises the terms “born again” and “conversion” as an explanation for what happened to him and what caused him to experience joy and spiritual peace and stability. This is an indication of what, he thought, happened to him. It is therefore essential to consider his understanding against the broader context of the theological

paradigm in which he grew up.

As was pointed out in chapter 2, Murray Sr. emphasised the inevitability of conversion and personal experience of it from time to time. The emphatic urgency of this persuasion led his sons to pursue experiential religion. We glimpse this in Maria Neethling's recollections about John. She observes:

“John was contemplative, studious, hard-working... John, with his logical and enquiring mind, was always examining himself for proof of his acceptance with God, and mourned over it that he had not a definite experience of it” (Neethling 1909:86).

Here, Neethling recalls that John pursued experiential religion. What this testimony shows is that it was the most obvious thing to do to pursue experiential religion in Murray's Graaff-Reinet home. Neethling says that because John was “always examining himself for proof of his acceptance with God,” he seldom experienced what he had desired to have a taste of. As a matter of fact, his brother Andrew also endeavoured to have existential proof of it: “What are the evidences of those who depend on Christ?” was his continuous question to himself and to God (Murray's diary on 13 Sept 1845).⁹¹ It is therefore evident why Andrew Murray's theological preference was to give priority to conversion. It is comprehensible how important the conversion experience was to Murray in the following:

“It was with very great pleasure that I today (after having been out of town 3 days) [received] yours of 15th August, containing the announcement of the birth of another brother. And equal, I am sure, will be your delight

⁹¹ In Christian faith, this kind of spiritual struggle is a way to arrive at true Christian spirituality (Schaeffer 1996:443-444).

when I tell you that I can communicate to you far gladder tidings, over which angels have rejoiced, that your son has been born again. It would be difficult for me to express what I feel on writing to you on this subject. Always hitherto in my letters, and even yet in my conversation, there has been stiffness in speaking about such things, and even now I hardly know how I shall write” (Archive P1A/2/1a:65-66).

Murray understood his conversion experience as a work of God, as his father did.⁹² His letter forwarded to his parents on 7 May 1846 evidently confirms this: “I rather think that when I last wrote I gave an account of what I believe was my conversion, and God be thanked I still believe that it was His work” (Archive P1A/2/1a:67-68). To this, what must be added is that he related conversion to the accompaniment of a conscious and deep awareness of personal sins.⁹³ In his letter written on 14 November 1845, he expresses his understanding of this as follows:

“I was long troubled with the idea that *I must have some deep sight of my sins* before I could be converted, and though I cannot yet say that I have had anything of that deep special sight into the guiltiness of sin which many people appear to have, yet I trust, and at present I feel as if I could say, I am confident that as a sinner I have been led to cast myself on Christ” (Archive P1A/2/1a:65-66; emphasised by Lee).

This statement clearly shows that in Murray’s understanding of conversion, an important place is allocated to the appraisal of the true character of sin. In his estimation, Andrew “must have some deep sight of his sins” before he experienced his conversion.⁹⁴ After and within the experience, he though came to a full comprehension of being personal guilty with regards to sin; sin is not a concept but a way of living.

⁹² Murray Sr. understood conversion as a work of God (Murray Sr.’s letter on 20 Oct 1843).

⁹³ In fact, he suffered deep spiritual conflict arising from his consciousness of sins before his conversion experience, as we already observed.

⁹⁴ This is a typical puritan way of understanding conversion (Packer 1994:250).

This was disclosed to him in experiencing conversion. And this convinced him of the significance of his status as a sinner.

Murray also understood the work **as a preparation for true Christian life**, *viz.* the life that praises and glorifies God (cf. Westminster Larger Catechism 1). The fact can be found in his letter written on 24 November 1845: “I sometimes think how glorious it will be when it shall be impossible to do anything but ascribe praise to Him that hath loved us and washed us in our sins from His blood and has made us kings and priests unto God. There certainly must be a great change on us before we shall be ready to do that” (Archive P1A/2/1a:65-66). The “great change” means conversion.

To summarise: Andrew’s comprehension of his conversion must be understood against the theological background in which he was brought up. In that theological frame, conversion as a life changing experience received fundamental significance and spiritual value. Murray recognises it as a work of God. In the experience itself, credible comprehension of sin is disclosed and received. Knowledge of God and knowledge of sin converge in the experience of conversion and thus act as a starting point for a true and sustainable Christian life. Murray does not link this experience to any coming to terms with the new context, nor to his emotions and mental condition.

3.3.3 Relation between ‘conversion’ and ‘regeneration’

In order to engage in debate with Le Roux, it is also necessary to be cognisant of Murray’s understanding of the relation between ‘conversion’ and ‘regeneration.’ The

question indeed is: Did Murray comprehend them as occurring simultaneously or separately? In his letters of 14 November 1845, 24 November 1845 and 7 May 1846, the terms “born again” and “conversion” were used as cross concepts. He used these two terms in the same meaning in order to explain the spiritual experience. However, the term “born again” or “new birth” designates “regeneration” (Hoekema 1989:93). Considering this, it seems as if Murray understood conversion as the same as regeneration. If this is the case, Le Roux’s view is reasonable. Was he not regenerated before his conversion experience?

It is beyond all doubt that Murray was a regenerated man before he experienced his conversion. He confessed this in so many words in his diary. He says that “I think that I am a Christian... one who professes to have been bought with the blood of the Son of God” (diary entry on 3 August 1845). He also confesses that “I believe Lord that out of thy infinite loving kindness. Thou hast sent Thine own Son in the world to save sinners” (diary entry on 14 Sept 1845). He observes that redemption is God’s sovereign work in the same entry: “No man can believe except it be given him, and therefore the whole work is of sovereign free grace.” All these evidences show that Murray understood ‘conversion’ compared to ‘regeneration’ as a distinct work of God.

Did his father also employ this differentiation? And, was it used as such in the circles of 19th century Evangelicals? Murray Sr. used the terms as the same. So, it appears in Maria Neethling’s recollection:

“Each one [Murray Sr.’s child] must for himself or herself have the witness of the Spirit. And so it came to pass that all those children gave

themselves to God as they grew older, and are serving Him to the end of their days. In some cases only could they tell the day or hour of their *new birth*”(Neethling 1919:30-31; emphasised by Lee).

In this recollection, Neethling is focusing on the subject of conversion. She reflects on her father’s spiritual influence on his children concerning the “must” of their conversion. However, she uses the term “new birth” rather than “conversion,” which implies that Murray Sr. would teach that to his children. Namely, Murray Sr. taught his children “conversion” as having the same meaning as “new birth” or as “born again.” It thus seems as if a point of confusion arises in this matter. This must be clarified.

In the Reformed view, certain distinctions are made as far as the relation of conversion with respect to regeneration is concerned. Firstly, the view exists that conversion is the same as regeneration (i.e. the broader view on regeneration). On the other hand, conversion is distinguished with regards to regeneration (i.e. the narrower view on regeneration) (Hoekema 1989:93-94).

According to Charles Hodge (1873:3), theologians in the 17th century had the idea that conversion was the same as regeneration (i.e. the broader view on regeneration). John Calvin also had the broader view on regeneration:

“Indeed, I am aware of the fact that the whole of conversion to God is understood under the term “repentance,” and faith is not the least part of conversion or return...repentance can thus be well defined: it is the true turning of our life to God, a turning that arises from a pure and earnest fear of him; and it consists in the mortification of our flesh and the old man, and in the vivification of the Spirit” (Institutes III.iii.5).

He sees conversion as almost the same as repentance and regeneration.

However, saying that regeneration leads to conversion, Hoekema (1989:94) is of opinion that recent Reformed theologians tend to assert the necessity of distinguish between them. He defines conversion as “the conscious act of a regenerated person in which he or she turns to God in repentance and faith” (Hoekema :113). Here, Hoekema understands conversion as an entity separate from regeneration, because he presupposes conversion as an act of a regenerated person. George Lindbeck (1988:13) also sees them separately, so he classifies conversion as follows:

“[T]here is a kind of conversion which might be described as the refocusing of an already deeply internalised religion (consider Wesley at Aldersgate), or falls from sanctity may occur and be followed by repentance or reconversion (consider Peter at Jesus’ trial and again at Antioch), or there may even be conversions, however rare, from one maturely held religion to another” (emphasised by Lee).

Referring to the fact that conversion is God’s supernatural work invoking one’s religious change, Louise Berkhof (1976:491) says that conversion can happen both simultaneously and separately with regards to regeneration. Whereas regeneration is God’s supernatural work that occurs once and for all without knowing and feeling it, conversion happens in the area of one’s consciousness. He admits that conversion can not only be understood as an once and for all event in the sense that there can be ups and downs in the believer’s conscious (Berkhof 1998:734-735). He says conversion does not change the human status but changes the human condition, so it needs regeneration as its basis (Berkhof 1976:491).

Largely agreeing with Berkhof on conversion, Hoekema (1989:116-117) suggests the second conversion. He explains the second conversion as turning to God and away from sin. He adds that true conversion as an once and for all event cannot be repeated, but he also admits there can be a case in which a believer turns back to God from where he was far from God after encountering faith (Hoekema :116).

In the Canons of Dort, a similar view can be identified. Article V concerns the perseverance of the saints and reads:

“When they [believers] fail to do this, not only can they be carried away by the flesh, the world, and Satan into sins, even serious and outrageous ones, but also by God’s just permission they sometimes are so carried away- witness the sad cases, described in Scripture, of David, Peter, and other saints falling into sins... God, who is rich in mercy, according to his unchangeable purpose of election does not take his Holy Spirit from his own [people] completely, even when they fall grievously... By his Word and Spirit he certainly and effectively renews them to repentance” (Canon of Dort V.4.6.7).

In this article, the Canons hold an almost identical view with regards to Hoekema’s second conversion. It also refers to David and Peter’s cases, which show the examples of the second conversion that Hoekema suggests.

In summary, with regard to these opinions, conversion can be understood and defined not only as a broader view but also as a narrower view with respect to regeneration, which means that there must be continuity and discontinuity between the two theological terms. Considering this conclusion, Murray’s comprehension of his experience can be understood as a conversion, more closely connected to the second

conversion or narrower view of regeneration or discontinuity between conversion and regeneration that is suggested by Hoekema.

3.3.4 The impact on Murray's spirituality

As argued above, Le Roux (1992:44-45) tends to underplay Murray's conversion experience psychologically. He presents Murray's diary as evidence for his assumption. He argues that whereas Murray's letter shows a sort of delighted mood on his conversion experience, there is no special distinct sentiment as such throughout the diary. In fact, Murray himself confessed in his letter on 14 November 1845 that the conversion experience had not been sustained long and had not brought him any special deep awareness of guiltiness or any special joy. As opposition to this, however, Andrew stresses the significant influence of his conversion experience in the same letter:

“[Y]et I trust, and at present I feel as if I could say. I am confident that as a sinner I have been led to cast myself on Christ. What can I say now, my dear Parents, but call on you to praise the Lord with me... I think that I enjoy a true confidence in God.”

This seems to indicate that the influence of his conversion did not affect his spiritual growth much. It must though be borne in mind that observations like this cannot be found in Andrew's previous letters.⁹⁵

A pregnant spiritual development also can be traced in his diary kept during 1845. The diary entries written before his conversion reflect “a very sombre mood” as Le Roux

⁹⁵ They are the letters written on March 1843, on 11 April 1844 and on 4 July 1844.

(1992:44) has shown.⁹⁶ Andrew confesses his self-loathing condition which came into existence through his sin, *viz.* his pride, self-concern and lack of prayer, etc. Thus, he cries to God for help. However, in the diary entries written after his conversion the mood has fundamentally changed.⁹⁷ Even though he still confesses his deficiency, he has now true confidence in God. The diary entry of 7 December 1845 implicates his conversion experience indirectly and shows also his changed attitude to God:

“For nearly two months I have not written here. I know not why. - The interval has been *a season of much spiritual happiness*... I am not sure but that it was since the last entry that I have attained to *the assurance of hope*”(Archive P1A/1a:13; emphasised by Lee).⁹⁸

In this statement, Murray is clearly recalling his conversion, and he explains that it resulted in an assurance of hope. On 8 December 1845, his diary reads: “A day of a certain sort of pleasure. - A feeling of trust in God and knowing that what I felt was good for me” (Archive P1A/1a:15). On 14 December 1845, he starts his diary with this statement:

“Oh my covenant God be [T]hou present at this time and bless what I do. - The last has indeed been a week of mercy & goodness. My state I can hardly state. Troubled in some things and yet enabled to stay myself *at little* upon the Lord. I have indeed been answered in prayer this week” (Archive P1A/1a:16; emphasised by Murray).

In the diary entry dated 4 January 1846, he confesses that “I think I can say that I believe in Jesus... In many things I find myself thinking that there really is now some

⁹⁶ They are the diary entries written between from 3 August to 11 October 1845.

⁹⁷ They are the diary entries written on 7, 8, 14 and 30 December 1845.

⁹⁸ This diary is the very next one after the diary written on 11 October 1845. That means it was the first diary entry written after his conversion experience.

good in me” (Archive P1A/1a:19). Considering the sentiments of all these diary entries, it is quite clear that they differ from those written before his conversion. Now he could come to have assurance to God step by step. His conversion experience surely renewed God’s calling in his heart. Du Plessis (1919:64) comments an influence of this experience on him as follows:

“At Utrecht he underwent the great change which he called his conversion, and which made him more definitely the Lord’s. He used to say that he could point the very house, the very room, and of course the very date, when this change ensued. His conversion was no sudden upheaval, but it was a distinct and complete surrender to Christ and to His claims, - a clear - cut experience from which he dated a new era, and which lay at the back of all the preaching of later years.”

As Du Plessis rightly points to, Murray’s conversion was not a “sudden upheaval.” Because his father’s emphasis on conversion was deeply engraved in his heart, he had a desire to experience it (Murray’s letter on 14 Nov 1845).

In summary, Murray experienced his conversion on a day between 11 October and 14 November 1845. He comprehended it to be identical with the narrower view of regeneration or second conversion as Hoekema suggests. Before the event, he could not but struggle with his inner spiritual conflict summarised as sincerity, agony and guilt. However, he enjoyed more confidence in faith and immense relief after experiencing it. The experience had much influence on his spirituality. It was certainly a desirable turning point for him to reaffirm and refresh God’s calling. His conversion had a profound effect on him and his spirituality. It will become evident that his conversion experience functioned as an important and directive point of orientation in the

development and practice of his spirituality. With the aim of this investigation in mind, this is a key observation. By now, it must be remembered – as was shown in chapter 2 – that the 19th century evangelical spirituality was embodied in an extensive practise and involvement.

The young Andrew, after the experience of conversion, participated in the activity of *Sechor Dabar* (an evangelical student society) and helped to establish a student missionary fellowship called *Eltheto*. His association with both of these societies was on the one hand expression of his spirituality and on the other hand they were instrumental in the continuous process of shaping and identifying his particular spirituality. In the next paragraph, our attention shifts thus to the practical realisation of Murray’s spirituality after the experience of conversion.

3.4 Practical realisation of his spirituality

Due to the influence of the Enlightenment and French Revolution, human reason and rights received a central concern and significance during the latter part of the eighteenth century in Europe. People asserted their “liberty to think, speak, write and publish as they pleased” (Isbell 1993:625). Growing secularism influenced European society, culture and thought (McManners 1990:267). James Orr (1975:1) illuminatingly describes the nineteenth century theological and spiritual atmosphere in Europe as follows:

“The infidelity of the French Revolution represented the greatest challenge to Christianity since the time preceding the Emperor Constantine... But until 1789, there had never been such a threat against the very foundations

of the Faith, against believing in the God revealed in the Scriptures. Voltaire made no idle boast when he said that Christianity would be forgotten within thirty years. In France, even the Huguenots apostatised. Deism⁹⁹ rode high in every country in Europe, and so-called Christian leaders either capitulated to infidelity or compromised with rationalism.”

Under these circumstances, it is understandable that when Murray arrived in Utrecht, the religious condition of Holland was deplorable. Rationalism had a deep impact throughout the country. Even though the Reformed Church in Netherlands subscribed to the Reformed confessions, *viz.* the Belgic Confession, Heidelberg Catechism and Canons of Dort,¹⁰⁰ they were not interpreted in terms of orthodox view (John’s letter on 19 Sept 1846).¹⁰¹ Robert P. Swierenga (1997) in assessing the theological condition of contemporary Holland, observes in an unpublished article ‘1834 and 1857-Church Secessions and the Dutch Emigration’:

“The golden age of the Dutch national church was the century after the Synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619). In the late 1700s, during the time of the French Enlightenment, Reformed clerics and professors in the universities increasingly accepted rationalist thinking, which viewed the Bible and the three forms of unity as man-made creeds. By the early 19th century the signs that the church leaders “had fallen asleep” were everywhere. Few protested when Napoleon’s revolutionary army came into the Netherlands in 1795 and purged traditional Calvinism from public life. The new

⁹⁹ Deism was the theory that although God had created the world, He did not intervene in the world after His creation (Gonzalez 1985:190). Murray later severely criticised Deism in his book *A lecture on Modern Theology* (1868).

¹⁰⁰ Churches subscribed to different church standards in each country, even though they were in Reformed tradition. Van der Sprenkel and his companions (1952:108-109) say: “They hold in special honour as subordinate standards certain documents which played an important part in Reformation history; the several churches of the British group adhering thus to the Westminster Confession; the Dutch churches to the *Confessio Belgica*, the Heidelberg Catechism, the Canons of Dort and the Geneva Catechism; the French Church to the *Confessio Gallicana*, the Confession of Rochelle (1571) and the Confession of 1872... the Hungarian Church to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession; German Calvinists to the Heidelberg Catechism.”

¹⁰¹ This letter was forwarded to his parents. It is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 72-74.

secular regime disestablished the national church, cutting off public funds to pay pastor's salaries and replacing the teaching of Reformed doctrine in the public schools with deistic religion.”

Consequently the pulpits were filled with preachers who had discarded orthodox faith. The religious life of the community lost its vitality and became feeble. The term conversion that had seemed important in churches was to be found only in antique shops (Du Plessis 1919:57-58).

3.4.1 Finding like-minded companions

It is therefore understandable why Andrew and John Murray, who were orthodox in the confession of their faith, looked for and fraternised with like-minded friends. In terms of their father's desire for them to “act like the noble Bereans” and “do not afraid [to] be singular,”¹⁰² they joined a student society called *Sechor Dabar*.¹⁰³ Founded in 1843, it strove to keep the truth of the Gospel and to emphasise evangelism and mission and “to promote the study of the subjects required for the ministerial calling in the spirit of the Revival[*Reveil*]” (Lindner 1996:22). *Sechor Dabar* helped Murray to keep his faith and to promote his prayer life and missionary zeal during those formative years in Holland.

Murray's appreciation of *Sechor Dabar* is briefly mentioned in a letter forwarded to his

¹⁰² See Murray Sr.'s letter on 23 April 1845 (Archive P1A/2/1a:56-58).

¹⁰³ On *Sechor Dabar*, consult these writings: John Du Plessis's *The life of Andrew Murray of South Africa* (1919:55-77); William Douglas' *Andrew Murray and his message* (n.d:36); Williams Lindner's *Andrew Murray* (1996:21-26); Leona Choy's *Andrew Murray: apostle of abiding love* (1978:40-43); C.F.C Coetzee's *Die werk van die Heilige Gees in die teologiese denke van Andrew Murray* (1986:14,25-27); Frederick Sass' *The influence of the church of Scotland on the Dutch Reformed church of South Africa* (1956:25-26); Raymond Saxe's *some contribution of Andrew Murray Junior to the missionary cause* (1993:65-69); Balthazar Anderssen's *'n Kritiese ontleding van die soteriologiese teologie van Andrew Murray* (1979:1-2).

mother on 1 September 1846: “God had prepared for us here far above what we either deserved or expected very pleasant society in small circle of students with whom we associate” (Archive P1a/2/1a:69-71). When his wife gave a birth to their second son in 1866, Murray named him Andrew Haldane after Robert Haldane (1764-1842)¹⁰⁴ whom Kistemaker (1966:47) identifies as the Second Reformer of Geneva (following John Calvin, the first Reformer), and whose work and theology served as the foundation of the *Reveil* in Netherlands. The spirit and approach of the *Reveil* inspired the establishment of *Sechor Dabar*. This shows that the society *Sechor Dabar* made a deep impression on Murray. Peter van Rooden (n.d:4) says:

“Modern Dutch religious history too is usually depicted as some kind of revival. People talk about ‘the miracle of the 19th century’, as the title of a well written, popularizing work has it. According to this view, the enlightened Christianity of the late 18th century, which had become entrenched within the former public church when it was reorganized by the bureaucracy of the newly established Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1816, was challenged by a continuous tradition of successive orthodox movements.”

This statement shows a glimpse of the nature of *Reveil* movement. *Reveil*¹⁰⁵ means ‘revival’ or ‘awakening’ (Swierenga 1997). It was a movement initiated for the revival of confessional Christianity against pervading rationalism and secularism in the 19th century Europe (Kluit 1960:627). It is rooted on the work of Robert (1764-1842) and

¹⁰⁴ For more information, consult Cameron, et al. (Eds). 1993. *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology*. Edinburgh: T7T Clark Ltd. 386.

¹⁰⁵ For more information on *Reveil*, consult these writings: Du Toit, J.D. 1903. *Het Methodisme*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Boekhandel; Kluit, M.E. 1936. *Het Reveil in Nederland, 1817-1854*. Paris, France: Z.W.O; Kluit, M.E. 1960. *Reveil*. In Grosheide, F.W. & Van Itterzon, G.P. (Eds). *Christelijke Encyclopedie*. Kampen, Netherlands: J.H. Kok. 627-629.; Kluit, M.E. 1970. *Het Protestantse Reveil in Nederland en daarbuiten, 1815-1865*. Paris, France: Z.W.O.

James Haldane (1768-1851)¹⁰⁶ in Geneva (Kluit :627-629; Voges 1993:170-171). James Orr (1975:3) writes:

“In Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands, the general awakening was delayed until the defeat of Napoleon. A visit to Geneva by Robert Haldane triggered a chain reaction of revival throughout the Reformed Churches of the countries named, raising up outstanding evangelists and missionary agencies.”

The Haldane brothers were both of Scottish origin. In 1796, Robert Haldane planned an enterprise to achieve a project for missionary work in India. He sold his estates in order to support this project. However, because the East India Company did not permit him to enter into missionary work, his plan was aborted (Cameron et al 1993:386). Owing to this failure, he turned his eyes to the needs of his motherland, Scotland. In 1799, he left the Church of Scotland, and organised a congregational church with his brother James in Edinburgh. He also established tabernacles at the large centres of population at his own expense (Gilmore 1954:119). In order to provide ministers, he established seminaries for the training of students and supplied the needed funds (Noll 1994:121). He also invented a scheme for the education of children, and brought them from Africa. He supported all expenses, from transport and education to accommodation and boarding (Web Encyclopaedia).¹⁰⁷

In 1816, he began the remarkable work of evangelising in the European continent. For this purpose, he settled in Switzerland (Gilmore :119-120). He translated the Bible into

¹⁰⁶ For more information about James Haldane, see *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*. Vol.V. p.119-120.

¹⁰⁷ This encyclopaedia is provided by internet web site. Its address is: [www.wikipedia.org/Robert Haldane](http://www.wikipedia.org/Robert_Haldane).

French and several other languages, and published it at his own costs (Du Plessis 1919:58). Many students came under his influence (Kistemaker 1966:47). Among these students, Merle d'Aubigne (1794-1872)¹⁰⁸, a learned historian of the Reformation, Frederic Monod (1794-1863)¹⁰⁹, an ardent preacher, and Cesar Malan (1812-1894)¹¹⁰ were representative (Kluit 1960:627-629). Mark Noll (1994:121) estimates that “with the aid of like-minded Calvinist dissenters, the Haldanes sparked a veritable renaissance in evangelical piety and activity.” Holland got eventually deeply involved in this active evangelisation.

In Holland, the *Reveil* got its initial foothold in literary circles. Its leaders were Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831)¹¹¹, a poet, and his pupil Izaak da Costa (1798-1860).¹¹² More than twenty years before Murray’s arrival in Utrecht, Da Costa started to protest against the deplorable religious condition of the day (Van Wijk 1954, III:341). In the course of his protesting, he met a famous jurist, historian and statesman, Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876).¹¹³ Groen as “a faithful Christian and Calvinist” asserted that God’s sovereignty “must be acknowledged in the political sphere as well (Van Veen 1954,V:80).” This conviction led him to become the “father and leader of the Anti-

¹⁰⁸ For more information about Jean Henri Merle d’Aubigne, see *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*. vol.VII. p.316-317.

¹⁰⁹ For more information about Frederic Monod, see *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*. Vol.VII. p.473.

¹¹⁰ For more information about Cesar Malan, see *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*. Vol.VII. p.139.

¹¹¹ For more information about Willem Wilderdijk, consult *Wed Encyclopaedia*: [www.wikipedia.org/Willem Bilderdijk](http://www.wikipedia.org/Willem_Bilderdijk). Meanwhile Peter van Rooden (n.d:4) says: “Bilderdijk is considered an important link in this tradition of Calvinist orthodoxy, and his massive biography simply underscores the importance of this traditional view of Dutch religious history.” This statement also shows that *Reveil* was a kind of movement in order to revive the Calvinist orthodox tradition.

¹¹² For more information about Izaak Da Costa, see *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*. Vol.III. p.341.

¹¹³ For more information about Groen van Prinsterer, see *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*. Vol.V. p.80.

Revolutionary Party” (Van Veen 1954,V:80). By virtue of these people’s efforts, the flame of religious fervour in Holland could be kept alive even under the “dark days of tepid orthodoxy and chill rationalism” (Du Plessis 1919:58-59). “The *Reveil*,” says Swierenga (1997) “sparked a spirit of renewal and piety in Reformed circles and made resistance to rationalism intellectually respectable.”

3.4.2 *Sechor Dabar* and *Eltheto*

Under the influence of *Reveil*, several earnest like-minded students at the Utrecht University organised a society *Sechor Dabar* in 1843, two years before Murray’s arrival. *Sechor Dabar* was the Hebrew for **Remember the Word**. The aim of the society was “to promote the study of the subjects required for the ministerial calling in the spirit of the Revival [*Reveil*]” (Lindner 1996:22). John and Andrew Murray participated in the activities of *Sechor Dabar*.

The meetings of the association were held every Friday evening. Members of the society set a timetable, something they thought a rule to regulate a desirable Christian life, and pursued it everyday (Murray’s letter on 7 May 1846).¹¹⁴ Because of following these fixed rules, they got to be nicknamed “a new sect of Methodists” by their colleagues.¹¹⁵ However, this was just a pejorative, coming from the motivation of sneering and condescension (Lindner :22-23). Not only colleagues and students but also professors of theology openly sneered at them, and treated them condescendingly.

¹¹⁴ This letter forwarded to his parents is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 67-68.

¹¹⁵ Here “Methodists” does not mean that their theology followed the Wesleyan thought, but means that their way of doing (Method) was similar to the Holy Club of Oxford University. Lloyd Jones (1987:195) explains this well: “Methodism is essentially experimental or experiential religion and a way of life. I [Lloyd Jones] think that is an adequate definition of it.”

However, they did not cease what they had to do: preparing mission work, social service for the poor, and being models of Christian life for their colleagues (Du Plessis 1919:59-61). In this regard, Andrew mentions briefly in a letter forwarded to his parents on 9 November 1846: “On the forenoon of Sabbath after church, each of us has a few children on his room whom we instruct” (Archive P1A/2/1a:77). “Most of us also generally” he continues “spend the Sabbath afternoon in visiting the wretched districts of the town and speaking to the people about their souls” (Archive P1A/2/1a:67-68).¹¹⁶

Because Holland was indifferent to missionary work, members of *Sechor Dabar* formed a small circle *Eltheto*, consisting of eight participants (Lindner 1996:23-24). Andrew and John exerted the main influence in its establishment. *Eltheto* met twice a month in order to share missionary intelligence, and to pray for the contemporary mission enterprise. Members of *Eltheto* were also engaged in the intercession meetings on the first Monday of every month to supplicate for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit into the whole world. This meeting was connected to the Christians throughout the world. The purpose and activity of *Eltheto* are generally introduced in Murray’s letter to his parents on 9 November 1846 as follows:

“I rather think that we also told you of a missionary society that we had erected to read together a few missionary periodicals (English & German). We are now going to publish a missionary periodical in Dutch- 16 pages monthly- consisting of extracts regarding the progress of the work of God throughout the whole world. The reason that we (there are 8 of us) are going to do this is that Holland is lamentably deficient in interest in the missionary work, & the two existing periodicals are rather spiritless, & confine themselves to rather small fields. I hope that the Lord will direct

¹¹⁶ This letter was written by Murray to his parents, on 7 May 1846.

us in the management of it, & give His blessing” (Archive P1A/2/1a:77).

The seed of missionary zeal which had been sown by his father and several godly missionaries when he was in Graaff-Reinet and Aberdeen finally began to sprout. Would this become an integral part of his spirituality? Time would learn. It can be accepted that through activity in these societies, Murray’s zeal for missionary work and for prayer was gradually increased. The spirit of the *Reveil* reminded Murray of the importance of the orthodox confessional faith, and helped him stay critical to rationalism and liberalism. This surely worked as a factor of reinforcement to the frame of spiritual reference that Murray had received from his father. The question now is whether and to what extent father Murray accompanied and influenced on the developing spirituality of his son? The following paragraph will try to provide an answer to this.

3.4.3 The remaining influence of Andrew Murray Sr.

Murray Sr., who left his spiritual and theological imprint on Murray as a young boy in Graaff-Reinet and later in Aberdeen, continued to do so during this period as well. The letters to his sons in Holland give substantial evidence in this regard. While Andrew was struggling with his conscience and the awareness of his sins¹¹⁷, his father sent a letter on 15 August 1845. In the letter, he praises his sons for their success at examinations, and edifies them to consecrate all their knowledge to Jesus Christ. He also advises them to let their hearts be fully devoted to God, and finishes his letter by referring to the words of John the Baptist: “Every true Christian finds the force of what the Baptist said. He must increase, I must decrease. Happy is it for us when Christ is increasing in our

¹¹⁷ On Murray’s struggle on his sins, it is well expressed in his diary on 3 August 1845 (Archive P1A/1a:1-2).

estimation and we are decreasing” (Archive P1A/2/1a:59-61). This letter required them to live to God’s glory first and foremost. Andrew Murray had gradually to be decreased for the increasing of Christ, and for this, his resignation and self-dishonouring were required. These would become parts of his spirituality.

When Murray Sr. received the news that Andrew had experienced his conversion, he replied on 30 April 1846:

“To return to your letters, I have to assure you that they, especially that of Andrew brought us in humility and gratitude to the Throne of grace to praise our covenant God for all the kindness manifested to you both. The humble but sincere trust that we have been brought to know ourselves as lost sinners and Jesus as our all sufficient Saviour is a blessing which demands eternal praises. Though Andrew may yet sometimes be assailed with doubts as to his state seeing he has not had such deep convictions of sin... yet he ought not on that account to doubt that the Lord in sovereign mercy has drawn him for the Lord. The Spirit has a diversity of ways in drawing sinners to God. Wherever there is a principle of spiritual life implanted in the soul, there will be, from time to time, new discoveries of the corrupt workings of human nature. The great secret in the Christian warfare is distrusting ourselves and our-own strength, and looking to Christ as our strengths as well as our righteousness, Isaiah 45, v. 24” (Archive P1/1/2a).

In this quote, Murray Senior’s God-centred spirituality is clearly expressed. In this respect, his instructing to his sons on the human being’s natural corrupt status before God, the sufficiency of the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour, the work of the Holy Spirit and the weakness of man, is penetrating sharp. Moreover, he uses a Bible verse in order to support his instruction. This fact is proof of a typical Bible-centeredness. The fundamental key is that his instruction is not based upon human knowledge or wisdom,

but that is rather rooted in God's Word. In the same letter, he also emphasises that:

“While you study Theology, which I doubt not, you will do with all assiduity. I entreat you to study the happy art of often turning the thoughts and hearts to the fullness and grace of Christ, Col. 1 v 19. In Him alone, we can find safety, peace and comfort.”

Here, the father is counselling, helping his sons to cope with the situation in a manner that would not erode their spiritual development. Of course, he was concerned about the structure and complexion of the theology they were trained in. Consequently, he instructed them to the merits and defects of their theological study. When John raised the substance of the study of Dogmatics, and uttered the intention to study the German system of theology and to master it in a letter to his father on 5 November 1846, Murray Sr. commented on 20 February 1847:

“You mention that the German Theology... I fear there is at present too great an inclination to exalt human intellect or human reason in judging of what man should believe. I was lately engaged in reading with avidity a most heterodox book of one Jenkins' *on the extent of the atonement*. I was often shocked with his want of Reverence in speaking of the failure of God's moral experiments. I see Hodge of America has written against War Hume and Jenkins on this subject - and Hodge¹¹⁸ is strongly recommended by Candlish and Cunningham¹¹⁹ - Haldane of Edinburgh has also taken them up... [You] should the writings of Hodge and Haldane come in your way you might make yourselves master of their arguments” (Archive P1A/2/1a:78-80).

¹¹⁸ Charles Hodge (1797-1878) was a famous Reformed theologian. He worked as a professor at the Princeton Seminary for forty-six years. Under his inspection, over 3,000 students studied and became Presbyterian ministers in America. This fact infers his influence on American Presbyterian Church (Kim, K-h 1994:238-239).

¹¹⁹ See the section 2.4.2.1 The Church Disruption in Scotland (1843) in chapter 2, for personal records of Candlish and Cunningham.

In this statement, it is not difficult to identify Murray's Sr.'s critical attitude toward the modern liberal theology which "exalt[s] human intellect or human reason." Murray Sr.'s influence on his sons, in many respects, was wide and deep. These influences are easily identified in Andrew's letters. To these, our attention must now be turned.

3.5 Murray's developing Evangelical spirituality

In terms of the available primary sources, we are approaching the end of Andrew Murray's stay and theological studies in Utrecht. This asks for a paragraph in which the character of his spirituality as it is reflected in the documents should be surveyed. In general, God-centeredness, Bible-centeredness and Church-centeredness were detected. The emphasis on a holy life was added after his conversion.

The seed of a spirituality of God-centeredness (which Murray Sr. had sown) gradually started to rise from Murray's heart during this period. His letter to his parents on 7 May 1846 explicates:

"Since the letter¹²⁰ I cannot say that I have always had as much enjoyment as before it, but still there has been much joy in the Lord, though, alas! there has also been much sin, not only that sin of which Paul speaks "When I would do good Evil is present with one" but also sin against the warning of an enlightened conscience, and then its invariable consequence. "Our sins have separated between us from God." But *through grace I have always been enabled to trust in Him who has begun the good work in me, and to believe that He will also perform it what He has, out of His free love before I was born, begun.* Oh! [T]hat I may receive grace to walk more holy before Him" (Archive P1A/2/1a:67-68; emphasised by Lee).

¹²⁰ This letter is the letter forwarded to his parents on 14 November 1845. It contains Murray's first report on his conversion.

This letter was written about 6 months after the account of his conversion. He recalled that what he had experienced was to be ascribed to the work of God alone. However, whereas he had much joy, he confessed, he also had much sin. He realised through his own experience that sin separated man from God, and that the human was of totally impotent to overcome it. He praised God's free love and grace to enable him to walk "more holy" before God in spite of his sin. This fact confirms us that Murray's God-centeredness was already established.

Murray's God-centeredness can also be found in a letter to his mother dated 1 September 1846:

"As for my own state at present, it is anything but lively. The great difficulty, I feel, is to find the limits & connection between true resignation to God when He hides His face from me, and a faithful resistance to the Devil and my own heart. Oh! It is so difficult, yes it is impossible for man, to strive in a spirit of patient submission to God, and waiting for Him for the issues" (Archive P1A/2/1a:69-71).

In this statement, he clearly emphasises human impotence and God's omnipotence. At the same time, the Bible occupied a very distinctive place in Andrew's life. He had to make special time available to study the Bible thoroughly. This knowledge was not indicated in the theological training itself. He complained in this regard in his letter forwarded to his parents on 9 November 1846:

"At this moment it is principally Dogmatical Theology or rather as yet, the introduction to it. One great want, and it is one for which I have lately been led to pray a good deal, is that God's word itself is so much left unstudied" (Archive P1A/2/1a:77).

If it is taken into account that the two student societies, *Sechor Dabar* and *Eltheto*, mainly focused on the study of the Bible, it is clear (also in the light of above remarks) that Andrew deliberately based his spirituality on a deep affinity with the Bible as the authoritative Word of God. This shows his Bible-centeredness.

Sechor Dabar, which Murray joined, basically promoted the study of the subjects required for the ministerial calling (Lindner 1996:22). Thus, members belonged to the society tried to practice what was needed in church ministry, even though it was, to a large extent, superficial and theoretical.¹²¹ In a letter to his parents on 7 May 1846, Murray explained one of the activities of the members:

“On Wednesdays we meet in a church for oratory, when one delivers sermon, another speaks extempore, and a third reads a piece of poetry- all, of course, to accustom us a little to the work in which we expect and hope to be engaged. So much for the externals may God fit us internally & may we all be indeed taught from on [H]igh. - On Sabbath evenings we meet together for reading, singing and prayer, when one generally speaks over a chapter” (Archive P1A/2/1a:67-68).

This activity for the building of ministerial capacity was a step towards the embodiment of Andrew’s Church-centeredness, or his tendency to highly value to the church as a structure and communion. This could also be seen in his attitude regarding liberal theology. His orthodox confessional faith was due to his father’s influence. Therefore, his theological orientation was always aligned to orthodox theology. This caused him to have a strong dissatisfaction with the liberals. The letter forwarded to his parents on 9

¹²¹ Practical theology without field is nothing but superficial and theoretical, even though its value must not be ignored.

November 1846 sheds some light on it:

“We have met with very kind friends. Amongst others I lodged at the end of the summer vacation for a week with a young minister in Harderwijk, Dr. Taats (a fellow-student of Messrs. Krige & Albertyn), one of the pious & evangelical party, who, however assiduous in his parish work, yet unfortunately like most of the pious ministers in this country, leaves the public church affairs very much in the hands of those in whose possession they at present are the moderate Liberals” (Archive P1A/2/1a:77).

This statement shows his anti-liberal persuasion. He was dissatisfied with the fact that many public church matters were controlled mainly by liberals.¹²² This anti-liberal attitude brought him into conflict with liberals in the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa in later years.

When Andrew was still in Aberdeen, he and his brother John received a letter dated 23 April 1845 from their father. In the letter, Murray Sr. advised them to be holy when they were in Holland. Especially, he urged them not to follow abominable customs such as drinking and smoking, etc., but to entertain friends with tea or coffee if necessary. “Do not afraid to be singular in such thing[s]” was their father’s briefing to his sons.¹²³ Murray’s letter on 7 May 1846 shows that the advice of his father was being taken seriously:

“We still associate only with our own circle of students. If you see the number of the Free Church Missionary Record for April, you will see mention made of them and us. We meet at present every Friday evening for work from 5½ till 10, and then sup together ([from] 10 [till] 12. very

¹²² This fact shows Murray’s *Activism* too.

¹²³ See Murray Sr.’s letter forwarded to his sons on 23 April 1845 (Archive P1A/2/1a:56-58).

plainly, of course bread and butter, cheese, and some sort of coffee.)”
(Archive P1A/2/1a:67-68; emphasised by Lee).

Murray must have written this letter recalling his father’s advice. This is evidence of his spirituality of a holy life.

In summary, we have to conclude that Murray Sr. still exercised a strong influence on the development and shaping of Andrew’s spirituality. It remained firmly within the boundaries of a God-centeredness, Bible-centeredness and Church-centeredness. The emphasis on a holy life was also accommodated in his spirituality. And it was deeply influenced by his conversion. However, although his spirituality showed several characteristics of Evangelical-Reformed conviction, his spirituality during this period was still theoretical. It was practised only in the ivory tower, in small like-minded group, and in private.¹²⁴

3.6 Murray’s ordination by the Hague Committee

In the middle of his study in Holland, Murray contemplated the future after completing his theological course. The problem was that he would be only twenty years of age at the time when he finished his study. As a rule, persons ordained by the church should be over twenty-two years of age (Du Plessis 1919:69). Therefore, he had to wait two more years before ordination. Murray conditionally decided to go to the University of Halle in Germany for a year, but not without the permission of his father. Thus, he wrote a letter to his father on 7 May 1846 in order to learn his father’s judgement:

¹²⁴ In his diary written on 4 January 1846, Murray confesses: “I think I can say that I believe in Jesus. But oh what a faith! I know theoretically what faith is but it is not in my practice (Archive P1A/1a:19).”

“There is a plan that I have to propose to Papa. I cannot say that I am sure that it will meet with his approbation, but I mention it thus early that he may think about it, and shall write more fully about it afterwards, and then Papa will perhaps be kind enough to give me an answer. In about two years from this date, which is all the time that it will be necessary for us to stay here; I shall be just twenty years old. The lectures here are such that it is almost impossible to get any good from them. What would Papa say to my or perhaps both of us, then going to Germany?” (Archive P1A/2/1a: 67-68).

Murray thought that he would gain theologically and spiritually by moving on to Halle.¹²⁵ Halle was a leading pietistic University which was established by Philipp Spener (1635-1705) in 1694, and was developed by August Francke (1663-1727).¹²⁶ In the same letter, the reason why Murray had chosen Halle can be seen:

“It would likely be to Halle, where there are a great many excellent (both in head and heart) professors, at the head of whom stands Tholuck¹²⁷, a pious man, professor of exegesis, who stands at the head of those who at the present time oppose the German neology - at least as to what concerns the New Testament.”

For the time being, nothing came of his plans. About a year later, Murray asked once more his father’s advice concerning the future after completion of his studies in Holland.¹²⁸ However, his father’s reply was lukewarm: “I am not at present prepared to

¹²⁵ As we already observed, rationalism and secularism were pervaded in Holland. Conclusively it was difficult to find any kind of religious fervour there. This led Murray to decide to go to Halle. This letter was written by Murray about 10 months after his arrival in Holland.

¹²⁶ On Philipp Spener and August Francke, see the section of ‘1.2.3.1.3 Pietism’ in chapter 1.

¹²⁷ Friedrich August Tholuck (1799-1877) was a professor of theology at Halle University from his calling in 1826 to his departure. For more information, see *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*. Vol. XI. p.420-421.

¹²⁸ This letter seems to be written by Murray and John on 28 April 1847, and it cannot be found in the DRC Archives at present. Meanwhile, at this time, the plan of Murray’s staying another year of abroad would not be in Germany but be in Holland.

give a decided opinion” (Murray Sr.’s letter on 15 Sept 1847). He also made sure that his hesitation was not rooted in economic matters, but rather in the situation of the Church at the Cape and the usefulness of practical training there. Murray Sr. thought that the practical experience at the Cape before taking a charge of a congregation was more useful than study in abroad. In the same letter, however, Murray Sr. remarked: “Should I hear nothing more on the subject from yourselves before I return from [Cape] Town I may be better able to give a decided opinion on the subject.” Then, he advised Murray to believe the God’s “unerring guidance.” In the next letter written on 4 November 1847, Murray Sr. returns to the question of Andrew’s staying an additional year:

“It is now time to treat of other subjects - as to Andrew’s proposal of staying a year longer in Holland. I cannot yet say anything decided, and it is perhaps unnecessary before I shall have heard from you again” (Archive P1A/2/1a:84-86).

Ultimately, Murray left his future in the hands of God. In the letter forwarded to his parents on 10 March 1848, this is apparent:

“You can conceive that we are anxiously waiting for the letters from home which shall decide the question as to my next year. Although I still feel the necessity of staying, yet I can say that I am prepared for whatever shall be good, trusting that that gracious Father will guide us now, as He has so kindly hitherto led us, and believing that He knows what is best for His Church in that part of the vineyard where I desire to labour. My desire is to place myself in His hands, and He can use me even although I have not the advantage of an additional year's stay in Europe, perhaps, even better than if I had such an additional stock of human wisdom, which so often proves nothing else than an obstruction in God’s way” (Archive P1A/2/1a:54-55).

The opportunity to study in Halle eventually did not turn up, because breaking the customary rule, the Hague Committee¹²⁹ ordained Murray as a minister on his twentieth birthday, 9 May 1848. Andrew left Holland in July, and arrived at Cape Town in November of the same year, and was appointed as minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Bloemfontein in 1849.¹³⁰

Conclusion

A few concluding remarks are now necessary. The chapter indeed covered a specific period in Andrew's life, *viz.* that of being a theological student in Utrecht between 1845 and 1848. The relevant primary sources (i.e. letters and an interesting diary) suggest an unmistakable development in his spirituality.

The previous period which was investigated in chapter 2 was identified as the formative stage of his spirituality. His spirituality was receptive in the sense that it was exclusively founded upon the impact of the spirituality of the home of his childhood as well as that of his father and uncle. It reflected very little authentic spiritual orientation and insight. However, the student years in Utrecht were different. He was now faced with the questioning of his inner spiritual feelings and traditional certainties. As a matter of fact, these questions and conflicts gave rise to a spiritual struggle which ended in the experience of a conversion. This was undoubtedly the most influential and central

¹²⁹ According to Du Plessis (1919:72), one who studied abroad in order to receive ordination before taking a charge of ministry, the ordination was administered by this committee at that time. Its full name was The Committee for the Interests of Protestant Churches in the East and West Indies. However, because it met at Hague, the name was called as the Hague Committee for convenience.

¹³⁰ Murray's returning schedule to South Africa is not clear. Murray and John took part in the farewell meeting of *Sechor Dabar* on 3 July 1848, and a day of the month left from Holland (Du Plessis 1919:74). Meanwhile Lindner (1996:30-31) says that the Murrays had visited their uncle's home in Scotland and then arrived at Cape Town in November, after leaving from Holland in July.

spiritual experience of his life of this period. His spirituality was changed now, to the extent, that it received an “own” history. This history, with its distinct orientation on the far-reaching conversion experience, could, from now on, serve as the platform for a further development in his spirituality. This experience indeed brought back the certainties of the previous phase, but it also caused his spirituality to become less receptive and more individual.

A second observation is that Murray’s activity in *Sechor Dabar* and *Eltheto* kept him from spiritual devastation, and invigorated his passion for prayer and missionary work. He also started to apply in practice what he experienced in terms of his convictions. This means that his spirituality exposes a practical and involving side.

Murray Sr.’s influence on Murray was deep during this period too. He duly inspected his son’s spiritual matters by letters, and his instructions now started to work as a screening device in Murray’s spirituality. His father’s God-centeredness, Bible-centeredness, Church-centeredness and emphasis on a holy life continued to be a part of Andrew’s spirituality. In the next chapter, the focus shifts to Murray’s ministry in the Bloemfontein pastorate in South Africa. His spirituality had to adapt to a new environment again.

Chapter 4

The Ministry in Bloemfontein (1849-1860):

The receiving of a ministerial orientation

- ◆ **4.1 Induction in the Bloemfontein pastorate
(1849)**
- ◆ **4.2 The Bloemfontein pastorate**
- ◆ **4.3 The sense of a calling and duty**
- ◆ **4.4 Murray's Church-centeredness**
- ◆ **4.5 Murray's spirituality during this period**

Introduction

This chapter deals with Andrew Murray's ministry in the Bloemfontein pastorate (1849-1860). For Murray, this was a new situation. He was disclosed to a ministry of which he had no experience. Whereas, heretofore, his spirituality developed in a superficial and theoretical area, it was now exposed to struggle and adaptation in a practical sphere. The leading question thus is: how did it influence his spirituality? How was his spirituality developing the years in Bloemfontein?

The aim of this chapter is thus to observe the characteristics of his growing spirituality. Murray's spirituality will cautiously be analysed in his letters and a diary. The diary is in the Dutch Reformed Church Archives catalogued as P1A/1b. This diary starts from the day of 6 January 1852, and finishes on 20 September 1859. The significance of this diary is that it is a document displaying Murray's innermost feelings when he served his first pastorate. The intention of the analysis is to compare Murray's spirituality of this period with that of the previous period, because situations between the two periods shifted from a historical-theological to a ministerial orientation and context. Our investigation starts with his induction in Bloemfontein, and analyses his ecclesiastical and political activities in the remote outpost regions of South Africa. Then, it moves on to delineate Murray's spirituality in terms of the ways in which he referred to it.

4.1 Induction in the Bloemfontein pastorate (1849)

Andrew and John arrived at Cape Town in November 1848, and stayed temporally with

their grandparents. During their stay in Cape Town, the two brothers had the opportunity to preach in, at least, three churches. Those churches were *Groote Kerk*, St. Stephen's and St. Andrews (Murray's letter on 15 and 23 Nov 1848).

In the mean time, they waited for their father's direction as to how they had to act. During this period, a rumour reached them that one of them would be inducted in Wynberg. This would provide for an excellent opportunity, because this congregation was very near to the centre of Cape Town, and in every aspect, convenient. Andrew as well as John however opposed to the possibility of Wynberg.¹³¹ They thought it not a "very pressing call of duty," because nearby ministers of the Presbytery could easily fill the vacancy when the need arose. They would rather be available for congregations that could not easily be filled (Murray's letter on 15 Nov 1848).

Eventually, Andrew and John were appointed by the Governor, Sir Harry Smith (1787-1860),¹³² as ministers of Bloemfontein and Burgersdorp respectively.¹³³ Whereas Burgersdorp was in the region of the Cape Colony, Bloemfontein was a town distanced more than 200 Kilometres north of the border of the Cape Colony. Considering the fact that the Orange River Sovereignty was established only in 1848, Murray's benching to Bloemfontein (the town served as capital of the Sovereignty) was a pioneering one. Andrew Murray's induction in Bloemfontein thus was of directive ecclesiastical significance for the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. This was the first official

¹³¹ However, they did not strongly oppose accepting the call in any way. If their father said that it would be God's call, then they were prepared to accept it. Murray Sr.'s influence on his sons was a deep one (Murray's letter on 15 Nov 1848).

¹³² For more information about him, consult the *Web Encyclopaedia*. www.wikipedia.org

¹³³ Because Murray was younger than John, he took the charge of Bloemfontein (Du Plessis 1919:77).

step where the Dutch Reformed Church extended her influence outside the border of the Cape Colony.

Bloemfontein was the centre of the Orange River Sovereignty which became relatively recently under the British Queen's authority (in 1848). The Sovereignty was thus still unstable at that time, and several political problems were not yet settled. A brief survey of the history that leads to the establishment of the Sovereignty will provide a perspective of the context in which Andrew had to minister.

4.1.1 A brief history of the Orange River Sovereignty

Politically, the historical run-up to the establishment of the Orange River Sovereignty can be summarised in one word, *conflict*. The conflict can be divided into two categories for purposes of systematisation: (1) the relationship between the Boer and the British, and (2) the relationship between the whites and the surrounding tribes. However, the former relationship seems to be more influential with regard to Murray's ministry.

The creation of the Orange River Sovereignty can be traced back to an event that became known as the *Great Trek*. The Great Trek, taking place during the 1830's, is one of the dramatic hallmarks of South African history. The term "Great" does not refer to the numbers participating in the Trek itself, but relates to its consequential and important socio-political and economical implications (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:249). While causes of the event have been seriously debated by the historians, no conclusive consensus has been reached yet (Hinchliff 1968:36). However, triggering events can be

traced, even though it is difficult to pin down the fundamental cause. Shaw (1996:161) supposes that “the main reason” was “British settlers and British missionaries.” Pillay and Hofmeyr (1991:249) estimate that the reason related to the “autocratic attitude of the British officials,” “the philanthropic legislation concerning liberated coloured people”¹³⁴ and “a changed policy for the eastern border areas.” Van der Merwe (1934:90-91) deduces that the reason is related to the autocratic control of the British government, and to its Anglicisation policy. De Gruchy (1979:18-19) observes that the fundamental reason must be linked to “the promulgation of Ordinance Fifty” in 1828 and the language policy of the British government.¹³⁵ Du Plessis (1919:81-82) points to the following:

“Suffice it to say that it was not due, as one extreme view has represented, to the desire to achieve religious liberty: no people could enjoy greater freedom of worship than these pastoral Boers. Nor was it undertaken, as extremists on the other side aver, because the Boer were determined to uphold slavery, and could not enforce this resolve under the British flag: Pieter Retief, the chief emigrant leader, declared emphatically, “We shall take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery.” Dissatisfaction at the losses which they had sustained in the frontier wars, and at the unjust way in which they had been defrauded of their share of compensation for their emancipated slaves; irritation at the nagging policy of the British Government, and at the “unjustifiable odium” cast upon them by interested missionaries and philanthropists; perhaps also the lure of the

¹³⁴ With respect to philanthropic legislation, Theal’s comment is interesting: “The early English Governors reported that the slaves in the Colony were in as comfortable circumstances as agricultural labourers in Great Britain, and all other trustworthy testimony is to the same effect. But the spirit of the nineteenth century was opposed to the continuation of the system, and practically every one recognised after 1828 that sooner or later, it must come to an end. How to bring about emancipation without ruining the Europeans became the most important question of the day” (Theal 1902:184). This comment helps to understand how to be the relationship between the British and the Boer who could not manage themselves without sufficient labourers, developed.

¹³⁵ The “Ordinance Fifty” proclaimed by the instigation of Dr. John Philip in 1828 is the principle that “all free persons irrespective of colour or race” are equal in the sight of law (De Gruchy 1979:18). Scholars who see it from political perspective say that this Ordinance evoked strong discontentment to Boers who needed human labour for their economy.

wilderness, coupled with a vague, innate desire for complete independence all these were contributory motives.”

As seen above, the Great Trek must be understood in terms of its political, socio-economical and religious significance. In addition, the Boer’s qualities of character are also considered as another reason for the Trek. Campbell observed that “[t]hey were men of the Bible and the strong arm... they were a breed impossible to force and difficult to persuade” (Van der Merwe 1934:90). The Great Trek, we can say, was deeply related to the causes enumerated above and the Boer’s ardent passion towards political freedom (cf. Ross 1993:152).¹³⁶

When Van Riebeeck (1619-1677) came to the Cape to establish a base to replenish trading vessels in 1652, the Netherlands took pride in her political power in Europe. However, during the course of the 18th century it was on the decline (Van der Merwe :68). Moreover, since the Dutch East India Company¹³⁷ stuck to a rigid monopoly system on behalf of its interests, the economy of the Cape Colony was not rich, and her natural resources were restricted. The power declination of the DEIC caused by the weakening of Netherlands and the impediment of the company which had existed in the Cape Colony fostered the expansion of the settlement into the hinterland which provided the white settlers with a considerable amount of agricultural and stock products than the area that the DEIC had demarcated (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:232-233). This expansion led to a wide gulf between the government officials of the DEIC and the white settlers, i.e. the colonists. The colonists had to nourish an attitude of self-reliance

¹³⁶ “The Boers,” says Andrew Ross (1993:152), “sought their ‘lekker lewe’, their ‘sweet life’, the freedom to live in their own way.”

¹³⁷ This will be abbreviated as DEIC afterwards.

and adaptation to a severe environment.¹³⁸ The chasm between the two made the colonists develop a strong passion for political freedom (Van der Merwe 1934:68).

The rapid extension would make it possible to establish several towns for colonists. However, the DEIC failed to keep the stocks of the colonists safe from the theft of the neighbour tribes. All that the DEIC could do was just attempt to prevent further expansion.¹³⁹ This evoked the increasing resentment of the cattle farmers, and consequently, the jurisdiction of the DEIC at two districts was relinquished (Hinchliff 1968:13). Not only cattle farmers but also the local people of the Cape and the inhabitants of agricultural areas were dissatisfied with the policy and administration of the DEIC. Their frustration against the company had increased by 1779 (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:236).

Moreover, the colonists had no chair in the supreme government of the country (Theal 1902:61). All of these dissatisfactions met with the tide of the ideas on the rights and freedoms of people pervasive in the European continent, and this connection produced several independence movements like the Cape Patriots and the independence of the two Boer republics, Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam (Pillay & Hofmeyr :236). However, the problem of the two republics was that they were too weak to protect themselves from the attacks of surrounding tribes (Theal :66).

¹³⁸ According to Hofmeyr, the condition of the white settlers was a very difficult one from the beginning, because of the limited food supply, lack of home building (they had to stay in tents even under the severe cold and stormy weather) and disease (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:235).

¹³⁹ Owing to the cost of maintenance, any further expansion meant the loss of revenue to the company (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:236).

In 1795, under the order of the Prince of Orange who was in England as a fugitive, the Cape was handed over to the Britain. The British occupied the Cape to prevent a French invasion. That the occupation took place without consideration of the Cape residents led to suspicion among the farmers and even the officials in command of the DEIC within the Colony. But after a brief skirmish, the British defeated the Dutch forces, and took over the Cape (Van der Merwe 1934:74; Hinchliff 1968:13-14).

Because the primary purpose of occupation of the Cape was to keep it from France, the existing order of the Cape was maintained, in a large measure, for effective government and for the self-supporting policy of the Cape (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:248). The new rulers were also to maintain the privileges of the Dutch Reformed Church as the established Church that was protected by the laws of the Colony (Hinchliff :14). However, because the Governor was associated with every part of government,¹⁴⁰ the colonists who had already experienced governmental neglect from the DEIC, were suspicious of the British rule (Van der Merwe :74).

In terms of the peace of Amiens, the Cape was returned to the control of the Netherlands again in 1803. In this period, the claims of the Prince of Orange were ignored, and French influence was strong. Commissioner Abraham de Mist and Governor J.W. Janssens were dispatched to the Cape (Hinchliff :16). In contrast to the former British rule, this government was controlled by various power sources: a Governor and a council of four; one of whose members had to be from the Colony (Eybers 1918:27).

¹⁴⁰ "Every public act done" Eybers (1918:27) says "derived its validity from the sole and undivided and unadvised authority of the Governor."

The British occupied the Cape again in 1806. The second British occupation resulted in a government that maintained an autocratic attitude, and the attitude provoked a strong resistance from both the Burghers (Boers) and the black and Khoisan peoples. In addition to this, socio-economical aspects also played a prominent role in the complex situation. The new philanthropic legislation concerning the liberation of coloured peoples and several juridical declarations seemed to be impartial against the Burghers (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:249). Moreover a policy of Anglicisation was implemented (Van der Merwe 1934:90). In 1820, as a part of this policy, 5,000 British settlers came into the Colony.¹⁴¹ They emigrated partly due to the post-war economic depression in England and partly due to strengthen the (British) European element on the Frontier (Lucas 1913:135).

Another step towards Anglicisation was an attempt to substitute Dutch for the English language. In 1822, a proclamation by Lord Charles Somerset (1767-1831)¹⁴² declared that English alone would be recognised as official language in the Cape from 1827. English had to be exclusively used within “Judicial and Official Acts, Proceedings, and Business.” In addition, to address the need of clergymen in the Cape Dutch Church, the Governor initiated the recruitment of young ministers of the Scottish and Presbyterian Church to serve in South African Dutch and Reformed congregations. They could (thus it was thought) also help to facilitate the language policy of Somerset within an important traditional and religious-ecclesiastical sphere of the colonial society. Against this background, it is understandable why many of the frontier Dutch farmers resented the language policy of Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor (Du Plessis 1919:7).

¹⁴¹ They were Scotchmen, Irishmen, Welshmen and a majority of Englishmen (Lucas 1913:135).

¹⁴² For more information about him, consult the *Web Encyclopaedia* www.wikipedia.org

The broader ecclesiastical picture also shows that most of the (British) missionaries, mission societies and churches of British origin in the Colony were openly sympathetic to the British government and its policies (Hinchliff 1968:37-38). The Dutch Reformed Church also accepted the new Christian and Cape commonwealth, and was not supportive of the Great Trek (De Gruchy 1979:20). No minister was made available to join the Trek. Many trekboers were thus dissatisfied with the Dutch Reformed Church, and distrusted the Church and its clergymen. The Great Trek was therefore a significant political event and not without ecclesiastical and theological consequences.

Owing to the Trek, independent white settlements beyond the Orange River and even further north, beyond the Vaal River, were established. However, in 1848, the Orange River Sovereignty was promulgated by the Governor Sir Harry Smith and encompassed the territory between the Vaal and Orange River. Although this annexation evoked a military collision between the Boers and the British, it finished shortly after the dissolution of Boer resistance. "Any survivors unable to tolerate British rule simply moved farther on, while the rest settled back into their farms and family life as best they could (Lindner 1996:34-35)." The town of Bloemfontein developed and housed the newly constituted government and British troops for security. It had happened a year before Murray's induction in the Bloemfontein pastorate.

4.2 The Bloemfontein pastorate

As a very young minister, Murray, in fact, had to care for four congregations: Bloemfontein, Riet River (or Frauresmith), Rietpoort (or Smithfield) and Winburg (Du

Plessis 1919:98). He was confronted with difficult problems and even adversaries, both external and internal. Compared to his Graaff-Reinet, Aberdeen youth and his Utrecht student years, Bloemfontein presented a totally different situation, a situation that surely had an influence on his spirituality. In order to comprehend this impact, it is necessary to attend to the external and internal factors that helped to shape Andrew's ministry and spirituality in Bloemfontein. The external factors encompass the inconvenience of living in Bloemfontein and the security threat in the parishes.

4.2.1 The inconvenience of living in Bloemfontein

Bloemfontein was a remote town with the minimum of infrastructure. The district was scattered with dangerous wild animals like leopards, wolves, jackals, wild dogs and even lions, games such as springbuck, ostrich and hare were plentiful (Du Plessis 1919:93; Murray 1954:40-41). Freeman's impression of Bloemfontein in 1850 explains its circumstances as follows:

“Bloemfontein, the seat of the Government in this Sovereignty, has nothing to recommend it in its natural features. The scenery is extremely uninteresting. There is no wood and little water. The plan of a town is laid out. The foundation of a church is laid. A courthouse and a prison exist. There are about forty or fifty tolerable houses built. There are a few stores and shops, a market-place with a bell to announce the time when sales take place, and a clerk of the market appointed. A good well has been sunk, and at forty feet depth a supply of water is found from six to nine feet” (Freeman 1851:303).

The town of Bloemfontein was thus not yet a fully comfortable environment to inhabit. Goods were relatively expensive, and what was worse, it was not easy to buy them,

despite the ability to pay. In Murray's letter to his father on 18 June 1849, he remarks in this regard:

“As wood work is very expensive here from the scarcely of tradesmen, I should like if Papa could get for me a book case half the size of John, or something more, and any kind of a chest of drawers perhaps from Algoa Bay” (Archive P1A/2/1a:98-100).

Most of his requirements had to be sent by his father (Murray's letter on 1 Aug 1849).¹⁴³ To make things even more uncomfortable, no residence for him was available when he was inducted on 6 May 1849. He had to be satisfied with the use Dr. Drury's room, partly occupied by medicines until his parsonage was completed (Murray's letter on 14 June 1849).¹⁴⁴ Moreover, the requirements of his ministry demanded much. The pastorate which Murray had to cover was over 50,000 square miles in size (Du Plessis 1919:77).¹⁴⁵ Although he was appointed to Bloemfontein, he had to care for at least three parishes as *consulent*.¹⁴⁶

4.2.2 Security threats

Another great difficulty of that time was insecure situation. Although the presence of fierce wild beasts was an immediate threat, the threatening attacks of surrounding black tribes were more terrible. They raided farms and outposts from time to time. When Murray visited Winburg, he made an opportunity of it to visit to the French mission station at Mekuatleng in the district. However, he missed Daumas who worked at the

¹⁴³ The letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 109-112.

¹⁴⁴ The letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; without page number.

¹⁴⁵ Murray was the first regular minister of the DR churches in the Orange River Sovereignty, so all the DR churches which were in the territory were basically to be superintended by him (Du Plessis 1919:77).

¹⁴⁶ *Consulent* was a kind of circular minister who took care of several parishes (Du Plessis 1919:98).

station, because Daumas had already left for Winburg with his colleague Cochet, in order to meet Murray. The next day, on the return journey, Murray met them on the road by chance. They went to Van Zoelen's outpost nearby, and spent several hours talking on the prospect of their mission in the area. Murray's letter forwarded to his mother on 11 May 1849 carries references to the insecure state of things:

“They [Daumas and Cochet] everyday fear the breaking out of war, as the chief of their station has robbed one of his neighbours of a large quantity of cattle. And the whole country will be mixed up with the matter, since all the chiefs have now sided either with one or other party. What they fear is not so much personal violence as the moral evil caused by the war. Many of their members are led away by the hope of gaining cattle to join in the war, and cannot so join in without conforming to heathenish ceremonies” (Archive P1A/2/1a:90-93).

In another letter dated 1 August 1849, Murray reflected to the similar situation. In the letter, he informed his mother of the intention to establish a new town at Rietpoort. However, the plan was temporarily dissolved:

“As I hinted, there will be no sale of Erven [ground for construction] and no service at Rietpoort. On Friday 27th July the Korannas attacked Molitrani & Nioshsh took all the cattle of the farmer, and killed 34 of their people. Yesterday the news was received that there has been another engagement near Platberg in which a great many lives have been sacrificed. And from Smithfield Major Warden, I was received a letter stating that the Boers have been in several cases ordered across the Orange River by command of Moshesh, so that there is thus the certainty of a war. Major Warden has, I understand, written for 200 more soldiers to Grahams Town. We are not in the very least danger here” (Archive P1A/2/1a:109-112).

It is thus clear that Andrew Murray, since his birth, had lived in a secure environment.

But now in 1849, he was exposed to a threatening situation. As a minister of religion, he had to contend with it, and to fulfil his ecclesiastical duties in these circumstances.¹⁴⁷ Additionally, he had to take into consideration the political tension within the small community amongst whom he bound himself.

4.2.3 Internal political tension¹⁴⁸

The continuous threats and assaults of neighbour black tribes were not a small burden for Murray to bear in his ministry. The fear of war distressed Andrew and his flock much (Murray's letter on 27th June 1849).¹⁴⁹ However, a more distressful situation effecting Murray's ministry was the enmity between the Boer and the British elements in the community and church (Murray 1954:61). Being from an English background himself, he had to play the situation very carefully. He opted for a neutral position. He reflected in a letter on 25 January 1850 as follows:

“On Monday I preached on 1 John iv. 7, and tried to speak as plainly as possible on all the contention and enmity which prevails amongst them, especially in reference to the Raad, where disputes sometimes run very high” (Archive P1A/2/1a:142-146).

¹⁴⁷ See the book *Waaksame Skans: Die Tweekoringkerk Bloemfontein 1848-1998* written by R.M. Britz for further detailed information about the Dutch Reformed Church at Bloemfontein.

¹⁴⁸ The main background of this tension had arisen from the subject of political freedom, as already seen above.

¹⁴⁹ At present in June 1849, there were only 130 regular soldiers led by Major Warden for guarding the Orange River Sovereignty. However, Moshesh, one of the leading princes of neighbour tribes, alone had 15,000 men. Amongst them, 1,000 men were cavalry soldiers. It is easy to imagine how Murray and other people felt fearful of war against neighbouring tribes (Murray's letter on 27 June 1849; Archive P1A/2/1a:101-104). So, some people left their district (cf. Murray's letter on 1 Dec 1849; Archive P1A/2/1a:125-127). It was a more distressful phenomenon for the future. So, the controlling commission decided to give some bounty to the young who wished to live in the district at least four years. Murray's church also decided to donate for this work £ 30 per annum (Murray's letter on 29 Aug 1849; Archive P1A/2/1a:117-120). This fear culminated when the British declared her withdrawal of the Orange River Sovereignty.

The problem prevailed at the middle of the decade; the Cox affair¹⁵⁰ again caused the enmity to be surfaced and the community to be divided. When the Cox case was submitted and he was sentenced to death, the feeling of enmity between the two sections of the church in Bloemfontein was in its apex. Following Murray's request, his wife Emma had to be a peace maker recovering the gulf between the two sections as the minister's wife. She had to mediate those separated feelings, but it was not an easy task for her. Her dilemma is expressed in a letter forwarded to a friend on 21 October 1856:

“The English & Dutch are at great enmity already, but I do hope when it is all past we may be able to draw all parties together again. My husband says I must be peacemaker being equally belonging to all parties, but it will require much judgement prudence & watchfulness for any unguarded expression or uttered opinion could be so soon taken up” (Murray 1954:62).¹⁵¹

Through these statements, it is not difficult to imagine the atmosphere in the church of Bloemfontein, and it is not difficult to see why Murray seemed to be passive with regard to political matters. Indeed, the young Andrew Murray was challenged by an unforeseen situation. His inexperience and youth had to be set aside. Being the only minister, he had to make decisions and manage a difficult ministry.

It was no easy task. For this reason, he needed more practical prayer and more dependence on God's grace than before. In his diary entry of 6 January 1852, he relates his decision as follows:

¹⁵⁰ C.L. Cox was an English farmer. He had married a Dutch girl, and had two children with her. However on 26 April 1856, Mrs. Cox and two young children were found murdered in their home. According to the related document, it was Cox, her husband and their father who killed them (Murray 1954:61).

¹⁵¹ This letter is in the book *Young Mrs. Murray goes to Bloemfontein 1956-1860* written by Joyce Murray in 1954.

“One thing I have felt ere I really become what I ought to be. I must seek for His grace in a different way than has hitherto been the case. I must begin to be an enthusiast to devote the whole heart and attention to Christ and nothing but Christ. If ever I attain to the perfect peace of the abiding spirit of adoption, to conformity to the glorious image of the Lamb, to usefulness in the church - it will be when I cease hesitating and measuring and calculating, & throw myself unreservedly into the service of Jesus” (Archive P1A/1b; emphasised by Lee).

The practical ministry with its demands and challenges led him to more contemplate God’s grace and self deficiency. This was to play a part in the further development of his spirituality. And a special sense of calling and responsibility rose in his heart.

4.3 The sense of a calling and duty

Above attention was given to the third context in which Murray’s spirituality was operational, and to which it was exposed to be influenced in the development of a character and expression of its own. Some observations in this regard have already been made. Much more has to be added though, because Murray’s spirituality did indeed develop within and due to the context of the Bloemfontein pastorate. In Murray’s letters from this time, a striking sense of duty and calling surfaces. This becomes evident in letters written during a pastoral visitation to settlements and people far to the north, beyond the Vaal River. He fairly quickly decided (6 months after his arrival) to reach out to the “poor people” in the north. A visitation trip was organised and put into reality. He was a person of affairs (Davis 1951:92). This combination was also evident in the Bloemfontein ministry itself.

4.3.1 Murray's pastoral visits to Transvaal district

Murray was convinced that “[t]he field is really ripe for the harvest, and many are longing for the preaching of the Word (Murray’s letter on 22 Dec 1849).” This was the motivation behind his excursion to the north. We must not think that the journey was easy, and must not think that Murray did not meet difficulties. However, his passion for souls as a minister and as a servant of God overcame the problems which arose and challenged the journey. Subsequently, the inner struggle to the calling of the churches in Transvaal shows his passion towards souls clearly (Murray’s letter on 30 Dec 1850).¹⁵²

The prevailing difficulties included administrative aspects. He had prior to his arrival to arrange with the people in charge of congregations. This took time, and was, in many instances, enveloped in uncertainty until the last. Secondly, a traveller’s security could not be guaranteed. Unexpected attacks by neighbouring tribes were a continuous threat (Murray’s letter on 25 Dec 1849).¹⁵³ Thirdly, the so-called Delagoa disease (malaria) presented another real danger (Murray’s letter on 7 and 18 Feb 1850).¹⁵⁴ On top of this, the pervasive and subtle atmosphere of political bias was evident. This surfaced in a church meeting in Morikwa where Murray was confronted by leaders who forced the church to make politically motivated decisions. One of them, refusing to attend the church meeting, told Murray that England was a horn of the beast of Revelation. His conclusion was therefore that those who received their wages from her (like Murray)

¹⁵² This letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 206-209.

¹⁵³ This letter is the same letter of 22nd of December 1849 but written on another day. This letter consists of 8 pages from 130 to 137. It is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a.

¹⁵⁴ These letters are in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 146-147 and pages 173-174 respectively. Meanwhile Coetzer, a deacon, was dead of the disease and Murray also suffered it severely during his first visit in Transvaal.

were partakers of sin.

In a letter forwarded to his father on 22 December 1849, Murray referred to his interpretation and understanding of the Bible. As Murray himself says: “By the way, he for the moment quite puzzled me by showing me the kanteekening [marginal note of the Dutch version of the Bible] in Revelations xvii. 12, where all the countries of Europe are mentioned as being typified by the horns of the beast except Holland. And under it, he included, of course, the true Afrikaners” (Archive P1A/2/1a:130-137). “I hardly knew whether to weep or smile” (Murray’s letter on 22 Dec 1849). However, all these difficulties could not detain his passion towards people’s spiritual well-being.

During this pastoral journey, Andrew was about to be faced by an urgent insistence of the majority of people to become their minister. Andrew Ross (1993:157) observes as follows:

“There had previously been three extended visits by special delegates, one in 1848, by Andrew Murray sen. and P.K. Albertyn, who had preached, baptised and distributed Bibles but were always suspect as possible British agents... Andrew jun., however, was extraordinarily successful in the Orange Free State. But he also travelled widely in the territories beyond the Vaal where the voortrekkers were much more bitterly anti-British and suspicious of the synod, which had condemned the Great Trek. Even here he was well received. Indeed, the extremist leaders in the north, Andries Pretorius¹⁵⁵ and A.H. Potgieter¹⁵⁶, each urged him to stay north of the Vaal and be their minister.”

¹⁵⁵ Andries Pretorius (1798-1853) was a leader of the Boers who was instrumental in establishing the Transvaal Republic. For more information, consult the *Web Encyclopaedia* www.wikipedia.org

¹⁵⁶ Andries Hendrik Potgieter (1792-1852) was a Boer political leader. He served as the first head of state of Potchefstroom from 1840 to 1845. He also served as the first head of state of Zoutpansberg from 1845 to 1852 (*Web Encyclopaedia*: www.wikipedia.org).

The young Andrew, before his coming to the north, had a clear vision of the inner calling for the ministry. Within the situation, however quite differently from Scotland, the Netherlands and the Cape Colony, he discovered (even in Bloemfontein) that there were many who had not heard the Gospel for ten years or even twenty years before Murray's arrival (Murray's letter on 1 Aug 1849).

At Mooi River across the Vaal in the north, owing to the long separation from regular sermons, people were not familiar with a minister's preaching, and portrayed difficulties to concentrate on the sermon when Murray preached. Murray thus had to spend much energy to get and hold their attention. Casper Kruger, a deacon, had never participated in the Lord's Table after his baptism, because of the absence of a minister (Murray's letter on 22 Dec 1849). This state of affairs, especially in the north, strengthened his sense of ministerial responsibility and inner calling. A new dimension was to be added. Many people whole heartedly received him and pleaded with him to stay with them. In some meetings, people burst into tears and entreated him to remain there (Murray's letter on 25 Dec 1849). Murray's special concern for these "poor people" moved their hearts. For the first time in his life, Andrew was confronted with an external calling to the ministry. This was a specific and compelling call that he had to answer.

He turned to his experienced father for advice. In terms of the aim of this study (i.e. to describe the development of Andrew Murray's spirituality), his encountering with an external calling is of importance. We have to pay close attention to it in so far as it possibly gave a further impetus in the advance of his spirituality. Murray had already

broached the matter in a letter to his father on the 22 December 1849:

“Gert Kruger says he considers either John or myself their rightful possession from the promise you made at Mooi River.¹⁵⁷ I really know not sometimes what to answer the people, they do so press me to come here. I must acknowledge that, were I not bound to Bloemfontein, which I have not the least desire to leave, I could not refuse their request” (Archive P1A/2/1a:130-137).

In the same letter but written on 25 December, he also mentions another calling story, and expressed his wish to accept it, provided his father would approve of it:

“The impressions which appear to have been produced have made the people still more anxious that I should come here, and some of them have been pleading with me for hours that I should accept a call... Perhaps you say, foolish boy! But the way in which some of the people here plead really moves my heart. Many are in a fit state for receiving the seed of the Word. May the Lord in His mercy help them.”

Murray showed his inclination to accept their call in this letter. He turned not only to his father but also to prayer.

Owing to his son's request, Murray Sr. provided not so much his opinion but his refusal to discuss the matter in a letter written on 11 February 1850. Before he touched the point, he noticed his awareness of a death of one of Murray's congregation, and advised what his son had to do for the family: “Should the widow be in destitute or constancies, which I fear is the case, you will have to exert yourself amongst your friends to get

¹⁵⁷ Murray Sr. had been appointed as a delegate by the Cape Synod of 1847, so that he could visit the “Voortrekkers” with P.K. Albertyn in order to know their ecclesiastical circumstances (Sass 1956:23; Ross 1993:157).

some aid for her.”¹⁵⁸ Then, he turned to the matter of the call to the north:

“As to the proposal of Mr. Kruger and his friends in Magaliesberg, I have only to say that you should be very careful and not give them any grounds whatever to look for your going amongst them permanently, for though I am well aware they are very kind and make great professions of friendship nevertheless they would not bear to be faithfully dealt with especially respecting their conduct to the Blacks - although I was not so far as you have been, yet I was eleven days at Mooi River and the elder Pienaar and I made some inquiries about their treatment of Blacks but from all we could learn that subject alone would make me tremble to go among them even if I were ever so young and vigorous. If you could get British rule and Mr. Stuart there it might do, but where there is, so to say, no law who could ever, with any effect, stand up for the oppressed?” (Archive P1A/2/1a:148-150).

This letter is significant to us in the sense that it depicted Murray Sr.’s sentiments and views of the people living to the north of the Vaal River. He voiced his reasons for being negative to follow a call in order to take up the ministry permanently among them. It would (at that moment in time) also stay beyond the influence and protection of the British Empire.

Without having received this letter yet, Andrew promised the community in the north to return in September of that year, to be accompanied by two ministers in order to consolidate ecclesiastical matters (Murray’s letter on 25 Dec 1849; 18 Mar 1850).¹⁵⁹ However, this promise could not be realised due to the political tension between the “Voortrekkers” and the Cape Colonial Governor. He wrote a letter to Abraham Faure,

¹⁵⁸ In this statement, Murray Sr.’s *Activism* is apparent

¹⁵⁹ These letters are in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 130-137 and 175-177 respectively. Meanwhile Murray Sr.’s letter which contained his opinion about the calling was delivered to Murray when he had already turned back to Bloemfontein.

minister of the Cape Town congregation as well as the respected secretary of the Synodical Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church, with regard to the planned excursion to the regions beyond the Vaal River. Faure's advise was that it should be postponed awaiting the Governor's official views. Murray, however, was indignant. He immediately made a decision to write again to Faure to get permission to leave. "[I]t appears to me [Murray] a most abominable application of the starvation principle, to deprive them of the Gospel for their political offences, and what is more, to lay a whole people thus under the ban for the sins of a few" (Murray's letter on 18 July 1850).¹⁶⁰

Murray, within a British colonial situation, was clear about his preference. The sense of a calling and the experience of the duties thereof were clearly valued by him higher than the official policies of the British Government in the south. He did not hide his evangelical and theological motivation, nor hid the consequences thereof. His father identified with his son's views. In a return letter (27 July 1850), he prayed to God that His eye may be set on Andrew, and direct him in His will. Then, he continues:

"As you seem to wish to have my opinion as to the propriety of starting soon for th[ese] Emigrants, I shall give it according to my best judgement. I confess the substance of the letter from Van Velden is very annoying and that of the Rev. Mr. Faure with the Governor's message not less so - but still as far as I can say these hindrances coming in the way at present and without your being able to have foreseen, seem to me to have a voice in them which should be attended to. It may be the will of the Lord, for wise purposes to try your patience - until you see the way opened for you" (Archive P1A/2/1a:156-157).

¹⁶⁰ This letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 185-188. Murray's anti-*Erastian* emotion is seen in this statement.

Eventually Murray left on the second journey to the Transvaal on 9 October 1850. Although it was a little later than promised, he started comparatively early considering the situation at that time (Du Plessis 1919:117).

What was the situation at that time? This must be clarified. From the beginning, the Dutch Reformed Church was the Church solely admitted and supported by the State. However in 1804, the monopoly status of the Dutch Reformed Church was dissolved formally by the De Mist ecclesiastical order (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:249-250). Many other churches were established. Despite this situation, special benefits of the State were still bestowed upon the Dutch Reformed Church. For instance, ministers belonged to the Church received their salary from the government.

But through the Ordinance No.3 in 1843, the support of the state to a specific denomination and religion was declared unfit to the social equity. Because of the growing financial burden by the growing number of churches, the government accepted the Ordinance quickly. Conclusively congregations established after the year 1850 could not receive governmental subsidies (Du Plessis :264-265). But Murray was not only a British citizen of Scottish descendant but also a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church who was inducted before 1850, he could receive his stipend from the government throughout his life (Du Plessis :265).

If we consider the fact that the issue of the emigration to the north was sensitive, and that Murray was, in fact, paid by the Cape Colonial Government, the significance of his decision to give priority to ministerial duties rather than political obligation, becomes

immediately clear.

Eventually, he visited the Transvaal three times while he served in the Bloemfontein pastorate.¹⁶¹ Whenever he sojourned the area, he was over-burdened by the calling to minister to the poor people staying in the unseen and remote corner of the country. Although the calling of the Transvaal was too pressing for him to refuse, his father's refusal made him stay in Bloemfontein. This fact shows how deep Murray Sr.'s influence on his son was even during this period.

In the letters to his father, a passion to minister to people living isolated in outpost circumstances can be detected. Combined with the compelling sense of a divine calling, it is evident that these experiences became part of his spirituality. By now, it was filtered through a typical evangelical awareness, and it was complemented in terms of a practical embodiment and activism. He formed a Bible class for adults who did not have membership yet in any church, and also for the purpose of inducing younger members of English community. He also started the Sunday school and a service for the blacks, even though Stuart did not like it (Murray's letter on 14 and 18 June 1849).¹⁶² His spirituality was both consensual and conscientious.

4.3.2 Involvement in political affairs

Before we argue the development of ecclesiastical and theological elements in the

¹⁶¹ Murray visited Transvaal three times: the first in December 1849; the second, in October 1850; the last, in October 1851 (Du Plessis 1919:519).

¹⁶² This letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 98-100. Stuart, the magistrate, was his close companion of his church and an active promoter for improving Bloemfontein. See Murray's letter to John on 14 June 1849.

spirituality of Andrew Murray during his first years in the ministry at Bloemfontein, attention must be paid to his concern with community and political affairs. Against the assumptions of Landman (1989:164), Saayman (1996:206) and Claassen (1994:143), Murray was not apathetic towards social and political matters.

At the beginning of his Bloemfontein ministry, he had not a small measure of concern to political matters. This can be found in the letters to his father. Because he was aware of the consequences of political and social matters, he had many conversations about the state of the country with leaders like Gert Kruger and Andries Pretorius when he travelled the Transvaal. In a letter (written on 22 December 1849), he reported: “In the afternoon I rode to Gert Kruger's, where I was most warmly received. With him, I had a great deal of conversation on the state of the country, from which, as well as from my own observation” (Archive P1A/2/1a:130-137). According to the letter, Andrew also did not avoid discussing the feud against the British regime. Murray referred to this as “malcontent spirit.” In a letter written on 17 January 1850, he mentioned to his father that he had met Andries Pretorius: “I had also a good deal of conversation with A. Pretorius on political matters” (P1A/2/1a:140-147). With respect to these references, it is difficult to accept the assertion that Murray was apathetic towards social-political matters. He was very much aware of the enmity between the British and the Boer.

A further significant example of his concern with political matters is illustrated in his views on and action against the colonial decision to withdraw from the Orange River Sovereignty early in the 1850's. The Orange River Sovereignty was proclaimed by Governor Harry Smith in 1848, a year before Murray's induction at Bloemfontein.

Between Major Warden and Moshesh, the king of the Basutho people, an arrangement was reached, and the boundary between the Sovereignty and Basutholand was finalised (Murray's letter on 21 Apr 1858).¹⁶³ However, tension built up, and the Governor had eventually to act. A British military force was unexpectedly defeated by Moshesh. This led the government to decide to relinquish the Sovereignty (Du Plessis 1919:147).

This decision to withdraw was opposed by a majority of the residents in the Sovereignty at the beginning. Thus, a committee was elected to deal with the matter during September 1853. With regard to the instructions and works of this committee, Murray wrote a letter to his brother John on 11 August 1853. The letter states that people, including Murray himself, thought that self-government was impossible. Some of the residents decided to leave, and had already packed. However, Murray would not move to another place for his safety, even though it was suggested. He kept faith: "I am still very strongly of opinion that we ought to do something and I will hardly feel at liberty to remain inactive, should my assistance in any way be required" (Archive P1A/2/1a). It is clear that Murray was not afraid to participate in the political arena on behalf of the community in order to address their fears and insecurity. In a letter to his father (dated 20 September 1853), he wrote:

"As regards my people, a growing interest in their welfare would not allow me easily to leave them, the object of so many prayers, without fear lest impressions made might be lost and promising blossoms all be destroyed. And personally I cannot conceal from myself the dangers I incur of losing, amidst excitement and bustle, any measure of quickening and enjoyment which the Lord has lately been granting me. However

¹⁶³ This letter forwarded to Murray's father in law, Hawthorn Rutherford, is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a.

much there is to attract on the one hand, I hardly think my fears would allow me to accept. I do, however, believe that if I may go, my God will show me the way” (Archive P1A/2/1a).

At the meetings of the mentioned committee on 5 and 8 September, 25 people were asked to act against the abandonment of the Sovereignty. They decided to choose two representatives to present their request to the Queen of England. A. J. Fraser and Andrew Murray were nominated (Du Plessis 1919:150-151).

As seen in the above mentioned letter, Murray had already known the danger which the mission would hold. However, he wished to take up the mission, partly because he did not want to leave his congregation in an uncertain state of security, and partly because he hoped to cure his weakening health (Murray’s letter on 20 Sept 1853). However, the mission was a failure owing to the interference of the Cape British government (Du Plessis :148-157). The Sovereignty was replaced by the Orange Free State, a Boer republic. Murray had to work in a new dispensation.

Murray could not forget the way in which the Sovereignty was politically terminated. It was done without any preparation of the residents. A few years later in 1858, at the time of a tragic war between Moshesh and the Orange Free State, he recalled the withdrawal again. Before the war, Murray exposed his dissatisfaction with the hasty abandonment which would become the origin of another disastrous war. In the letter forwarded to his father-in-law, Hawthorn Rutherford on 21 April 1858, he says: “The object of my writing now is to ask your opinion on a very important question whether it would not be possible to obtain the interference of the High Commissioner in this unfortunate war

with Moshesh.” Then, he explained the reasons for an British intervention:

“The cause of the war may be stated in very few words. Sir Harry Smith, in February, 1848, declared every man the owner of the ground he occupied at the time, and soon after gave instructions to have a boundary line made whereby all such ground should be marked off from the territory of Moshesh, as well as other chiefs. The line was made by Major Warden, and Moshesh’s assent was gained. English and Dutch farmers hold title-deeds from the English Government of all the farms up to that boundary line. When the country was abandoned, our Government received from England the State with the boundaries it then had, and engaged to respect all the title-deeds issued by the Eng[lish] Gov[ernmen]t... He [Moshesh] declares that he repeatedly arranged with Sir Harry Smith, and had his promise, that there should be no line, that he, after many vain protests, was compelled to give his assent to the boundary, that even after this the provisions in regard to the lands of his people on our side of the line were never fulfilled, that all the Queen's Commissioners, Major Hogge, Mr. Owen, General Cathcart, Sir G[eorge] Clerk acknowledged the injustice of the boundary in question, and that now he is no longer bound by it, as the English Gov[ernmen]t have broken their part of the original contract by withdrawing from the country” (Archive P1A/2/1a).

Murray tried to solve the disaster in a political way. Due to the outbreak of the war, his efforts were a failure. These failures would influence his participation in political matters throughout his ministry (cf. Du Plessis 1919:10). Murray was not apathetic on political matters at the outset of his ministry in Bloemfontein. He was involved in the well-being and activities of the communities of which he was part. His approach to life and his spirituality were not other-worldly.

In the following paragraphs, our attention shifts to the ecclesiastical and theological aspects of Andrew Murray’s spirituality during the years of his first ministry as a

minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. The question is whether it developed, and if so, in what respect.

4.4 Murray's Church-centeredness

In terms of the theological, ecclesiological and spiritual norms and persuasions applicable to Murray's ministry, Andrew found the general spiritual state of the people entrusted to his pastoral care, not only challenging but also alarming. In an enthusiasm and commitment of his own, he, without compromise, addressed the problem that he was now faced with. For the purpose of our study, the way in which Murray confronted with his responsibilities in the practical ministry and addressed them (responsibilities) as well as his motives, is important to uncover, since it is also an expression of his spirituality.

In the correspondence between him and his father, matters were surfaced. This provides us with substantial study material. For example, in a letter written on 27 June 1849, Murray asked his father's opinion on the receiving of church membership of young people who were very careless, and who could not profess a true knowledge of Christ as their personal Saviour. Andrew himself thought, thus he writes, that to grant official membership of the church only on grounds of some knowledge of God (which, in Murray's thinking, the devil also had) did not meet the criteria of true faith. It should not be given. Further more, such people, in partaking in holy communion, would eat and drink to their damnation. Andrew Murray was thus convinced that the privilege of church membership may not be distributed to those who receive it carelessly. The

problem that he faced, however, was that it was generally accepted and ecclesiastically practised that people who merely confessed some regulated formula were confirmed and then became members of the church. Murray thought that this habitual practice for the confirmation had to be reconsidered. Those who received it without a sincere and honest heart towards God may not be allowed as members of the church. Since he was unsure in this regard, he asked his father's opinion (Archive P1A/2/1a:101-104).

In the same letter¹⁶⁴ but written on 30 June, Andrew took the matter further. He refers to a concrete situation. An old Van Vooren, Andrew writes to his father, came to him requesting to baptise a child. The child, born of the old Van Vooren's daughter-in-law, was an "illegitimated"¹⁶⁵ infant. Her husband, a son of the old Van Vooren, did not know that she had a child at the time when he married her. This only became known afterwards. Van Vooren and his wife came to Stuart, the magistrate, to be divorced. But Stuart detained their decision and advised them to keep together in marriage. According to the old Van Vooren, they lived together well. Against this background, he wanted Murray to baptise the boy. Andrew was of opinion that it should be brought before the consistory. He summoned Van Vooren to the meeting of the Riet River Kerkraad (consistory).

Old Van Vooren appeared before the "Kerkraad" accompanied with his daughter-in-law. The whole story was, then, told and discussed. Old Van Vooren requested to the "Kerkraad" that he wanted the child to be baptised as his own son, even though the child's original father was Stoffel Snijman. His daughter-in-law agreed in this regard.

¹⁶⁴ This letter consists of four pages from 101 to 104.

¹⁶⁵ Murray himself used this word in order to refer to the child in his letter on 27 June 1849.

There was no objection for the request in the meeting. On this matter, Murray also asked his father's opinion again (Archive P1A/2/1a:103).

It seems that Murray Sr. answered the inquiries in a letter forwarded to Andrew on 7 July 1849. Unfortunately, the letter could not be found in the Dutch Reformed Church Archives. A glimpse of the father's opinion can be traced in Murray's reply to this (lost) letter. On 19 July 1849, Andrew responded to his father's letter of 7 July 1849:

“I [Murray] am truly sorry that I cannot add that I have been convinced by the grounds you adduce to join you in considering the aanneming [confirmation] merely an “an act deciding on their knowledge.” I cannot get rid of the idea that the aanneming with us is equivalent to the baptism of adults in the time of the Apostles, and they surely demanded a profession of their faith in Christ” (Archive P1A/2/1a:105).

Perhaps there was a slightly different view on the confirmation between Murray and his father.¹⁶⁶ His father's opinion was that the confirmation is practised in order to estimate the knowledge of the candidate. Andrew Murray expressed his own way of thinking in this regard. Confirmation had to be understood as the same thing as “the baptism of adults in the time of the Apostles.” He then turned his eyes to the Bible:

“I have tried to consider the state of the Christian church at Corinth, but I really cannot see reason for believing that the Apostles did not ask a profession of faith in & love to Christ, but were content with knowledge and morality. It appears to me that our Lord and the Apostles looked more to sincerity & honesty in the desire to serve God than to anything else, and this strikes me as our proper criterion” (Archive P1A/2/1a:105-106).

¹⁶⁶ This is, hitherto, the first case in which Murray did not wholly agree with his father's opinion, according to the preserved letters between them. However, from this time onward, their disagreement can be seen on occasion especially in relation to church affairs.

Murray's phrasing is significant. It is an expression of his own spirituality. He was not satisfied with a decision based on knowledge which did not rise from a sincere desire to serve the Lord. Therefore, it seemed to him that the customary way of confirmation in the churches set aside the principles, even though there were of course some advantages in doing it this way. He thus suggested a complementary way of administering the customary confirmation:

“We make those of whom we have a moral certainty that they do not serve the Lord promise to live a new life - it does appear to me that they themselves will not alone have to bear the guilt, but also we who allow & invite them to make the promise which we see they will break” (Archive P1A/2/1a:105).¹⁶⁷

In this statement, it is clear that Murray thought that the responsibility of the careless dispensation of the baptism and the confirmation cannot only be laid before the door of the ordinary people. Those who are in ecclesiastical office are also responsible. Andrew's approach and the personal and spiritual emphasis that he placed on these matters, relate to the view of Charles Hodge (1873:542):

“They agree in requiring of those who are baptized the renunciation of the world, the flesh and the devil. This involves a turning from sin, and a turning to God. Although these principles are, as just remarked, generally admitted, there is, in practice, great diversity in their application. Where the church was pure and its ministers faithful, these requisitions were strenuously enforced; but the reverse was the case, the most formal, and often evidently insincere, assent to the creed of the Church was taken for a profession of faith; and a renunciation of the world compatible with devotion to its pleasures and its sin, was accepted in the place of genuine

¹⁶⁷ This letter consists of four pages from 105 to 108.

repentance.”

What Murray wanted to see in the confirmation or the administration of baptism was not only the candidates’ knowledge following some formula of the church but also an existential decision of devotion and holy life (cf. Schaeffer 1995:195-197). Practically, Murray persuaded elders, who had to sit together with the minister when the confirmation was conducted, of his conviction. In practice, it was embodied as follows (see his letter to his father on 29 August 1849):

“I catechized twice a day with about 15 young candidates for admission to the church... On Friday, I had only one general catechistic, and then spent some four or five hours in speaking to each one personally, and trying to ascertain the reasons for which they had come to be received, as well as the state of mind in which they were. On Monday evening, I had a sermon specially on the subject of entering into such a covenant with God from the Words of Joshua (XXIV, 19)... and tried to press the necessity of having seriously resolved to lead lives of holiness, before we come to take the vows of a holy God upon us... Many knew their questions well, but not the least idea of what they said. After I had done catechizing, I went apart with the two elders, and after speaking with them, each of the candidates was called in separately, and told what we thought of their defective knowledge, and those with whose knowledge we were satisfied on the ground of their own acknowledgement that they had not yet sought to believe in Christ or else, because whilst they said that they believed, they showed from their answers that they did not know what they said. Of the whole member only two were received-and this with the concurrence of the elders” (Archive P1A/2/1a:117-120).

Convinced Andrew requires a higher standard of, especially, spiritual knowledge like a “faithful minister” as Hodge stipulated. In Van Vooren’s case, he was cautious in administering baptism to the boy, even though there had been no objection in the

“Kerkraad.” Baptising the child had also to wait until his mother “had publicly in the court acknowledged her offence, and also privately in presence of an elder had professed penitence” (Murray’s letter on 19 July 1849).

A last aspect of the young minister’s ecclesiastical concern and orientation must now be concerned. The marks of the true Church are the true ministering of the Word and the Sacraments. “In the Lord’s Supper we are said to receive Christ and the benefits of his redemption to our spiritual nourishment and growth in grace” (Hodge 1873:647). For this reason, Murray was critical of those who purposely did not partake in the Holy Communion. He thought that those people did not commemorate the death of Jesus Christ by abstaining from the table (Murray’s letter on 27 June 1849). He truly believed that the Holy Communion is one of the means of God’s grace. When he was aware of spiritual weakness himself as well as his congregation, he eagerly awaited the Holy Communion season. He wished and prayed that people might be blessed through the Holy Communion (Murray’s letter on 1 Aug 1849). He sometimes worried that the blessing of God just passed away without its being pouring unto his congregation, because of his own spiritual coldness (Murray’s letter on 1 Apr 1850). This is a reflection of his awareness of or pointed concentration on his inner spiritual life, and the experience thereof. In fact, this approach can be traced back to his early years, although it became much more integrated as part of his spirituality after his conversion.

His concerns with regards to confirmation and the administration of the Sacraments must be related to his high esteem of true faith and truthful knowledge of Christ. To this must be added that he held the church as an institute or organisation in society in high

credit. He carefully attended to the important and official interests of the church. In addition, he faithfully followed the church order. In a letter written on 7 February 1850, a fact that Murray thought church decisions important, can be seen. According to the letter, when Murray visited Winburg, he heard that the Reverend Van Velden would be inducted at Harrismith where there were only 30 people. However, from the beginning, Van Velden was preserved by the Church as minister of Winburg where there were almost 3,000 people. The first decision would be changed by the Governor, and Murray was too indignant against such a political decision making. He judged the decision as “Such unprincipled robbery! Such debasing of Christ’s servants to be the servants of political speculation!” (P1A/2/1a:146-147). This fact shows Murray’s concern of the church order and its importance in operating church affairs. Moreover, his anti-Erastian persuasion is also clear. Whatever matters needed to be decided on were dealt with in the presence of church meetings and elders, or the consistory. Consequently, it is clear that Andrew Murray’s regard for the church in terms of a living faith and pure life must be linked to his spirituality. In the next and last paragraph of this chapter, the development of his spirituality during his years as minister in an outpost situation is discussed in more detail.

4.5 Murray’s spirituality during this period

Up until now, Andrew Murray’s experience and assessment of his being inducted in Bloemfontein as a full-time minister has been portrayed based on his personal correspondence. A kaleidoscopic picture of the South African situation in which he had to act as a clergyman unfolded the dangers, the political and racial tensions, the

difficulties, the questionable state of the church members and level of their knowledge of the Bible, the sincerity of their faith and personal relation with Christ as Saviour, the obligations and demands to the ministry in this context. His sense of a special calling and consequent duties were sharpened. His pastoral care for their souls as well as for the quality of their spiritual lives was deepened. The integrity of the church as a faith community motivated him. And, the influence of his father remained.

As already have been seen, Murray's passion for the calling to Transvaal was restrained by his father's advice. In the letter forwarded to his parents on 6 May 1850, Murray remembered:

"I have often regarded as a great privilege in looking back on those days to have had the advantage of Papa's introduction to all the people in the Sovereignty by which my first visit was made so much easier whilst I at the same time was instructed in the performance of many of the pastoral duties" (Archive P1A/2/1a:183-184).

Andrew recognised the value of being instructed by his father in the various kinds of duties necessary for his ministry.

4.5.1 Spirituality and preaching

Andrew now had also to preach. In a letter to his brother John on 14 June 1849, he advised his brother to seek the love of God referred to preaching and confessed God's guidance in his own experimental knowledge:

"I trust that our gracious God is bringing me somewhat to feel the necessity of an intimate experimental soul-knowledge of the precious truth

to be proclaimed, and, above all, of that one glorious central truth- the amazing wonder of the love of a crucified Jesus. Let us, my dear brother, seek to drink much at the fountain-head, to make the love of Christ the ground of a continual trust and hope and rejoicing. Then shall we know what to preach to perishing sinners. Then shall we also know how to preach, with the earnestness of a burning love that is straining every nerve to save souls from eternal perdition” (Archive P1A/2/1a).

In this statement, a preacher’s spirituality is well expressed. According to Murray, what a minister has to preach is the love of Christ with “the earnestness of a burning love” of Christ in order to save souls. In practice, Murray’s life during this period was literally a Bible-centred life. He tried to live following the Word (Murray’s letter on 6 Jan 1851).¹⁶⁸ Many times in writing, he referred to Bible verses that he had already preached to his congregation, and recorded the results of the preaching to the congregation and himself (Murray’s letter on 6 May 1850).¹⁶⁹ Following this way of life allowed him to better understand his own feelings through the biblical instruction. This opened his eyes to realise what his ministry should be. For instance, in the letter forwarded to his parents on 11 November 1850, he writes:

“Oh! To believe His Word, and realise the blessing in taking hold of the promise, I begin to see that I know nothing of what it is to be a minister of the Spirit labour, through faith in the power of the Spirit, and for the first time I have felt that it is truly a solemn matter to preach the Word, that it requires hard work, painful self denial, to be a true Apostle of the Lord” (Archive P1A/2/1a:191-194).

This apprehension of the significance of preaching was a new experience. In the practise of the situation, he started to realise “what it is to be a minister” and what it means to

¹⁶⁸ This letter forwarded to his father is in the DRC Archives P1A/ 2/1a; pages 210-211.

¹⁶⁹ This letter which was forwarded to his parents is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 183-184.

preach the Word. As he knew the importance of preaching, he was focused to preach relevantly. Thus, he sought to some balance in preaching. In a letter to his father on 25 January 1850, this approach of his can be identified:

“On Sabbath I dispensed the Sacrament, and had by far too many communicants, though I had tried to set forth as faithfully as possible what Psalm xxiv. 4 represents as the way to God. My own heart was somewhat enlarged in speaking on the name Emmanuel, but I found that very few of the people are in a state to appreciate such subjects. What they want is knorren [scolding], and if that but produced any good effect, I would willingly knor; but I sometimes feel sad at the thought that the blessed Gospel of God’s love should be degraded to be nothing else than a schoolmaster to drive and threaten” (Archive P1A/2/1a:142-146).

In a diary (which will be referred to later in the paragraph), he, under the date of 24 March 1855, also contemplated his preaching:

“[H]ow ought I to preach the Gospel. May I say to sinners “[Y]ou are under the dispensation of love- it is laying hold upon you. God is indeed longing for the salvation of each one of you- His spirit is ever now descending to you but receive Him.” Or must I be content to say “God offers salvation- He is in earnest in that offer- He is willing to receive every one that comes.” Or ought I to take still higher proud and say “He commands repentance- He is a truly king. Submit lest ye perish.” The two latter may be combined – the first expression I have often used. Some Christians think it improper. O my God! [T]each Thou me thro[ugh] Thy word and Spirit” (Archive P1A/1b:69-70).

His spirituality, with a strong focal point on the knowledge of salvation through Christ, was thus carried forth to become characteristic of his preaching. There was a correlation between his spirituality and his preaching. His spirituality effectuated his sermons.

4.5.2 God's guidance

A second distinctive characteristic of his spirituality is his explicate reference to the guidance of God. This is important. In the early days of his life, especially during the time when he was a student, he reflected on God's love, solace, grace and human impotence. Now, God's guidance seems to become more important.

When he arrived in Cape Town after finishing his life in Holland, he wrote a letter to his parents on 15 November 1848. His God-centeredness, with special reference to God's gracious guidance, was clearly expressed in this letter. It is as follows:

“You will perhaps just at this moment have received the letter John sent off last week, and be rejoicing in the mercy of the Lord, who has brought us hitherto. Oh! that I felt more what it is that we have enjoyed at the Lord's hands during the past ten years, which He has thus crowned with His goodness in granting us the long-looked for consummation of our hopes” (Archive P1A/2/1a:87-88).

Those ten-years were the period of his absence from Graaff-Reinet home. During the ten years, he had lived in Aberdeen and Utrecht. It was a long period considering his age. He had left his home when he was a 10 year-old-boy, however, he returned to his motherland as a young man aged 20.

Murray's belief in God's graceful guidance in Christian life led him to reinforce the belief that self-resignation was the only way to live faithfully in the presence of God. This belief is also reflected upon in a diary kept during his visit to England on behalf of the Bloemfontein Committee to prevent the abolishment of the Sovereignty. The

mission was surely a heavy burden to the young man of only 25 years old (Murray's letter on 20 Sept 1853). However, his compassion towards his people's security and assurance of peace led him to devotedly accept the nomination. While he was on board, he wrote a diary.¹⁷⁰ The diary also shows Murray's God-centeredness. The entry of 11 February 1854 reflects on God's presence in him and His leading him to pray:

“It is three weeks today since I left Cape Town, and have much reason to praise the Lord for not deserting me. At times He has been very near me and allowed me to come very near Him in prayer. Especially last Saturday and Sunday I was able to realise the overwhelmingly thought that Christ dwelt in me - that His omnipotent power wrought in me – that the breathings of His own Spirit suggested my poor prayers” (Archive P1A/1b:33).

When he left England, he kept a diary again. In the diary entry of 11 March 1855, he also confesses God's guidance:

“Here I am once more on the ocean with the hope of soon returning to my people by the good hand of my God upon me. - What a way of love have I been led since my last entry. I trust that the intercourse with some dear Christians has truly been profitable to me, while the Lord there gave me much power in preaching the words of life. May I yet be permitted to hear that a large blessing has of God's free mercy been granted” (Archive P1A/1b:67).

As these statements indicates, Murray emphasised God-centeredness with respect to His gracious guidance during this period.

¹⁷⁰ Murray left Cape Town at the second half of January 1854, and arrived in England at the end of February.

4.5.3 Struggle with doubt and lack of power in his ministry

In the previous chapter, much was made of an inner spiritual struggle that Andrew Murray experienced. It influenced his spirituality at the time. During the years of his Bloemfontein pastorate, this inner conflict continued. He was painfully aware of a shortfall or lack in his spiritual life. In a letter to his mother (dated 11 May 1849), he observed:

“And what a year have I not to look back upon! God’s mercies [have been] following me from day to day, from my ordination in the Hague to my induction at Bloemfontein. I tried to remember some of the God’s chief mercies, but I hardly knew when to begin and much less when to end. Altho[ugh] alas! my poor soul was but too soon wearied with thanking and praising God” (Archive P1A/2/1a:90-93).

In another letter to his mother (on 1 August 1849), he writes that his congregation would celebrate the Holy Communion the next week, and he expected God’s blessing. But he added: “I feel that if the Lord himself prepares not the people, I cannot give them right impressions of such a holy ordinance. So I have neither the power nor the time” (Archive P1A/2/1a:109-112). It seems that the old struggle or inner conflict that was rooted in his sins, *viz.* his pride and lack of prayer, was continuing (Murray’s letter on 1 Aug 1849).¹⁷¹ However, at this time, the sins that he had agonised over were slightly different in nature from those of his student years. Sins which Murray struggled with during his ministry were mainly doubt, indifference in faith and the lack of power in his ministry as a consequence of the doubt and indifference.

¹⁷¹ This letter forwarded to his mother is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 109-112.

Because there were little signs of effective spiritual growth of his congregation in spite of his efforts, he was sometimes frustrated. However, this frustration gave him an opportunity to pray more for practical matters (Murray's letter on 18 June 1849).¹⁷² His indifference towards God and people is significantly portrayed in a letter to his father on 25 January 1850:

“You may imagine how very strange and varied my feelings were on crossing the Vaal River again. I had passed over it hardly knowing whether I went and what might happen, and when I looked back at the Lord's leading over the way, all the strength and assistance I had enjoyed, the blessing of which I had been the unworthy channel to not a few, I trust, and the measure of comfort with which He had enabled me to do the work; and when I then thought on the little progress I myself had made in grace, on the want of true love to my fellow sinners, on the hardness and indifference of my wicked heart, on absence of that true heavenly mindedness in which an ambassador, of Christ ought to live, on all the pride and self sufficiency with which I had taken to myself the glory which belongs to God alone surely I had reason to glory and rejoice in God, and to weep in the dust at my own wickedness” (Archive P1A/2/1a:142-146).

In another letter later that year (to his father on 1 April 1850), he complains again:

“I have to complain of a sad want of the spirit of love and compassion. Oh that the Saviour would breathe into my poor soul something of His own tender and earnest zeal for the rescue of poor sinners. How I wish that I could get rid of that awful selfishness [,] that cold blooded indifference [,] that can see poor sinners going to destruction and some mercifully rest without working night and day for their salvation. I preached yesterday on Christ in Gethemane, and oh! what a speaking reproof to my own slothfulness in watching & praying” (Archive P1A/2/1a:180-182).

¹⁷² This letter forwarded to Murray's father is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; pages 98-100.

Murray's diary entry of 24 April 1853 also gives us a glimpse of this matter:

“I feel conscience testifying to certain sins neglect of the [W]ord, prayer &c, and I feel not as if I would resist them. I feel as if there were part up desires after holiness and the outpouring of the Spirit, and yet the breaking out in earnest prayer appears not to come” (P1A/1b:28).

The result of doubt and indifference appeared to Murray as a lack of power in his ministry. “The congregation amounted to upwards of 200, and gave no reason to complain of inattention, though I felt humbled at the absence of the power of the Spirit with the Word (Murray's letter on 11 Nov 1850).”

Sometimes, he doubted the integrity of his own experience of Christ. In the diary entry written on 11 February 1854, it is clear:

“If I have really experienced Him why do I do so little for the Lord? The question is [:] ought I so force myself to seek opportunities for speaking for Christ- or may I wait till the occasion naturally offers? I fear so that this last is the suggestion of sloth and the fear of man [;] that the former question itself proves that the hearts is not burning with love. Holy Jesus! in whose presence I write this. Oh! [T]each me” (Archive P1A/1b:34).

He stood in front of a crossroad of doing or waiting, and he agonised which way he should take as minister. His diary entry on 16 February 1854 also shows a similar sentiment:

““Christ liveth in me”... “Yes in me Christ doth dwell”... Why is it that I do not find that comfort at all times in striving after a religious life which is promised? It must I think arise from the doubt... Ought I not to enjoy more simply the pleasures around me- might they not enable me to return with all the more rest to the pleasures of holy presence? O my Saviour!

[W]hy do I not enjoy more simple peace in committing myself to Thy guidance!” (Archive P1A/1b:39; emphasised by Murray).

Although he knew that everything does not depend on human effort but on God’s free grace (Murray’s letter on 9 Nov 1846)¹⁷³, he doubted God’s nature when he thought there was hardly any result, despite the hard work of believers. After reading *Payson’s life*, he questioned God’s sovereignty, even though that doubt was changed into confessing his unbelief and praying of forgiveness. His diary entry of 24 April 1853 reads:

“The history of Payson literally staggered me. He worked and prayed himself to death for a revival, and yet never attained it in such a measure as he wished. Is it perhaps that I must yet learn that He is a sovereign God? And where then are His great and free and sure promises? Oh! Lord, keep me sin arising by unbelief & murmuring against Thee... Oh! [T]hat the Lord I would keep me from falling into the snares of Satan” (Archive P1A/1b:28-29).

This want in his spiritual life and its effects unto his spirituality has already been experienced during the time when he studied in Holland. This dark side of his spirituality, this side of doubt, of loneliness and of emptiness hampered him. Did it deepen in the context of a hard and burdensome ministry? Recalling his life in Bloemfontein in an address at the Keswick Conference in 1895, Andrew significantly observed:

“The first ten years of my spiritual life were manifestly spent on the lower stage. I was a minister, I may say, as zealous and as earnest and as happy in my work as anyone, as far as love of the work was concerned. Yet, all

¹⁷³ This letter was forwarded to his parents when Murray was still in Utrecht. It is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a; page 77.

the time, there was burning my heart dissatisfaction and restlessness inexpressible.... I remember in my little room in Bloemfontein how I used to sit and think. 'What is the matter?' Here I am knowing that God has justified me in the blood of Christ, but I have no power for service" (Douglas n.d.:165-166).

On this note, we have to close our investigation concerning Andrew Murray's spirituality during the years of his ministry in Bloemfontein. In 1860, he received a call to the town of Worcester about 100 Kilometres from Cape Town. The Murray family was now about to leave the Orange Free State.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to present a description of Andrew Murray's spirituality and its development compared to the previous stage of his life, within the context of the burden, claims and challenges of a first pastorate. It was not an easy one for the young and inexperienced Murray, partly due to the burdensome ministration itself and partly due to the political problems of the area his ministry belonged to. However, he tried to do his best in the Gospel work, edification of believers and related church administration. He even suffered his exhaustion due to the wide span of his work and the wide pasture given to him. However, with high Christian principles, he tried to do his best by preaching and edifying his congregation in terms of the Gospel. It taught him to pray more and to depend more on God's gracious leading. But, the ministry taught him several things that influenced his later spiritual formation. He learnt the plight of his people, and learnt the fact that human efforts could not bear fruit as much as he had

thought (Murray's diary on 20 Sept 1859).¹⁷⁴ "Poor people" was the representative clause whenever he wrote his letter to his family explaining the people's spiritual situation. This sort of compassion on the plight of the souls led him to decide to practice what put on him a heavier burden. Despite the fact that it was surely not his duty towards the Cape government and the Dutch Reformed Church, his passion towards souls led him to go beyond the border of the Orange River Sovereignty to the Transvaal in order to take care of the souls left outside of the reach of the Dutch Reformed Church (Lindner 1996:46-47). He, therefore, learnt the necessity of prayer more practically. In addition, he learnt the dangerous slope of participation in political matters. In this sense, his first ministry at Bloemfontein pastorate itself was the most significant factor for his spiritual development during this period.

Murray also had still to contend with spiritual conflict during this period. This boiled down to the question of the integrity of his spirituality. Murray's spirituality during this period could be characterised as a God-centeredness, Bible-centeredness, *Activism* and Church-centeredness. Although the characteristics were not different from those of the previous period, the emphasis in each characteristic was shifted. In God-centeredness, his emphasis moved from seeking God's love or solace to seeking God's gracious leading. In Bible-centeredness, his Bible reading was now for practical reasons. He read and meditated on the Bible for the benefit of his congregation, while he had read it for knowledge and personal piety in the previous period. While in the previous period, his spirituality was superficial and theoretical which only could be applied in the ivory tower of personal piety, now it was to be practical which had to be reasonable in his

¹⁷⁴ This diary is in the DRC Archives P1A/1b; pages 91-92.

field ministry. However, although his spirituality was practical, it lacked of power. He frequently complained about this. Because of this shift in his spirituality, the chapter indicated that his Bloemfontein pastorate could be characterised as a developing period.

We have to move on to the next phase in the development of his spirituality. In 1860, he became minister of the Dutch Reformed Church of Worcester. New spiritual experiences awaited him. They would exercise a deep and profound development upon his spirituality. This will be treated in chapters five and six.

Chapter 5

Experiences deepened and widened Murray's spirituality (1860-1917)

- ◆ **5.1 Religious revival at Worcester (1860)**
- ◆ **5.2 Cape Town pastorate (1864-1871) and
Liberal Theology**
- ◆ **5.3 Wellington pastorate (1871-1906) and
Divine healing**
- ◆ **5.4 Retirement and death of Murray
(1906-1917)**

Introduction

The period this chapter deals with covers Murray's ecclesiastical ministry after 1860. In that year, he was received by the Dutch Reformed congregation of Worcester as their minister. The chapter ends with his death in 1917. In comparison with the previous, the particular qualities and characteristics of Murray's spirituality as it developed and was influenced by his pastorate in the north (Bloemfontein), his spiritual conviction and life (that is in the south where the Cape as a British Colony was comprehensively established) were deeply affected by personal religious experiences. These were the religious revival at Worcester in 1860 and the divine healing when his throat had been troubling him. Obviously, there were many experiences he reflected on in his writings during this period of his life, but these two stand out from the others. Other experiences were not new for Murray but just supported or strengthened his thinking. However, these two experiences were different. They opened Murray's eyes wide to the possibility of seeing something further and being able to have strong religious conviction on what he had already learnt in heart, mind and practice.

In analogy to the shaping and configuration of his spirituality since his boyhood in which external factors played an increasing roll, it seems that in this regard a shift towards inner spiritual experiences occurred. This led him to contemplate personal experience, to a greater extent, in Christian life. However, while he highly considered the importance of personal spiritual experiences, he simultaneously knew its pitfalls. His diary¹⁷⁵ entry on 10 December 1865 shows this clearly:

¹⁷⁵ This diary, as a new one applied to this chapter, is in the Dutch Reformed Church Archives P1A/1c. It starts from the year of 1860 to the year of 1868. It consists of two languages, namely the former part of it

“Every spiritual experience has an intellectual side [that] can to some extent be experienced as a truth. When a mind becomes interested in this truth, and feels its need of the spiritual experience, it sets forth. When once it clearly gets hold of the result and sees what God reveals in regard to the desired experience, it feels that it has made a great acquisition. But in the joy to the discovery it may very easily take the apprehension of the truth for the permission of the spiritual reality it expresses. This is a terrible tendency and danger” (Archive P1A/1c).

The experience of revival and healing not only reinforced the spiritual influence that he had already received from Murray Sr., but indeed led him to a new and wider sphere of spirituality.¹⁷⁶

Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to investigate the mentioned two experiences, and to disclose their influence on Murray’s spirituality. In the course of investigation, this study will also survey briefly Murray’s life in each congregation that he served during this period: Worcester (1860-1864), Cape Town (1864-1871) and Wellington (1871-1906). After retiring from active ministry in Wellington (1906), he spent the rest of his life in that town (1906-1917).

5.1 Religious revival at Worcester (1860)

To Andrew Murray, the ministry in the Worcester congregation was ideal and one that

is written in Dutch (1860-1864) and the latter part in English (Sept 1864- July 1868). This diary has its significance in the sense that it shows Murray’s inner feelings and spiritual conviction after his revival experience.

¹⁷⁶ According to George Marsden (1970:32), Jonathan Edwards also emphasised experience, because he had a religious conviction through personal experience. So Marsden says “Experience is the key to understanding Edwards’ thought.” David Bosch also emphasises experience. He says that experience is not “merely incidental and reversible.” To him, experiences are a sign of paradigm shift (Pillay 1990:113).

he wished to have. Comparatively small in size and numbers, his pastorate now could be embodied in visiting his congregation regularly. His ministry of house visitation was duly operated and the results were applied in his sermons. The relationship between minister and congregation was very good. During that time, he was elected as the moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1862. Although he, as Moderator, was toiled for struggling with liberal theology that started to raise its head in the church, he performed the office excellently. He distinguished himself synodically and ecclesiastically for the first time.

The most marked event, however, that Murray experienced during this period of his life was the revival in 1860. This revival impacted on Murray's spirituality. Du Plessis (1919:470) says: "all the truths which Mr. Murray proclaimed so persuasively were present from the outset." In this, he is quite correct; all his books were published after the revival experience at Worcester. This gives quite reasonable evidence to the assumption that Murray's thinking had almost reached the highest stage of his life after experiencing the revival.¹⁷⁷ The revival experience and his participation in the successive revival conferences held in 1861¹⁷⁸, provided him with theological convictions that consolidated his spirituality (cf. Orr 1975:4). Most of these theological concepts that were shaped subsequently during the 1860's, continued and were reinforced until his departure.

¹⁷⁷ This fact will be observed subsequently.

¹⁷⁸ When revivals happened again in the mid 1870s, the Dutch Reformed Church thought over the results of those revivals, and decided to develop them as evidence of God's mighty power. So she made a 'Committee for Special Gospel-preaching' in order to promote them. Murray was nominated as a leading person for the Committee (Du Plessis 1919:322).

5.1.1 The Worcester pastorate (1860-1864)

In 1860, Andrew received a call from the Worcester congregation which he followed up. After eleven years ministering in Bloemfontein, the time to leave came. The Worcester ministry was different from Bloemfontein in many respects. One distinctive difference was that his new parish was, geographically, far smaller than that of Bloemfontein. In Bloemfontein, he had to cover a boundless area over 50,000 square miles: Worcester was much smaller. Moreover, he was now in a position to meet his colleagues who ministered churches within 30 miles' radius of his parish. This was a refreshing change for Murray who had toiled in the ministry of Bloemfontein without a connection to and communion with other ministers (Lindner 1996:59). Murray could practice regular house visitation, and he was able to check the spiritual condition of his parishioners effectively as a minister. This was the ministry that he wanted. The minister and the parishioners loved and honoured each other.

One more marked difference was the way of life of his parishioners. In contrast to Bloemfontein, the parishioners of the Worcester congregation lived considerably more comfortable. They were far more able to command their lives geographically and naturally. Farming was easier due to the Hex River's provision of sufficient water. In addition, the adjacent markets of Cape Town offered excellent demands for their commodities. They had little uncertainty of security and no disagreements on political matters within the church. They also had a more prosperous economic context that provided their children with opportunities for education.

Shortly after Murray's induction as the minister of the Worcester church, a sensational revival took place in the town. It was an exceptional experience for Murray. It augmented and broadened his religious spirituality. After this event, he became one of the main leaders of the revival movement in South Africa (Du Plessis 1919:199-120). This was, in fact, a fundamental personal change; his focus increasingly shifted towards the work of the Holy Spirit. The event also was the foundation for his role as a prolific writer¹⁷⁹.

5.1.2 Preparation for the revival

Campbell (1954:16) observes, in a general sense, that “[t]he supernatural working of God the Holy Spirit in revival power is something that no man can fully describe.” God alone takes the initiative in a true revival (Edwards 1997:236-237). Despite this fact, the agency of man must also be accounted for (Elias 1995:130). Therefore, it is necessary to determine the balance between God's sovereignty and man's responsibility on the other hand, when assessing any revival (Murray 1998:200-211).¹⁸⁰ In preparation for a revival, the preaching of the Gospel and prayer for the “outpouring” of the Holy Spirit are usually the significant elements that are distinguished and discussed by theologians (Packer 1963:79). Generally speaking, the applicable literature on the Worcester revival also conveys that the interpretation of what happened, as well as the discussion of theological implications, is either ascribed to the work of the sovereign God, or related

¹⁷⁹ Of course, his writing career started in 1858 shortly before the event, but after this event, the activity received more vitality.

¹⁸⁰ Martin Hugo says: “The Divine agency is indispensable, for we are not sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God. And evidently also the human agency is equally indispensable, for if we are not thinking, willing, acting after a godly manner, it is clear that nought of God's sufficiency has been communicated to us, and nothing has been accomplished” (Murray 1998:207).

to the role of man, his faith and his religious decisions. Murray evaluated the event in terms of a work of God in His sovereignty. This is the reason why it impacted so directive upon his spirituality. For the purposes of this research, the Worcester revival must be considered cautiously. It was based, to begin with, on a distinctive and conscious preparation.

As has already been seen in chapter 2, Andrew's father had prayed regularly, especially on every Friday evening, for the "outpouring" the Holy Spirit in this world. Maria Neethling (1909:33) recalls as follows:

"[He] read us some account like "The outpouring of the Spirit on the Kirk of Scotts," or the "Revivals in Kilsyth and Cambuslang." Once he read about a minister who had prayed for a revival for forty years before it came, and then he said: "Aye, and that is longer than thirty-six!"."

Within the Dutch Reformed Church, Murray Sr. was not the only one who was theologically inspired by the revival movement in 19th century evangelical ministry and theology (Tuck 1992:267-269).¹⁸¹ In Worcester, within the ranks of lay people, there were those who for many years "had worn a small footpath to a hilltop looking out over the village," so that they might better pray for the people (Lindner 1996:60). Murray's predecessor at the Worcester church had also prayed and worked hard for the "outpouring" of the Spirit for a long time in order to effect a revival (Choy 1978:80).

Moreover, when the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosh was opened in 1859, there was a request for an ecumenical conference on the revival work of God as had happened

¹⁸¹ Brian Tuck (1992:272) enumerates several persons' names related to this: Van der Lingen, Faure, Pears, Smith, Robertson, etc.

in other countries, and to consider how it can be promoted and performed domestically (Douglas n.d:85). Due to this request, the first trans-denominational conference was held in the Dutch Reformed Church of Worcester in April 1860 shortly before Murray's induction.¹⁸² The conference discussed various ecclesiastical and ministerial topics. Among them, issues such as mission, education and revivals happening in America were most intensively considered. Ministers who had participated in the conference returned to their homes with a "new sense of responsibility" towards their neighbours and revival. It was from this conference, as Du Plessis (1919:193) observes, "that the first impulse went out which issued in a wide-spread and most blessed awakening in the D.R. Church."

5.1.3 Outset of Worcester revival

Shortly after Murray's induction, he was met and challenged by a local revival. On a certain Sunday evening, more or less sixty young people gathered in a little hall of the Worcester church. At that time, Murray was preaching in another venue. J.C. de Vries, a leader of the meeting at that time, conducted the meeting in singing hymns and in prayer, as was customary. While singing and praying, a coloured girl of about fifteen-years rose and asked whether she could propose a hymn for the meeting. De Vries said, "Yes" and she gave out a hymn and prayed. While she was praying, a sound was heard in the distance, and it came nearer and nearer. In a moment, the entire little hall was filled with prayer.

An elder of the church noticed this extraordinary event, and immediately informed

¹⁸² The induction of Murray to the Worcester church from Bloemfontein was held on the 27 May 1860.

Andrew Murray, who was preaching in another hall. Murray hurriedly came to the place and was surprised at the sight. He tried to stop the disorder, but it was useless. De Vries who conducted the meeting vividly recalls Murray's surprising reaction to the young people's meeting:

“Mr. Murray came forward to the table where I knelt praying, touched me, and made me understand that he wanted me to rise. He then asked me what had happened. I related everything to him. He then walked down the hall for some distance, and called out as loudly as he could, *People, silence!* But the praying continued. In the meantime I too knelt down again. It seemed to me that if the Lord was coming to bless us, I should not be upon my feet but on my knees. Mr. Murray then called again aloud, *People, I am your minister, sent from God, Silence!* But there was no stopping the noise. No one heard him, but all continued praying and calling on God for mercy and pardon. Mr. Murray then returned to me and told me to start the hymn-verse commencing “*Help de ziel die raadloos schreit* [Aid the soul that helpless cries].” I did so, but the emotions were not quieted, and the meeting went on praying. Mr. Murray then prepared to depart, saying, “God is a God of order, and here everything is confusion.” With that he left the hall” (Du Plessis 1919:195).

Murray might have been offended by the outbursts of emotional praying, because he had some doubt over “the carnal excitement” and “the heat of nature” (Tuck 1992:273). Therefore, he tried to control and to calm the meetings, but his every effort was in vain. Although he had earnestly prayed for revival, closely instructed about revival and studied reports about it, he still failed to anticipate his own response to the real revival happening in his own church.

This fact shows the difference between the knowledge gained from texts or other people and the knowledge gained from one's own experience. Sydney Ahlstrom (1972:287)

observes that the significant characteristic of sermons preached during the Great Awakening in America was the emphasis on experiential faith. Klaas Runia (1988:176) also accentuates the importance of the role of experience in Christian life: “[a]s I said before, pure doctrine is not enough, *we also need experience.*” He, however, continues: “But the reverse is also true: pure experience is not enough, *we also need sound doctrine*” (emphasised by Runia). Although he emphasises the important role of religious experience, he is simultaneously warning for misrepresentation. “One thing in particular we have to guard against, namely, that personal experience becomes our only spiritual guide, for then we would land into pure subjectivism” (Runia :175). Andrew Murray apparently had the same opinion as Runia with regard to constitutive character of experience, after or not, his own experience involved in the religious revival (Murray’s diary on 10 December 1865).¹⁸³

After the revival, Murray Sr. forwarded a letter to his son on 6 April 1861. In this letter, he agreed that the event was “the great work of the Lord,” and he reported that an analogous episode also followed in Graaff-Reinet. He described what happened at Graaff-Reinet as follows:

“Thanks for your last letter, we were rejoiced at the goodness it contained regarding the great work of the Lord. Little did we than expect that our gracious God would visit this sinful place so soon in mercy. Yes, the revival is indeed begun in Graaff-Reinet... On Saturday & Sunday, the congregation was large and receiving very attentive & earnest but Papa did not know of anything new. When on Tuesday afternoon Papa went up to church, a crowd of about 200 were coming for the very back street singing,

¹⁸³ This diary is in the DRC Archives P1A/1c.

it seemed that after church they had a prayer meetings at old Gideon Joubert's... [I]t was time to come to church they could not stop but continued singing... Oh I can give you no idea. Some they were giving on some weeping, some praying, some rejoicing, [and] some extorting to seek Christ... Papa went in and tried to quiet them but could hardly succeed before [H]e gave up" (Archive P1A/2/1a:225-226).

It is thus clear that what happened in Graaff-Reinet was in more than one way similar to that of Worcester. The revival also spread out to the East, North and Central districts of the country during the course of 1861: Beaufort West, Murraysburg, Graaff-Reinet, Lady Grey, Bloemfontein. Congregations in the Central Karoo where there had been no minister also experienced a revival during this period (Du Plessis 1919:200).

In the church historiography, however, the South African revivals of 1860s are interpreted in a contradictory way. Some evaluate the events extremely positively. Others are very critical. Some does not see it as a work of God (Choy 1978:83; Coetzee 1986:233; Tuck 1992:269).

It was S.J. du Toit who did not admit that the event was God's work. He moreover avowed to quit the prayer for the "outpouring" of the Spirit. He said that that kind of prayer was "a sin against the Holy Ghost to even pray for a repeated outpouring." In practice, when the revival happened, Du Toit was still too young. This led him to misunderstand the event (Tuck :269). C.F.C Coetzee also hesitates to regard this event as a work caused by the power of God. Thus, when he refers to the event, he uses the word "so-called" (Coetzee :233). If so, then what is revival and what is the specific appearance of revival as God's work? It is therefore appropriate at this stage to divert

our attention to the phenomenon of revivals in the evangelical theology and churches. This will help to understand and assess Andrew Murray's spirituality and the influence of revival theology on it theologically. Any assessment of these revivals is based upon theological pre-suppositions and persuasions.

5.1.4 Definition of revival and its characteristics

In order to know whether the event that occurred in Worcester in 1860 was a revival or not, it is necessary to define the meaning of the term 'revival' and its general characteristics so as to compare them with those of the Worcester event. James Packer (1963:78), however, objects to the effort to find some outward forms of revival. He calls the effort an "antiquarian fallacy." So, he asserts that it is important to find inward patterns of revival rather than external patterns. In spite of his assertion, these two aspects, inward and outward, must be observed simultaneously for sound understanding, even though the external forms have irregular figures. What then is revival?

Packer (:78-79) defines revival in three ways, using a biblical foundation: firstly "Revival is God renewing the church," secondly "Revival is God turning away his anger from the church," and lastly "Revival is God making known the sovereignty of His grace." He also says that "God is our sovereign in revival, and men cannot extort it from Him by any endeavour or technique."

Arthur Wallis (1956:20) defines revival as follows:

“[R]evival is divine intervention in the normal course of spiritual things. It

is God revealing Himself to man in awful holiness and irresistible power. It is such a manifest working of God that human personalities are overshadowed, and human programmes abandoned.”

Martyn Lloyd-Jones (1986:103) defines it as “the mighty act of God and it is a sovereign act of God... Man can do nothing. God, and God alone, does it... not only can men not produce a revival, they cannot even explain it.” These observations lead to the conclusion that true revivals are *God’s sovereign work in which man cannot intervene, for showing His sovereign grace to His church*. Then, what are the characteristics of it?

There are common as well as unique features in every revival (Kim, M-h 1998:155). It is, according to Orr, in some respects, not difficult to discover the common features of revival in the Bible and in church history (Orr 1975:viii-ix). Seung-ho Son (2003:14) suggests that there are four such common characteristics of revival that can be identified:

- “conviction of sin and repentance,”
- “restored faith in God’s Word,”
- “restored worship in the church,”
- “restored eagerness for sharing the Gospel with non-believers.”

These characteristics are to be understood simultaneously as an inward feature as well as an outward feature of revival: the first and the second characteristics belong to the former, and the third and the fourth are included in the latter. In the case of the Korean church revival in 1907, those factors were significant and clearly identifiable (Park, Y-k

2000:302-308). One example is applicable:

“In a church in Seoul, a person who had caused various problems from time to time, by the power of the Holy Spirit, cried out for pardon and confessed his sins dramatically while continually hopping up and down on the floor. Those who had witnessed this marvellous work of the Holy Spirit, were reminded of the history of the results of the powerful sermons of Whitefield and Wesley” (Park, Y-k 2000:304; translated by Lee).

After this revival, Christians in Korea tried not only to spread Gospel work throughout the country, but also to stimulate social reform through education. The work of evangelisation and education was to be the foundation of the swift growth of the church and the social reform of Korea (Brown 1997:43-45; Park, Y-k 2000).¹⁸⁴

5.1.5 Revival and Reformed theology¹⁸⁵

Pointing to the importance of revival, Lloyd-Jones¹⁸⁶ (1987:7) deplores the fact that concern about revival has disappeared even in Reformed churches. He argues that revivals become rather “exceptional phenomena” after 1860, whereas they were natural and frequent before that time. He says: “Up until 1860 it was [an] instinctive thing to think in terms of revival” but after that, by now, “the vast majority of church members have almost ceased to think in terms of revivals at all” (Lloyd-Jones :4). He challenges that one of the reasons of the lack of concern is the declination of Reformed theology

¹⁸⁴ All these characteristics can easily be identified in the Worcester revival too, as will be observed subsequently.

¹⁸⁵ According to Seung-ho Son (2003:12), there is no clear and unified definition of revival in Reformed theology.

¹⁸⁶ Ian Murray (1998:75) sees him as “the foremost advocate of old-school view of revival in the present century.” Seung-ho Son (2003:12) sees the theology of revival of the Old School Presbyterianism as closer to “Reformed theology and Calvinism than any theology of revival among other Reformed traditions.” According to these two assertions, it is easy to arrive at a conclusion that Lloyd-Jones’ perspective on revival is closer to the traditional Reformed theology than any other view on it.

(Lloyd-Jones 1987:5; Kim. N-j 1997:55).¹⁸⁷

Packer also shares this view. He formulates his thinking on revival in an article ‘What is revival?’ as follows:

“For a century after the days of Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards, the immediate reaction of evangelicals when the fires of life burned low in the churches was to appoint times for self-humbling and confession of sin and special prayer that God would visit them again. They regarded revivals as the chief means by which the Gospel advanced; they believed, and often declared in print, that without revivals churches could not stay alive. But after about 1860 evangelicals ceased to think in these terms” (Packer 1963:76).

Lloyd-Jones (1987:5-6) ascribes one of the reasons of this problem to “the increase in theological seminaries.”¹⁸⁸ He is of opinion that theological seminaries allotted more weight to the intellectual than to spiritual things.¹⁸⁹ The emphasis on the intellectual side, according to him, may be problematic to the maintaining of simple faith. Because ministers who studied at theological seminaries became or were oriented toward theology as a science, and gave little concern to spiritual things, the interest in revival has been reduced evidently. He refers to Charles Hodge as an example to illustrate his opinion. Lloyd-Jones (:7) confesses that he could not find any concern about religious

¹⁸⁷ Lloyd-Jones says that the “the prevailing theology” of revival leaders was “entirely Calvinistic” (1987:5). This assertion can also be legitimised in the case of the Korean Church. In 1907, there were revivals in Korea; starting at Wonsan in 1903 and its highest peak in Pyongyang in 1907. After the Pyongyang revival, it spread throughout the country, even over the border to China (Park, Y-k 2000:25-345). Almost all leading persons of the revivals were Presbyterians who were conservative and following a Calvinistic theology.

¹⁸⁸ Lloyd-Jones (1987:5-6) suggests three reasons related the phenomenon: firstly, the declination of Reformed theology; secondly, Charles Finney’s teaching of revivalism; thirdly, the problem of increasing theological seminaries.

¹⁸⁹ However, Lloyd-Jones does not ignore the importance of intellectual side of faith.

revival in Charles Hodge, who was a famous theologian at the Princeton Seminary.¹⁹⁰ He says that Hodge's ignorance of revival and the instantaneous work of the Holy Spirit can to a certain extent be traced to his emphasis on the intellectual side of theology and his lack of experience (Lloyd-Jones 1987:7-8). He underlines that a person who has experienced revival, thinks differently and assesses it differently than a person who did not experience it.¹⁹¹ He supports this by explaining the experiential discontinuity between Archibald Alexander and Charles Hodge:¹⁹²

“There is one very interesting point just here. I would say that this change of outlook on the part of Calvinists came in the U.S.A. somewhere between Archibald Alexander and Charles Hodge. Charles Hodge, as you know, was the successor of Archibald Alexander in the theological seminary at Princeton. Now Archibald Alexander had had experience of revival in his early days. Charles Hodge knew something about it, but not to the same extent as Alexander, who was an older man and who belonged partly to the previous century. It is just there that this change seems to me to have taken place” (Lloyd-Jones :8).

However, Packer (1963:76-77) differs from Lloyd-Jones, even though he is conscious of the problems of revival.¹⁹³ His diagnosis of the problem is:

“The deepest reason seems to be that their minds were possessed by two thoughts which, taken together, made any desire for revival seem positively improper. The one was an optimistic belief that the mounting number of organized evangelical activities - missions, campaigns,

¹⁹⁰ J. Fitzmeier (1990:843) says that “[u]nder Alexander's direction, and due in great measure to the efforts of his colleague Charles Hodge, Princeton Seminary became the intellectual centre of Old School Presbyterianism.”

¹⁹¹ As already mentioned above, S.J. du Toit who did not acknowledge the Worcester revival as a work of the Lord was too young when the revival happened, which means that he did not experience it (Tuck 1992:269).

¹⁹² Archibald Alexander and Charles Hodge who were known as Old School Presbyterians in 19th century America held the traditional Calvinistic perspective in theology (McKim 1996:194; Guelzo 1999:181).

¹⁹³ This difference arose from their different approaches. While Lloyd-Jones gives diagnosis within Reformed context, Packer sees the problem from a wider context than Reformed, namely Evangelical.

conventions, Christian Unions and interdenominational doings of all sorts - would suffice of themselves to meet the situation. The other was a pessimistic notion, born of J. N. Darby's esoteric dispensationalism, that the great final apostasy had begun and there was, therefore, no possibility of any real recovery of the churches' fortunes. The first thought implied that revival was not really needed; the second, that it was in any case out of the question."

These opinions show the close relationship between revival, theology and experience. Revival cannot happen when theology does not effectively support it, and theology cannot support revival when experience is excluded from the theology. We must, after this excursion, now return to our aim to assess the revival and accompanying events in Worcester. Was it a revival, or, was it a human religious endeavour?

5.1.6 Was it a revival?

As it has already been noticed, opinions and evaluations of the Worcester revival are diverting. Some regard it as not a revival as God's manifestation, but just nothing more as a psychologically based event that was pervaded by emotionalism (Tuck 1992:277). Was it really just a psychological event? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to investigate the results of the event. If it was just an emotional one, it could not bear any positive fruit for the church and Christian life, but bear a form of thistles (Tuck 1992:276-277). Let Du Plessis (1919:196-197) have the word in this regard:

"When the revival had passed the stage of violent emotion and was running a calmer course, Professor Hofmeyr attempted, in an address to the South African Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, to describe the changes it had effected - changes which in many cases were little less than a revolution... In the case of Wellington, again - the congregation with

which Andrew Murray was to be so inseparably identified in future years - the consistory stated in its report to the presbytery that *the parish had made greater moral and spiritual progress in the last few weeks than in the whole course of its history since its establishment*" (emphasised by Lee).

De Vries, who conducted the prayer meeting when the revival happened, also witnessed:

"The fruits of that revival were seen in the congregation for many years. *They consisted, among others, in this, that fifty young men offered themselves for the ministry, and this happened in days when it was a difficult matter to find young men for the work of the ministry.* May God in His mercy again visit South Africa as He did in those days!" (Du Plessis 1919:196; emphasised by Lee).

After the revival, many people "who formerly were wholly given over to the pursuit of idle pleasures," came to repentance and conversion, and immediately engaged in labour such as the evangelisation of relatives and friends who were still unconverted (Du Plessis :198). Moreover, in every evening, prayer meetings were held after the event, and those meetings always started with silence and soon turned into great out-crying without any human instigation. Although they usually finished the meeting at late night, sometimes almost three o'clock in the next morning, they wished to stay longer to pray (Choy 1978:86).

These testimonies can be compared with the common features of revivals which have already been observed:

- "conviction of sin and repentance,"
- "restored faith in God's Word,"

- “restored worship in the church,”
- “restored eagerness for sharing the Gospel to non-believers.”

Comparing those testimonies mentioned above with these four common features of a true revival, it is not difficult to identify the close similarity between them. The event that happened at Worcester was surely a true revival created by sovereign God.

Myung-hyuk Kim (1998:155) stresses the point that there are not only common features but also unique features in revival history. In the Worcester revival, a unique feature of revivals is identifiable in the conduct of Miss Hessie Bosman, who was married to Alexander McKidd, one of the first foreign missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church. According to J.C. de Vries’ recollection, she was very weak when the revival occurred. Due to her weakness, she could not dare to go out but had to stay at home. However, the news of the revival led her to wish to participate in the prayer meeting which was conducted daily in the church after the revival. Although persons who took care of her did not permit her to take part in the prayer meeting, her decision was firm: “No, I must go, even if it should prove my death; for I have prayed so much for these meetings, and longed so much to take part, that I cannot remain away. No, come what may, I am going!” This was her reply against the dissuasion to go to prayer meeting. While she was praying, she fell down, so De Vries brought her to the parsonage. Although she lost her consciousness that night, she recovered the next morning (Du Plessis 1919:196). Her recovery was, however, as not the same thing as before she was attending the meeting. She was almost fully restored! When Murray was visiting districts outside the Colony with the first foreign missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church, McKidd and

Gonin, he met her at Fauresmith, and she was healthy. Murray's letter forwarded to his wife on 28 April 1862, describes the meeting:

“Hessie Bosman was here and did much good by her telling how the Lord has led her to devote herself to the mission work. I here must have been most excited prayer meeting with her last night” (Archive P1A/2/3).

She married McKidd who had accompanied Murray as the first foreign missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church.¹⁹⁴ What this story shows is that a weak lady had been cured during the period of revival. Although it was a very personal and specific case, it has to be regarded as one of the unique results that the revival had brought to.

Kenneth Latourette (V:339) observes in his book *A history of the expansion of Christianity* that “[t]he tide of religious life which was so evidently rising in Europe and the United States was also having its effect in the Dutch churches of South Africa.”

5.1.7 Its influence on Murray's spirituality

The Worcester revival experience intensely influenced Murray. He, thereafter, discovered in himself profound confidence in the truths of the Bible and the work of the Holy Spirit.¹⁹⁵ Before the experience, his thinking was filled with conceptualisations and experiences such as “weak” and “doubt.” Thereafter, it, however, changed to terms such as “conviction” and “power.” His thoughts were filled with a concern for the Holy

¹⁹⁴ After their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. McKidd arrived at their mission-field, Zoupanbergen in May 1863. Unfortunately, Hessie, Mrs. McKidd, died of fever at the mission-field in May 1864 about a year after her marriage. Her husband Alexander McKidd followed her at the mission-field in May 1865 (Du Plessis 1919:205).

¹⁹⁵ The emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit was one of the important characteristics of Puritan Spirituality (Morgan 1973:56), and the spirituality of those who experienced revival (Marsden 1970:32).

Spirit and His works in human beings. The contemplating on ‘Holy life,’ which he had already received from his father, was increasingly stressed.¹⁹⁶ From now on, the theological notion “sanctification” became one of the popular words in his dictionary.

It seems, as was the case with William C. Burns, that the revival experience created in his theological thinking a slightly revised *pneumatology* in which a particular emphasis was laid (cf. Orr 1975:viii).¹⁹⁷ According to Leona Choy (1978:81), Murray’s books, eg. *The Spirit of Christ*, *The Full Blessing of Pentecost* and *The Key to the Missionary problem*, were written under the influence of the Worcester and subsequent revival experiences. George Marsden (1970:32) says that changing theological attitudes was most natural in those who had experienced revival. He discusses this phenomenon with reference to Jonathan Edwards and concludes:

“Much of Edwards’ theological work grew from his analysis of the basic issue raised by the Great Awakening. What is legitimate in religious experience? Edwards was convinced both by personal experience and his success as an evangelist that heightened emotions were inherent in genuine religious conversion. He sought, therefore, to reconcile the Calvinist intellectual tradition to such intense emotionalism without opening the door for emotional excess... Mere intellectual assent, without

¹⁹⁶ John Howe (1630-1705), a famous Puritan theologian and professor of Oxford University while Thomas Goodwin served as the Rector, says in his sermon ‘The outpouring of the Holy Spirit’ that “[t]here is nothing that is so genuine and natural a product of the effusion of the Spirit as the life of religion in the world. And it may be shown how the Spirit may have an influence to this purpose, both *mediatly* and *immediatly*. I. *Mediatly*: He may have an influence to the promoting of the life, and vigour, and power of religion... II. Of the Holy Spirit’s more *immediate* influence upon the souls... will show itself in these two great and noble effects. (1) In numerous conversion; and (2) In the high improvement and growth of those who sincerely embrace religion, their eminent holiness” (Howe 1678:244-245; cursive by Howe).

¹⁹⁷ Murray’s personal witness of several revival cases in Scotland and his experience of revival in his own church seemed to lead him to consider the insufficiency of contemporary Reformed thinking on Pentecost and *pneumatology*. This will be debated in the next chapter. James Orr (1975:viii-ix) says in his book *Evangelical awakenings in Africa* that “[t]he events recorded in the Acts have been repeated in full or lesser degree in the Awakening of past centuries.”

vital experience, is not true religion. Illustrating this point Edwards often depicted the difference between the rational judgement that honey is sweet and the experience of the taste of honey.”

A similar shift was carried into effect on Murray’s life. As already observed in the previous chapters, Andrew went through times when he struggled with the lack of prayer, religious doubt and powerlessness in his ministry. He, in fact, was even shortly before the revival experience aware of this spiritual precariousness. His diary entry of 20 September 1859 reads:

“On Sunday 18th I preached the third of a course of sermons on the H.S. [Holy Spirit] from Act 2, 37. Repent & believe & ye shall receive the H.S.- It is time that I set myself earnestly to apply this. Of what must I repent? Alas! my whole existence, but especially my ministerial life. Is it true that I have been pleased here by God as His **ambassador** to watch for the interests of His kingdom- as a **witness** with the Holy Spirit from Christ to prove the truth of His Word of love- as a centre of light and blessing to all around. Is it true that God expected me that I promised to live for **this done**- not seeking to anything to please myself nor to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me. And how have I fulfilled my engagements? Or have I even seriously & earnestly held to fulfil them? Oh! Let me answer what has been the object & purpose of my stay in Bloemfontein these last 3 years” (Archive P1A/1b; emphasised by Murray).¹⁹⁸

The diary very often reflects doubt and frustration in his ministerial life during the last three years in Bloemfontein. This was the time in which he married his wife, Emma Rutherford, and lived together with her.¹⁹⁹ Before he married, he worked himself beyond his strength, and consequently his health suffered. However, after his marriage, he could find a shelter within which he could rest peacefully. “We are very happy, and I

¹⁹⁸ Other examples have already been observed in the previous chapter.

¹⁹⁹ They married on Wednesday 2 July 1856.

trust very grateful.”²⁰⁰ There were less burdens than before his marriage (Choy 1978:67). Practically, the peaceful leisure time was God’s providence for his later work (Du Plessis 1919:169). However, his activist temperament did not let him rest. According to his diary, the leisure time was, in his thinking, a kind of sin that had unrightfully pleased him. He became frustrated, confused and doubted that he had worked faithfully as a servant, ambassador and witness of Christ during the last three years of his Bloemfontein ministry. This reflection reveals that he did not yet lay everything in his life in the hands of God. It also meant that he still relied on his own strength. He was obsessed by the urge to do something for the kingdom of God, and he was convinced that he himself could add value to this kingdom, but, to no lasting effect.

This way of thinking and negative spiritual awareness were changed after the revival experience. From that time on, he had enormous trust and belief in what he did.²⁰¹ Everything that befell him was immediately related and interpreted as God’s providence (Choy :92). While he was leading a conference on revival in Bloemfontein a year later, he wrote a letter to his wife on 27 April 1861. In this letter, he confesses God’s sovereign grace with confidence:

“A loving trustful Spirit, while we grieve, gives peace & power for prayer & labour. God is moving in the clouds and is the dispenser of the time & measure of the refreshing shower in a way we cannot fathom” (Archive P1A/2/3).

When his father-in-law, Hawthorn Rutherford died, Murray sent a letter to his mother-in-law in order to console her heart. In the letter (written on 20 February 1862), he

²⁰⁰ See Murray’s letter forwarded to his brother John in 1856 (Archive P1A/2/2).

²⁰¹ Murray thought of himself as God’s co-worker or partner (Murray’s letter to his wife 28 Apr 1862).

shows his entire dependence on God:

“I have prayed specially that you may receive the chiefest grace, a quiet and expectant mind that simply waits for God to do his work that knows that He will comport and sanctify and teach and guide most faithfully. Oh if we did not so often hinder Him by our much serving and much trying to serve, how surely and mightily would He accomplish His own work of renewing the soul[s] into the likeness of Christ Jesus. What secrets He would whisper into the silence of a waiting mind” (Archive P1A/2/1a).

The theological inclination of this letter is quite different from that in the above-mentioned diary. In the diary, the idea that he had to do something for God was prevalent. In this letter, to the contrary, he observes that when man tries to do something, it can only be a hindrance to God’s kingdom, rather than to be helpful. Therefore, he suggests that the best policy for the kingdom is to wait in silence to see what God will do. He was emphasising entire resignation of the human being to God. “[Murray] had now,” Choy relates (1978:92), “been taught by the Spirit to let the Lord work through him, rather than to generate his own human power while doing the task of God.”

In the mean time, the spiritual fervour kindled by the revival was reaching the neighbouring indigenous tribes (Du Plessis 1919:198). With respect to this task, Henri Gonin and Alexander McKidd were dispatched to the north.²⁰² As a member of the Mission Board of the Dutch Reformed Church, Murray accompanied them in order to arrange the commencement of their work outside the Colony, because he was already familiar with the people there and with the geography of the district (Douglas n.d:91). However, matters were not so easy to start the work (Du Plessis :201). In the midst of

²⁰² Alexander McKidd and Henri Gonin were the first foreign missionaries in the DRC coming from Scotland and Switzerland respectively (Du Plessis 1919:191-191).

this journey, he wrote a letter to his wife at Fauresmith on 28 April 1862. In this letter, his conviction in prayer, and his enormous joy in being a partner of God, can be detected:

“I feel increasingly the difficulties that await us across the Vaal but entertain the strong confidence that the many prayer which are rising on all sides will be heard... I feel sometimes things that I can hardly express. To realise that one is actually a partner with the Eternal God in His blessed work- that He opens our hearts to share His counsels to sympathise with His Spirit- and to execute what He has devised & begun. Oh that there were only the more entire devotion of the whole daily life to receive and retain and become pervaded by His Divine & Holy thoughts” (Archive P1A/2/3).

There is no sentiment of doubt and frustration in this letter, even though he had met many difficulties on the way to do God’s work. Previously, he had to effort for the kingdom of God by himself, but now, his mind was changed. He was a partner who walked with God, and who just waited to see what He would do. Everything no longer depended on himself. This dependence is also manifested in another letter forwarded to his wife on 17 May 1862:

“We are kept in entire dependence upon God to open the hearts of men, and the path of duty. Such dependence is a blessed thing when it can be exercised in the right faith.- The clear answers of our claim on God’s leading & help and of the certainty that we shall be His good time, receive the reward of our waiting. But I feel at the same time what a deeply spiritual thing this dependence on God, and fellowship with Him is, and how incompatible with anything but a close and tender devotion to Him is” (Archive P1A/2/3).

Some is of opinion that Murray’s emphasis on ‘entire dependence’ or ‘absolute

surrender' was inspired by William Law, a well-known mystic.²⁰³ However, as we see, the concept of 'absolute surrender' was already fully formed in his thinking during this period.²⁰⁴ The effectuating of and reflection on this concept was influenced by the revival experience rather than by William Law. In another letter forwarded to his children on 10 June 1862 at Rustenberg, Murray also reveals his dependence on God clearly:

“He [Chief Ramkok] had about 12 of his chiefs with him, we told them what we wanted. But, poor man! he would not have the missionaries. He was afraid he would have to leave his wickedness. We told him the Book [the Scripture] would make him happy, but no! he was afraid and would have nothing to do with us. Oh how sad Papa's heart was and the hearts of all of us to see how the devil had power over this poor man. And we were sad too, because God had not yet given us what we had so asked for- a place for our missionaries to preach. *But we were not discontented- for tho[ugh] we did not get from God what we asked, we knew that He always loves his children and does what is good.* You know Mama or Papa sometimes does not give you what you ask without telling you why. Not because they do not love you, but because they know what is lack” (Archive P1A/2/3; emphasised by Lee).

Murray was praying and waiting for the chance that McKidd and Gonin would be able to preach to the tribe whose chief was Ramkok. However, this opportunity was denied by the tribe. Although his heart was sad and disappointed, he did not lose hope that God would help him and the missionaries. He then explained to his children why their prayer has not been answered.

²⁰³ C.F.C Coetzee (1986:233) asserts it, and Du Plessis (1919:470) also says it. More detailed observation on this matter will be found in the next chapter.

²⁰⁴ Murray would not meet William Law's writings until the year of 1893 (Murray 1894:xi).

In the diary entries during the 1860s, it is difficult to find the sentiment of weakness, doubt and lack of prayer (Archive P1A/1c). In addition, ‘absolute surrender’ or ‘entire dependence’ appears quite frequently. The entry dated 6 November 1865, reads as follows:

“I look still brighter and hear the Son of God saying, “Lo I come to do Holy will.” O God I see him referring the liberty of self will and living a life of dependence, submission [and] self surrender... And Oh! ought I not to desire as my highest privilege, and may I not seek as my right to be made us confirmed in this to my salvation? Yes, it is indeed the highest exercise of man’s will to throw itself into the will of God... Let me especially try and gaze upon that wondrous mystery Christ Jesus giving up His own will to the will of God until my mind is filled with the thought of what man ought to be of what man may be” (Archive P1A/1c).

It should be clear, by now, that a shift in Murray’s religious experiences occurred. After experiencing the revival, conviction in faith and full dependence on God and the work of the Holy Spirit were clearly elevated and emphasised.

In 1864, Murray received a call to the Cape Town congregation. Actually, he hesitated to accept because he loved Worcester. However, he had to accept it on behalf of the effective work as the Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church. Murray Sr., his brother John and his colleagues welcomed his acceptance of the call. Thus, he moved to Cape Town. However, a theological struggle awaited him.

5.2 Cape Town pastorate (1864-1871) and Liberal Theology

In Cape Town, Andrew Murray had to contend with theological Liberalism and ecclesiastical *Erastianism*. His antipathy against liberal theology is argued in his book *A Lecture on the Modern Theology* that was published in 1868:

“It [modern theology] is nothing but some new form of old and oft-refuted heresies, and would more than hint its affinity with Infidelity and Atheism. The denial of a Revelation hides God in Nature” (Murray 1868:3).

Murray’s involvement in these questions actually began in 1862, while he was still in Worcester. However, the struggle intensified and lasted during the first half of his Cape Town ministry. It was a long and spiritually detestable period to Murray following the fresh spiritual experience of revival.

5.2.1 Theological Liberalism and ecclesiastical *Erastianism*

In 1862, as mentioned, Murray was elected as Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church. Whereas it was surely an honourable position, he had to lead the church against theological Liberalism as well as ecclesiastical *Erastianism* embodied in the relation between the Dutch Reformed Church and the government of Cape Colony. The conflict was triggered at the regular Synodical assembly of 1862.²⁰⁵ Such assemblies of Synod were a time of renewed acquaintances among divines, inspiration for advanced ministry and mutual ecclesiastical matters. Fifty-three ministers and about the same number of

²⁰⁵ At that time, the Cape Synod was held every five years.

elders from almost all around the country had gathered in Cape Town to participate in the meeting (Du Plessis 1919:211).

This meeting of Synod, however, turned out to be extraordinary. One of the elders, Loedolff of Malmsbury, questioned the legal status of those ministers who came from outside of the boundaries of the Cape Colony.²⁰⁶ This was a tactical protest from the Modernist camp in an effort to weaken the so-called ultra orthodox faction. Ministers who came from beyond the borders normally were of the orthodox group. The Synod gave serious consideration to Loedolff's protest, and refused to accept its stipulations, and declared "by a great majority that it considered itself to be legally constituted" (Du Plessis :212-213).

Against the decision of the Synod, the Modernist party submitted their case to the civil court, since the civil power had endowed the Church with a church ordinance to regulate her actions. The result was a victory for the Modernist camp (Du Plessis :214).²⁰⁷ Synod adjourned, and those delegates from outside the colonial boundaries had to leave.

The Synod re-assembled in 1863. This time, the meeting was dominated by the problem of the theological Liberalism. The two camps, Orthodox and Modernist, seriously opposed one another as far as the doctrine and its interpretation was concerned. The Reverend J.J. Kotze taught that the Heidelberg Catechism, one of Reformed confessions

²⁰⁶ Loedolff doubted the credentials of the Pietermaritzburg delegates (Du Plessis 1919:213).

²⁰⁷ With the result of the decision of the civil court, the day of 26 November 1862 was to henceforth be known as Disruption day of the DRC in South Africa (Du Plessis 1919:214).

that the Dutch Reformed Church accepted and ministers had to teach, was incorrect.²⁰⁸

His views related especially to Question 60 of the Heidelberg Catechism: “How are you righteous before God?” The answer is as follows:

“Only by true faith in Jesus Christ. [1] Although my conscience accuses me that I have grievously sinned against all God’s commandments, have never kept any of them, [2] and am still inclined to all evil, [3] yet God, without any merit of my own, [4] out of mere grace, [5] imputes to me the perfect sanctification, righteousness, and holiness of Christ. [6] He grants these to me as if I had never had nor committed any sin, and as if I myself had accomplished all the obedience which Christ has rendered for me, [7] if only I accept this gift with a believing heart. [8]” (Heidelberg Catechism 2001:54).

Kotze did not agree with the answer, especially as far as number [3] is concerned. He told his parishioners that the answer was an error. He thought that the words “still inclined to all evil” could not be fitting to the mouth of both a heathen and a Christian (Du Plessis 1919:215). This confirms that his doctrine of anthropology was the same as that of Pelagius, who had not acknowledged original sin.

The Synod suspended Kotze as minister of Darling until the next meeting of the Synodical Committee, and demanded from him the retraction of his teachings. This decision was passed by a majority of 56:24 in the Synod (Lindner 1996:73). Kotze, however, did not rescind his heretical teachings. Instead, he appealed to the civil court to declare the Synodical decision void. Finally, the Synod removed him from office on 19 April 1864 (Du Plessis :219). But Kotze did not accept the decision of the Synod,

²⁰⁸ The Belgic Confession, Heidelberg Catechism and the Canon of Dort are the representatives of the Reformed confessions.

and carried his case to the civil court, and eventually won, in disrespect of the decision of the Cape Synod.

Reverend T.F. Burgers' case was similar to that of Kotze. Actually, Burgers was more Liberal than Kotze. He denied both the personality of the devil and the sinless-ness of Christ's human nature. Ultimately, he was suspended from his office as minister of Hanover until the Synodical Committee meeting in 1865. However, Burgers did not obey the stipulations of the sentence, but, on the contrary, he intimidated the moderator, Murray, in order to have him withdraw the sentence, or he would bring the case to the civil court (Du Plessis 1919:224-225). On Burgers' resistance, Murray was indignant. His letter forwarded to his father on 11 August 1864 shows a glimpse with respect to this:

“I received this evening Burger's announcement of his intention to proceed with his work, as well as a communication, signed by five churchwardens, saying that they had requested him to do so, and had written you not to come. I sincerely pray that God may have given you grace and wisdom to act aright. What do you think? Is it not our duty now to go to the Civil Court, to get possession of the buildings? The unfortunate churchwardens are deceived by all sorts of talk, and I think it would be our duty to give them proof positive that they are bound to obey us as regard the buildings. I fear a great deal of mischief may be done by allowing Burgers to take as long time as he does to drag on his case”
(Archive P1A/2/1a).

Finally, Burgers brought his case to the civil court, and won against the decision of the Synod.

Synod was convinced that the series of decisions by the civil court were unfair. So the Synod decided to dispatch Murray to England in order to appeal the unjust to the Privy Council and the Queen in 1866.²⁰⁹ It was an open and ecclesiastical expression against *Erastianism*. The mission to England, however, failed (Du Plessis 1919:243-244). The successive defeats of the Cape Synod, however, did not strengthen the Modernist camp. On the contrary, soon, the Modernist camp withdrew and declined (Lindner 1996:78-79). For the evangelical group with Andrew Murray as their leader, was too strong and influential.

5.2.2 Cape Town pastorate (1864-1871) and its challenges

As Moderator, Andrew Murray had to manage most of the business related to the Dutch Reformed Church in the city of Cape Town. As the Church was accused by Liberals in the civil court throughout his term as Moderator, his position and being in Cape Town was crucial for the Church. He clearly knew the challenges, difficulties and responsibilities of the charge. He therefore asked of his father's special intercession and prayers. This is evident in Murray's letter forwarded to his father on 21 July 1864:

“I am sure I will have your sympathy during my present time of trial. As far as my own impressions go, and the advice of friends outside of Worcester, everything appears to point to Cape Town, but it is difficult really to bring my mind to say Yes. So much is implied in that little answer, and venturing to undertake such a great work. I shall be glad of your special prayers that I may be kept from going, unless it be with very special preparation from on High” (Archive P1A/2/1a).

²⁰⁹ Murray left the Cape in May 1866. During his absence from the Cape, his father Murray Sr. passed on 24 June 1866.

He saw his position as Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, as a pressing call in order to effectively face and reject Liberalism in the church at that time. He had seemed to indicate his will to his father, so that Murray Sr. would have permitted Murray to accept the call of the Cape Town pastorate. Murray's letter to his father on 11 August 1864 sheds light on this:

“Many thanks for your kind expressions of sympathy in the matter of the Cape Town call. You will have seen by the papers that I have accepted it. It is some comfort to me to think that I go in answer to many prayers, and that it may please God to use me as an instrument for the hearing of still more prayers that are laid up before Him, for a blessing on that congregation” (Archive P1A/2/1a).

Although he was aware of the challenges which the charge brought to him, he accepted it as the answer to the prayers of many people who wanted him to go to Cape Town. But, his wife still had some anxiety, even though her husband accepted the call to Cape Town. Because she loved the Worcester congregation, her sadness in leaving was sincere and deep. Her anxiety, mingled with the good memories in Worcester, is well documented in a letter forwarded to her mother:

“On Saturday and Sunday the church overcrowded, a hundred carts, many horse-wagons, whole families, came to the farewell meetings. On the day we left many carts and wagons accompanied us out of the village. After an hour's drive we all knelt in a circle, Andrew praying, after singing a Dutch Hymn. Old men were weeping like children, and the leave takings were heartbreaking.... How I shall miss the dear Worcester people, they have been so kind and loving, and after all the wonderful times we have passed through together, I don't know how I shall get on in Cape Town, it will all be so stiff, not like our own dear homely people” (Douglas n.d:99).

The Cape Town pastorate was huge and popular to ministers for various reasons: its scale, its location and its power of influence.²¹⁰ It consisted of two church buildings: the Groote Kerk (great church) and the Nieuwe Kerk (new church). In the year of 1868, it had about 5,000 adherents and more than 3,000 communicants within the adherents (Du Plessis 1919:251).

Murray worked very hard. He carried out house visitations frequently, even though the congregation was, in actual fact, too large for him to personally take care of.²¹¹ He sometimes expressed frustration that he could not match his sermon with the information he gained from house visitation (Archive P1A/8/1).²¹² In his thinking, his pastorate did not meet the requirement.²¹³ This often frustrated him. Lindner (1996:86) relates:

“He [Andrew Murray] expressed frustration that in a church so large he could face an entire congregation of faces different from those he had just visited that week. How could he know and care for so large a group?”

Finally, when he received a call from a small congregation in Wellington, he decided to go there in order to minister more effectively, despite the dissuasion of many of his

²¹⁰ With respect to this, a statement of a deacon in the pastorate is reasonable to hear. When the calling from Wellington pastorate arrived to Murray, many people of Cape Town were anxious, because they did not want him to leave. A deacon said “You need not bother, Andrew Murray will not leave us, he will soon be first Minister of Cape Town and that is a fine position and he knows better than to leave (Douglas n.d:110).”

²¹¹ The house visitation was a typical pastoral influence of Scottish church on the DRC (Sass 1956:77). According to Sass (:250), Scottish ministers “brought to the DRC the best traditions of the Church of Scotland.” Among the traditions, house visitation, Sunday school and weekly prayer meeting were included as their pastoral influences (Sass :250-251).

²¹² This archival document has the title ‘A Daughter’s recollection’.

²¹³ His ministerial ideal was surely influenced by his father Murray Sr. According to Sass (1956:78), “Andrew Murray [Sr.] exerted a profound influence upon members of the DRC through his pastoral visitation.” John Calvin also thought house visitation importantly. The close connection between house visitation and the sermon was one of the important factors in Reformed pastoral theology (Sass :77).

colleagues (Douglas n.d:110).

Andrew was, during the years of his stay in Cape Town, much occupied with ecclesiastical and theological matters. On the whole, we must conclude that these issues did not impact on his spirituality as did the revival. His spirituality now was consolidated, and in Wellington, he had more time to reflect and write.

5.3 Wellington pastorate (1871-1906) and Divine healing

Wellington was a country parish located at the end of the railway from Cape Town. Due to its accessibility compared to other towns nearby, Wellington was an important commercial centre, even though the town residents numbered only 4,000 (Lindner 1996:87). So, at the time of Murray's arrival, Wellington took pride in its material prosperity (Du Plessis 1919:262). Leona Choy (1978:106) describes the surroundings of Wellington as follows:

“A panorama of mountain ranges with rugged peaks, bathed in the setting sun with exquisite rose and purple tints, awed even those who dwelt there from childhood. The lush valleys were lined with vineyards; orchards climbed the hill slopes with their lavish foliage, blossoms, and fruit. The ground was very fertile and the farms were comparatively small, yielding well.”

Although, in human eyes, Murray's acceptance of the call to Wellington looked like “a backward step on the road to fame,” the ministry in Wellington, as a matter of fact, made Murray into the prominent person that we know so well today, through his

popular writings (Choy 1978:105). Murray practiced what he had prayed for, without any particular resistance from the church members, and the works he undertook were very fruitful. A significant work was to establish two Christian educational institutions: Huguenot Seminary and Mission Training Institute in Wellington.

In 1872, two of his children, Fanny and Willie,²¹⁴ died. After these sad death and the time of mourning, Andrew's mind was more and more occupied with the persuasion that he was uneasy not for the sorrow of their deaths, but for the thinking that there was an urgent need for labourers in the kingdom of God. In a letter to his father on 26 May 1864, he wrote:

“What a sad thing this scarcity of ministers is. I felt it very much again at Clanwilliam. Namaqualand, 36 hours off, with a salary [of a minister] guaranteed [and] a church built, but no man to be had. Is there no prospect of more students from Graaff-Reinet?” (Archive P1A/2/1a)

In Wellington, however, he had more in mind than the shortage of orthodox ministers. His view was much wider: it focussed on the lack of labourers in the kingdom of God. An ecumenical motivation and orientation inspired him to take action. In establishing institutions to provide training, he found the answer. His efforts bore fruit in the grounding of the Huguenot Seminary for ladies which had been inspired by the Ladies' Seminary at Mount Holyoke in Massachusetts, America (Robert 1993:105-106). This inspiration arose in Murray's heart when he spent his Christmas holiday at Kalk Bay near Cape Town, through the reading of the life, history and life work of Mary Lyon, the

²¹⁴ Frances Helen (Fanny) was born on 30 March 1870, and died on a day in 1872, but according to the *Murray-stemregister*, the year of her death is 1873 without the date. William Stegmann (Willie) was born on 23 August 1871, and died on 22 January 1872. See *Murray-Stemregister 1794-1954* p.23.

founder of the Ladies' Seminary (Du Plessis 1919:274). The Huguenot Seminary was the first college for women in South Africa (Robert 1993:103).

Moreover, in 1877, the Mission Training Institute was opened in Wellington as the result of Murray's incessant efforts, in order to train missionaries and missionary teachers. "[W]hat has the church ever done about education?," asks Kenneth Bradley (1992:287), "The short reply, of course, is "almost everything". People of Christian faith have always cherished a special interest in education." Murray was not exception. All these activities show his spirituality of *Activism*.

However, the most significant influence on his spirituality during this period was yet another experience, that of divine healing. He was more than indifferent about divine healing at first, because, in his thinking, it did not fit into his theological point of view (Du Plessis :338). When he got a trouble in his throat, and knew the impossibility of recovery, he had a desire to take part in a divine healing program.

5.3.1 Divine healing experience (1879-1882)

While Murray was in Wellington, he experienced faith healing. This experience was the second clear cut one in Murray's life.²¹⁵ Although he had known about so-called faith healing well before his own experience, it did not draw his special attention at first (Douglas n.d:182-183). However, after experiencing it, he propagated it loudly and widely in South Africa (Du Plessis 1919:331-352). Although Murray himself accepted the teaching of divine healing whole-heartedly, the teaching was objected by many in

²¹⁵ We have already observed one clear-cut experience in Murray's life, *viz.* a revival experience.

those days. Murray knew the objection well (Du Plessis 1919:345).²¹⁶ The important reason why he promoted the idea, despite the fact that he was well acquainted with the opposition against it, is formulated in the preface of his book *Divine Healing*:

“The publication of this work may be regarded as *a testimony of my faith in divine healing*. After being stopped for more than two years in the exercise of my ministry, I was healed by the mercy of God in answer to the prayer of those who see in Him “the Lord that healeth thee (Exodus 15:26).” *This healing, granted to faith, has been the source of rich spiritual blessing to me*. I have clearly seen that the Church possesses in Jesus, our Divine Healer, and an inestimable treasure, which *she does not yet know how to appreciate... I can therefore no longer keep silence*, and I publish here a series of meditations, with the view of showing, according to the Word of God, that “the prayer of faith (James 5:15)” is the means appointed by God for the cure of the sick, that *this truth is in perfect accord with Holy Scripture*” (Murray 1982:5; emphasised by Lee).

The reason why he had kept silent before publishing this book may have been his fear for the consequences of objection and rejection of it. In the preface, he clearly shows three reasons why he had to publish the book. One was the experiences that he had had; another was that what he had experienced, in his thinking, fit with the biblical truth; the third was that church did not yet know the truth of divine healing. The first two reasons must be considered in order to properly understand his appreciation of divine healing.

5.3.2 Suffering of throat trouble and its cause

Being influenced by the political atmosphere in Europe and America during 1870's and

²¹⁶ Even today, this fact is one of the factors used to denounce Murray. Some say that he did not follow the DRC tradition to which he belonged (Coetzee 1986:237-238), others say he was surely not Reformed (De Gruchy 1979:5), and still other say that he was an ancestor of the Pentecostal movement (Hollenweger 1972:111-116, 120). However, all these assumptions must be re-considered.

1880's, the public mind of South Africa was engaged in political and social matters that pervaded throughout the country. The former were issues of confederation and native policy etc. and the latter were related to education and the suppression of social evils such as drunkenness and vice, etc. Likewise, the religious atmosphere was also influenced by the socio-political context that pervaded in Europe and America (Du Plessis 1919:311).

With regard to this situation, several conferences that stimulated by the Oxford Holiness Movement were held in many towns in South Africa in 1876. The Holiness Movement propagated the belief that the carnal nature of man could be cleansed by the power of the Holy Spirit through faith in Jesus. The belief exerted that its significant result was spiritual power and an ability to maintain purity of heart (that is, thoughts and motives are uncorrupted by sin). "Entire sanctification" and "Christian perfection" were dominant concepts in the movement.²¹⁷ The object of these conferences was "not merely the conversion of the unconverted, but the deepening of the spiritual life of believers" (Du Plessis :313).

The Dutch Reformed Church was also sensitive to the religious atmosphere in Great Britain and in America. In *De Kerkbode*, many articles introduced the activities of Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey who were famous lay evangelists in America. The eye-witnesses of ministers who had lately visited Europe created a new spiritual force in the Dutch Reformed Church during this period. Eventually, several revivals occurred again in Swellendam, Montagu, Wellington, Cape Town and Stellenbosch. A special

²¹⁷ For more information about the "Holiness Movement," consult the *Web Encyclopedia* (www.wikipedia.org).

characteristic of these revivals was the decision of young people to devote themselves to the kingdom of God. This played an obvious role in Murray's establishing of training institutions in Wellington to provide labourers for the need of the kingdom of God.

Responding to this situation, the Synod of 1876 constituted a "Committee for Special Gospel-preaching" (Du Plessis 1919:322). Murray was identified and nominated as a leading figure in this Committee. It was not easy to get the Committee off the ground, but its aim suited Murray excellently. It was in fact what Murray wanted to do from the beginning. He strongly felt the necessity of evangelists for itinerant evangelical preaching in the church as a whole. In a letter to his wife on 24 January 1876, Murray describes his feelings as follows:

"The more I travel the more I see that the great need of our church is Evangelists. And though I cannot in the least see how it would be possible to give up Wellington, or to arrange for long absences, it does almost appear wrong not to undertake the work when one knows that there are hundreds waiting to be brought in. It appears terrible to let them go on in darkness and indecision when they are willing to be helped" (Archive P1A/2/3).

Murray thus involved himself enthusiastically to preach the Gospel from time to time throughout South Africa. While on one of his evangelistic outreaches in 1879, he experienced trouble with his throat. The mixture of both the hard work in the evangelical preaching - a fiery preaching style and passion for his duty - and a severe cold seemed to be the main reason (Huguenot News Letter 1917:3). The letter forwarded to his wife on 9 August 1879 from Hanover shows a glimpse of when his throat trouble began: "I am grateful to say all will my throat better than I ever expected

with all the speaking” (Archive P1A/2/3). Even though in this letter, he reported the recovery of his throat, his condition gradually deteriorated, and finally at the end of 1879, he could not speak loudly. Although his throat recovered at times, it was at best only a temporary restoration.²¹⁸ Partly due to the necessity of keeping silence (and thus away from the daily continued visitors) and partly due to the hope of aid of the dry weather, he stayed in the Karoo²¹⁹ for some months in 1881. Murray’s letters forwarded to his wife and children embody reflection on his condition. His letter to his wife at Murraysburg on 28 January 1881 informs her of a doctor’s diagnosis and prescription for his throat problem:

“[On my arriving here] I saw the doctor at once. He says he can say nothing positive. He must try for a fortnight and see what effect his applications have, and then he will be able to give an opinion as to what he thinks of a cure. I have to see him once every day to have the throat washed, and morning and evening I have to inhale for 10 minutes hot water steam with some mixture in it... I am to walk regularly in the morning before breakfast, and to speak as little as possible. This last has been made known to all friends, so that I can keep quite quiet. I spend the greater part of the day alone, either in my room or in the garden” (Archive P1A/2/3).

His career as a minister and a servant of the Gospel reached, at the end of the 1870s, a high water mark. The ministry that he eagerly undertook bore positive fruits. In the course of time, he was, however, faced with a serious hindrance. The fact that he could no longer speak was almost the same as a death sentence for the minister. It is, however,

²¹⁸ Murray’s letter forwarded to his wife on 20 February 1880 at Cape Town shows his occasional recoveries: “My voice is keeping quite strong. I spoke half of hour at the S.S. conference last night (Archive P1A/2/3).” This statement shows a glimpse that he temporarily recovered from his throat problem.

²¹⁹ A desert area in the middle of South Africa.

difficult to find any special indication or sentiment of anxiety in his letters during this period.²²⁰ Instead of anxiety, he thought that it was the will of God. So he tried to find out what God wanted him to do. Murray's letter sent to his wife on 15 February 1881 from his sister Jemima's house at Murraysburg, describes the situation as follows:

“A letter in the former has led my thoughts a good deal to the question of God's purpose with this long silence. You know what I have said about the two views of affliction, the one always seeing in it chastisement for sin, the other regarding it in the light of kindness and love. And you know what very great kindness I have felt it, to have such a time for the renewal of bodily strength, and of mental quiet and refreshment for the work before me. The thought has come whether I might not be in danger of overlooking the former aspect. I have been asking the Lord to show me what specially there is that He wants changed” (Archive P1A/2/3).

This statement shows Murray's temperament and spirituality, which ultimately led him to the desirable results throughout his life time namely, his positive attitude. Although he did not ignore any negative effect when he thought and worked, his inclination always weighed more on their positive sides rather than negative. What he wished to have in order to know God's will was “more spiritual life” (Murray's letter on 15 Feb 1881). There, however, was little hope for recovering his throat even after a month's treatment. Murray's letter to his wife on 12 March 1881 reveals:

“I am under orders to use the voice as little as possible, and therefore speak little and in a low voice. When people here ask me if I feel better I never say yes, for I feel no difference. You know I have never written

²²⁰ Instead, Murray made his wife's mind ease: “Be restful, whatever you hear [on my health]” was his advice to his wife (Murray's letter to his wife on 12 March 1881). Moreover, he was worry about the health of Miss McGill, a co-worker (Murray's letter to his wife on 28 January 1881), and he also had an anxiety for peace of the first Anglo-Boer war (Murray's letter to his wife on 12 March 1881). These letters are in the DRC Archives P1A/2/3.

anything of being or feeling better” (Archive P1A/2/3).

Three days later, he received a surprising notice from his doctor that he had to cease his treatment by the next weekend. He added that all Murray could do for his throat was “care and the gentle and gradual exercise of the voice” (Murray’s letter on 16 Mar 1881).

In a letter sent to his wife on 26 March 1881, Murray discloses:

“I have not yet had my final talk with the doctor, but think [that] he will say I could begin preaching... He [doctor] says the voice now needs exercise enough but not too much” (Archive P1A/2/3).

A week later, he made a plan to return to Wellington with the doctor’s permission:

“Now our plans are as follows- Tuesday to Graaff-Reinet. Mima stays there a fortnight but I return on Saturday. Sunday and Monday the doctor last looks. Sunday I leave in the hope of being home the Thursday before Easter. But I do not calculate very certainly on these plans because he [doctor] has found spots as some parts of the throat, even after the whole appeared a normal state, and I suppose it would do to leave till he gave positive permission to go. Let us pray the Lord that He may order it that I may be able to leave this with confidence. He says that for the first month after reaching home I must not speak in public more than a quarter of an hour at a time” (Murray’s letter on 2 Apr 1881).²²¹

Following the doctor’s prescription, Murray tried to exercise his voice through reading loudly and preaching not more than a quarter of an hour:

“I preached yesterday for twenty-five minutes, and the doctor says it has done me no harm. There is still huskiness about the throat, which he says will wear off with the use of the voice” (Murray’s letter on 11 Apr

²²¹ This letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/3.

1881).²²²

Towards the end of April, Murray arrived at Wellington with a much improved health and throat, even though his throat had not been completely cured. He preached continually, and worked as hard as usual, and his throat seemed to be getting better during the latter part of the year 1881. However, when the set-back came, he attempted to rest in order to relieve the throat problem, but every effort this time was useless. The Wellington church had suggested that Murray should take time off to journey to Europe. Murray decided to accept the consideration of the church with the hope of his recuperation by consulting the best medical practitioners in Europe. He left from the Cape with his wife in May 1882 (Du Plessis 1919:337).

5.3.3 Entering Bethshan home and Divine healing experience

On arriving at London, he pursued medical treatment on the one hand, and attended a Conference at Mildmay. In the Conference, Murray met, by chance, Stockmaier who was famous for his teaching of faith healing. In fact, Murray wanted to meet him even prior to his departure from the Cape. In the discussion, reference was made of suffering, and related to James 5:13-16.²²³ Murray's idea was that "surely suffering and trial are means of grace which God employs to sanctify His people." On this, Stockmaier responded by distinguishing between suffering and disease, which is revealed in James

²²² This letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/3.

²²³ James from 5:13 to 5:16 is as such:

5:13 Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms.

5:14 Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.

5:15 And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.

5:16 Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much. (KJV).

5:13-14. He recommended Murray to attend the Bethshan Home where Boardman conducted meetings for faith healing. Murray decided to go to Bethshan. It was not without expectation. A letter forwarded to the congregation at Wellington on 20 September 1882 explains clearly how he felt:

“When I resolved upon the trip to Europe I felt that it would be a serious question for me whether I should place myself under the treatment of a physician, or should turn to those who appear to have received this gift of healing from the Lord... The man whom I desired particularly to see was Pastor Stockmaier... But I did not expect to meet him before I got to Switzerland... I placed myself the day after my arrival in the hands of a famous London physician, Dr. Kidd. He prescribed a few medicines for me to use and sent me to a cold-water establishment in the vicinity of London, with directions that I should call on him from time to time. The following week was appointed for the Mildmay Conference, which was to last for three days, and I obtained permission to attend it. At this Conference, just a week after our arrival in London, I heard that Mr. Stockmaier was also present. I called on him and discussed my throat trouble with him” (Du Plessis 1919:339).

Murray joined the Boardman meetings that lasted three weeks. While he was in the course, a question plagued him. It was the question that if faith healing was an act of God’s power there could be no reason for sickness to be cured at once. Several times after addressing Boardman and Stockmaier with this question, he arrived at a personal conclusion. In the letter forwarded to his wife on 8 July 1882, his understanding on this issue is documented:

“One of the things that has appeared strange is that they hardly expect instantaneous healing. They appear to think it takes time for the mind and heart to get the right bore of entire trustful surrender, and that the healing often comes as a gradual inflow of new life and strength. And so I have

put my care fairly and finally into God's hands, believing He has taken it and that I may them in faith say – He has healed me. And I must know just wait to learn the lessons He has to teach me so that I may know [H]im to walk with Him as the Healer and Keeper of the body... It is a solemn thing to acknowledge as never before” (Archive P1A/2/3).²²⁴

At first Murray had some doubt of the method of treatment which Bethshan Home taught. However, he understood the fact that it was faith itself that gained the upper-hand in faith healing. According to Murray's understanding about faith healing, healing itself was merely a result of the increased faith through some training for self-resignation and entire dependence on God, even though people who were sick, generally, gave more concern to healing itself (Murray 2002:23). It, according to Murray, was intended to improve Christians' faith and their holiness of life rather than healing itself. Healing, as a matter of fact, was a kind of by-product of increasing faith and holiness (Du Plessis 1919:344). In the course of three weeks after entering the Bethshan Home, Murray's throat was completely restored. The teaching of Bethshan Home and his own healing experience exerted permanent influence on his spiritual depth for the rest of his life. This experience that helped Andrew to enhance his faith and holiness and to recover his throat trouble, convinced him to propagate the teaching of divine healing, in spite of heavy oppositions in the Dutch Reformed Church (Murray 1982:5).

5.3.4 The influence on Murray

After practical contact with and the experience of divine healing, Murray's view on disease was drastically changed. Before his faith healing experience, he thought that

²²⁴ This letter was written about a week later after his entering the Bethshan Home. He arrived at London in the first trisection of June 1882, and entered the Home three weeks later (Murray's letter to his congregation on 20 Sept 1882).

suffering was a means of grace which God employed to sanctify His people, and that disease must be understood within this framework. This is clearly expressed in a letter to his wife on 15 February 1881:

“A letter in the former has led my thoughts a good deal to the question of God’s purpose with this long silence. You know what I have said about the two views of affliction, the one always seeing in it chastisement for sin, the other regarding it in the light of kindness and love. And you know what very great kindness I have felt it, to have such a time for the renewal of bodily strength, and of mental quiet and refreshment for the work before me” (Archive P1A/2/3).

In this letter, Murray still thought that his throat problem was as a kind of suffering that would lead him to a renewed state of bodily strength. However, when Andrew met Stockmaier at the Mildmay Conference, his view on suffering changed. Stockmaier told him that “You are still fettered by the customary views on Christians about suffering.” Stockmaier convinced Murray that it was necessary to understand the difference between suffering and disease. Murray explains this difference in his own words:

“There is no unconditional promise that suffering, arising from the many temptations and trials of life, will be taken away; but there is such a promise in the case of sickness. I was obliged to admit this, and subsequently I thought that I understood the matter still better. There is no promise of complete deliverance from that suffering that comes upon the Christian from the world without - it must serve to bless and sanctify him. But it is different with disease, which has its seat within the body, and not outside of it. The body has been redeemed; the body is a temple of the Holy Spirit; and, for the believer who can accept it, the Lord is ready to reveal even in the case of the body His mighty power to deliver from the dominion of sin” (Murray’s letter to his congregation on 20 Sept 1882).

In his book *Divine Healing*, the same changed view is presented:

“Some go so far as to say that sickness is a proof of the love and grace of God. But neither the Scripture nor yet Jesus Christ Himself ever spoke of sickness in this light, nor do they ever present sickness as a blessing, as a proof of God’s love which should be borne with patience. The Lord spoke to the disciples of diverse sufferings which they should have to bear, but when He speaks of sickness, it is always as of an evil caused by sin and Satan, and from which we should be delivered” (Murray 1982:8-9).

When Murray left for Europe with his wife in order to cure his throat, they asked Miss McGill to take care of their children who stayed behind in Wellington (Archive P1A/8/1).²²⁵ McGill was a lady with poor health. Murray expected that McGill would not recover from her weakness. However, when he returned from Europe after experiencing faith healing, the situation was changed. He illustrated his changed conviction. His daughter recollected:

“On their return her [McGill] first words were “I have only lived to hand back my charge to you,” as she believed herself dying. Father answered “*No, you must have faith and you will recover.*” After father talked and prayed she did really recover and did good work at the starting of the Y.W.C.A. in Cape Town for some years” (Archive P1A/8/1; emphasised by Lee).²²⁶

Murray’s daughter Emmie also recalls her father’s change after the experience:

“It was after the “time of silence,” when God came so near to Father and

²²⁵ This archival document is titled ‘A Daughter’s recollections.’

²²⁶ This archival document is ‘A Daughter’s recollection’. In another archival document titled ‘Rev. A Murray and faith healing,’ Murray’s response to McGill is different. It is as follows: “No. there is healing for you by faith though the doctor despises (P1A/8/1).” This statement surely came from his own experience. While he was still in the Bethshan Home, he sent a letter to his wife on 8 July 1882. In the letter, we can identify a similar sentiment. It is as follows: “It would be a great blessing to get well here, where human physicians fail, the way is so much clearer (Archive P1A/2/3).”

he saw more clearly *the meaning of a life of full surrender and simple faith, that he began to show in all relationships that constant tenderness and unruffled loving-kindness and unselfish thought for others which increasingly characterized his life from that point.* At the same time he lost nothing of his strength and determination. More and more was developed that that *wonderful, grave, and beautiful humility* which could never be put on, but could only be the work of the indwelling Spirit. It was felt immediately by all who came into contact with him” (Lindner 1996:115; emphasised by Lee).

Although his daughter describes her father’s sense of spiritual reinforcement rather than spiritual change, her description is enough to show Murray’s spiritual deepening by this experience.²²⁷ Murray himself, in his diary²²⁸ on 23 September 1884, recalls the experience as an event that led him into the world of the power of prayer:

“Since the last entry how much has the Lord taught me of the Power of prayer. In 1882 was the visit to England and the experience of His healing Power and the wonderful gates it opened into the world of prayers” (Archive P1A/1d).

It was noticed by his daughter. She remembers:

“[M]y father was always ready to pray and help those with faith who came to him... When he had the cart accident and broke his arm and severely hurt his back he took faith healing for both and carried out his programme of services as had been appointed although at the first service after the accident he had to be helped into the pulpit” (Archive P1A/8/1).²²⁹

²²⁷ All spiritual characteristics that Emmie describes are those which Murray already had after the revival experience. So, it is more proper to call the description spiritual reinforcement rather than spiritual change.

²²⁸ This diary which is in the DRC Archives is a new one in this study. It starts in May 1876 and finishes in September 1884. It also is partly written in Dutch and partly written in English. This diary shows Murray’s emphasis on prayer and various prayer items. His trip to England for his throat trouble is also identified.

²²⁹ This archival document is titled ‘Rev[eran]d A Murray and faith healing.’

Certainly, the experience changed his life. His spirituality was deepened. Through this influence, his view on sickness was changed. Before this experience, he thought that sickness was a kind of God's grace. However now, it was no longer God's grace but just what had to be cured by faith, because God was waiting for the sick to be cured. Through this experience, he received more simple faith and prayer, and more emphasis on the entire surrender of life to God.

5.4 Retirement and death of Murray (1906-1917)

In 1906, he retired from his active work in the Dutch Reformed Church. This presented him with more time to attend to his "writing ministry": by publishing books he aimed to lead and guide believers to spiritual places where the Gospel was pointing. At that time (in South Africa), written books were relatively scarce. Murray's books contributed, therefore, much to the edification of the faith of the converted and to lead the unconverted on the way to Christ, not only people in South Africa but also in the rest of the world.²³⁰ His pocket book series was published during this period. His daughter's memoir, 'A Year before the end,' shows his activity: "The latter part of 1915, father was very active" (Archive P1A/8/1). A local news paper reported on Murray's last year as follows:

"He is essentially a man of action. At 88 years of age, the keenness of his intellect and his amazing vitality are a marvel to his friends... No wonder that a man of such energy was the chosen representative of his Church on many occasions, and its in many a great undertaking" (P1A/8/1).²³¹

²³⁰ According to the archival document 'A Daughter's recollection,' there were three difficulties with respect to book: first, it was difficult to write books; second, it was difficult to print books; third, it was difficult to get books for reading (Archive P1A/8/1).

²³¹ The name of the newspaper, the author and title of the article are all unknown.

However, in 1917, he was called to Heaven at the age of 88. Although he died, he is still preaching in this world through the various writings that are still left. Abbie P. Ferguson (1917:2), one of Murray's colleagues, remarked:

“It is through his books that he [Murray] has reached tens of thousands in all parts of the world, and testimony has constantly come from one and another as to the transformation wrought in their lives through his message.”

These are the significant inscriptions on his epitaph:

Andrew Murray, M.A, D.D., D.Litt.
We preach, Christ Crucified...
The Power of God, and the Wisdom of God 1 Cor. 1:23, 24.

In Loving Memory
of our
Unforgettable Minister,
who was full of the Holy Spirit,
as powerful Gospel Preacher
unrestrained soul seeker,
and Godly leader,
has served, and
by his deep spirituality
inscribed upon the church of Christ
throughout the world untold blessing.
From one sincere grateful congregation.

Through faith he being dead yet speaketh.
Heb. 11:4

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have observed two significant experiences which greatly influenced Murray's spirituality after 1860. These were the Worcester revival and his personal experience of divine healing. Both surely deepened and widened his spirituality to a greater extent than in the previous period. The former experience (revival) influenced Murray to have a greater conviction in faith, the understanding of the benefit of entire surrender to God, and the work of the Holy Spirit who gave power to Christians in order for them to live desirable Christian lives. Before this experience, as already observed in previous chapters, he had struggled with doubt in faith, self-pride, and lack of prayer and power. Considering this, the revival experience was surely the most prominent one with regards to the stimulation of his spiritual change.

The divine healing experience was also of deep significance for his life, even though it was not entirely equivalent to the revival experience. Through this experience, however, he received more simple faith and prayer, and more emphasis on the entire surrender of life to God. Their influence on Murray's spirituality is summarised as Table 3. In the next chapter, we will discuss the consolidation of Murray's spirituality as it is expressed in his publications.

Table 3. The change of Murray's spirituality

Stage		Contemporary Spirituality	Change
Formative (1828-1845)	Chapter 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Obey Murray Sr.'s instruction without question * Lack of spiritual conflict 	* Receptive spirituality
Developing I (1845-1848)	Chapter 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Spiritual conflict * Conversion experience (1845) * Finding God's love, solace * Human impotence * Struggle with self-pride and lack of prayer 	* Theoretical spirituality
Developing II (1849-1860)	Chapter 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Spiritual conflict * God's gracious guidance * Struggle with doubt in faith and lack of power in ministry 	* Practical but lack of conviction and power
Matured Period	Revival (1860)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Conviction in faith * Understanding the benefit of entire surrender of humanity * Emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit 	* Practical with conviction in faith and power in ministry
	Chapter 5 (1860-1917)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Change the view on sickness * Having more simplicity in faith and in prayer * More emphasis on entire surrender of humanity 	

Chapter 6

The Consolidation of the Spirituality of Andrew Murray (1860-1917)

◆ **6.1 The sovereign God**

◆ **6.2 View of Scripture**

◆ **6.3 A Holy life**

◆ **6.4 A life of prayer**

◆ **6.5 Conversion of people**

◆ **6.6 Doing spirituality**

Introduction

The heading of the chapter conveys the message that Andrew Murray's spirituality reached a final stage of consolidation after the revival experience of 1860. This is true. The development of his spirituality, the growth and time of accommodation was now something of the past. It has matured. In the years to come, it finds expression, especially in his publications, that quickly received a reading circle far beyond the boundaries of South Africa.

According to Du Plessis (1919:469), Murray expressed a spiritual maturity already in his earliest books. Considering his publishing career, all his writings were published after the experience of the Worcester revival, except for one book of fifty-eight pages titled *Jezus de Kindervriend* and published in Dutch in 1858. Du Plessis' estimation seems to be correct. Therefore, in this chapter, this study will analyse Murray's spirituality as it is disclosed in his publications. The focus is therefore on the period between the revival experience of 1860 and his death in 1917, and must therefore be read as complementary to chapter 5.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse Murray's spirituality in a carefully selected number of his books. Special attention is given to the question whether Murray was influenced by the Holiness Movement and William Law, and whether these shaped his spirituality and theology. Because the Holiness Movement and Law had some viewpoints similar to those of Murray himself, he participated in the Movement actively, and referred to Law

carefully (Murray 1894:xi-xxxii).²³² Therefore, while analysing Murray's spirituality, these questions must be attended to.

6.1 The sovereign God

"God always has the first place" (Murray 1983:48). This is the main confession of Murray's life and the core of his books. To him, God is all in all. He emphasised prayer, because he thought that it was the appropriate way to give glory to God. Murray's conscious God-centred spirituality is disclosed in two ways: the sovereign grace of the Triune God and the entire dependence of the human-being.

6.1.1 The sovereignty of God

In his article 'The Calvinist pietism of Professor John Murray (1826-1882),' Gideon Thom (1992:36) says that Murray did not defend the doctrine of election. This assertion must be re-examined, especially in the light of the results of our investigation thus far. Murray never, in his letters, disassociated himself from, or criticised the doctrine of election. This appears to be the trend in his publications as well. Murray saw the predestination as God's sovereign work of eternal purpose. In his book *Abide in Christ*, he writes of God's sovereignty as follows:

"The calling in time is the manifestation of the purpose in eternity. Ere the world was, God had fixed the eye of His sovereign love on thee in the

²³² This book titled *Wholly for God* was originally written by William Law. But it was extracted and re-organised by Murray. In the revision, Murray fully understood the pitfalls of Law's teaching, but he extracted some parts of Law's book carefully, because he thought there were many useful instructions for Christian life. As we will observe subsequently, those extractions had similar thinking with Murray's which had already formed before he encountered Law's book.

election of grace, and chosen thee in Christ (Murray n.d.(a):47).”

This is a positive evaluation of the election of grace. In another book, *Like Christ*, he affirms this confessional view:

“Scripture teaches us a personal election. It does this not only in single passage; its whole history of the working out here in time of the counsels of eternity proves it. We see continually how the whole future of God’s kingdom depends upon the faithful filling of His place by some single person; the only security for the carrying out of God’s purpose is His foreordaining of the individual. In predestination alone the history of the world and of God’s kingdom, as of the individual believer, has its sure foundation. There are Christians who cannot see this. They are so afraid of interfering with human responsibility, that they reject the doctrine of divine predestination, because it appears to rob man of his liberty of will and action. Scripture does not share this fear (Murray 1896:83).”

As these evidences show, Murray’s God-centeredness starts from the doctrine of predestination as God’s sovereign work. Moreover, his thinking on God’s sovereignty did not merely concern human-beings, but also the universe. This fact appears in his diary entry of 6 November 1865. It runs as follows:

“Is it not in His will that the universe has the law of its existence [?] It is His will that breathes in the air and whispers in the leaves of the trees, that shapes the cloud and guides the lightening, that drenches the falling shower and is seen in the motion of the hair of our heads (Archive P1A/1c).”

The omnipotent God manages the creation at His will. This sovereign God who elects His people in His eternal purpose is identified as the sovereign Healer in Murray’s book *Divine Healing*. He is not only concerned with spirit, but also concerned with the body.

In Murray's thinking, the human soul was a very important factor which had to be redeemed, but he did not ignore the importance of the body (Murray 1982:10). Murray remarks: "Unbelief may attempt to separate these two gifts, but they are always united in Christ. He is always the same Savior both of the soul and of the body, equally ready to grant pardon and healing."

In his book *Let us draw nigh*, Murray describes this as follows: "Man belongs two worlds, the visible and the invisible. In his constitution, the material and the spiritual, body and soul, are wonderfully united. In the fall both came under the power of sin and death; in redemption deliverance has been provided for both. It is not only in the interior life of the soul, but in that of the body too, that the power of redemption can be manifested" (Murray 1895:57). Considering these passages, it is clear that he did not have a dualistic view of humanity. It is through the sovereign mercy of God that both the human spirit and body can be redeemed:

"Friends, there is no doubt as to God's sovereignty. He dispenses His gifts as He will; we are not all Pauls or Peters; places at the right and left hand of God are prepared for whomsoever He will (Murray 1982:141)."

As this statement shows, God does what He wants. He is not bound by any creature. This confession shows that God's sovereignty is embodied in Murray's spirituality.

6.1.2 Priority of glory of God

In close resemblance to Murray's confession of the sovereignty of God, is the unswerving and purposeful way in which he relates his theology and ministry to the

glory of God. The priority of the glory of God was one of the Murray's important spiritual premises. In his book *Working for God*, he expresses it as follows:

“[P]urpose is nothing less than this: that God may be glorified. This is the one purpose of God, the great worker in heaven, the source and master of all work, that the glory of His love and power and blessing may be shown. This is the one purpose of Christ, the great worker on earth in human nature, the example and leader of all our work. This is the great purpose of the Holy Spirit, the power that worketh in us, or, as Peter says here, ‘the strength that God supplieth.’ As this becomes our deliberate, intelligent purpose” (Murray 1901(w):158-159).

As his father before him, Murray taught the priority of the glory of God to his children. For example: when his daughter Annie's birthday²³³ arrived, he wrote a letter to her. In the letter (25 October 1876), his emphasis on God's glory is unmistakably surfaced:

“[I] pray God that that little baby [Annie] may have been given and spared for His glory, and to be a real blessing to the world. You know my dear Annie, how often Papa speaks and preaches about it, that every Christian must live only for this one thing the will and the work of God our Father. I do hope that each one of our children, and especially Annie in her birthday, will have grace to say to the Lord Jesus. - I do not want to live unless it be to work for Jesus” (Archive P1A/2/3).

6.1.3 God's gracious leading

Murray's God-centred spirituality with reference to God's guidance is well documented in most of his letters to his wife, children and parents. This emphasis of his is already discussed in chapter 5. After the Worcester revival, the Dutch Reformed Church in

²³³ Annie Jemima Murray was born on 25 October 1863. She was the fourth daughter and the fifth child out of eleven children of Murray. She died on 5 March 1929 (*Murray-Stamregister* 1955:21-23).

South Africa commenced foreign missionary work. Alexander McKidd and Henri Gonin were dispatched, as the first foreign missionaries, beyond the boundaries of the Cape Colony.²³⁴ Murray accompanied them as a member of the Foreign Mission Board in the Dutch Reformed Church. However, commencing this work was not easy right from outset. Due to several hindrances, the departure schedule was continually delayed and frustrated. However, Murray was not disappointed by the delays. He rather thought “Every delay and trouble being made the means for throwing the soul on God making us feel it His work” (Murray’s letter to his wife on 25 May 1862). All anxiety was needless. All he could do was to just lay everything in God’s hand. Later, Murray and the missionaries finally met chief Magato and his petty chiefs. They asked them whether they wanted the teacher of the Gospel. Their answer was no. He was disappointed, but his confession, despite the complications, shows how God-centred he was, and how it was expressed in his spirituality:

“When the large gathering of some forty petty chiefs was asked whether they would have the teacher, they all answered No. It was no slight disappointment to us, but it drove us out to celebrate our festival in faith, and the day with its service in the open field will not soon be forgotten. We are now all uncertainty, waiting for God’s leading. We may be detained or some time, as the next chief we proposed going to is away hunting. We are thus kept waiting on the Lord an exercise not easy, but I trust profitable” (Murray’s letter to his wife on 30 May 1862).²³⁵

In another letter on 11 June 1862, he reported another difficulty to his wife. The problem was that he could not meet President Kruger (1825-1904)²³⁶, who could

²³⁴ The first commencement of the mission work required Murray to spend about three months for settling the missionaries in the proper places. See Murray’s letter forwarded to his mother-in-law on 20 March 1862 (Archive P1A/2/1a).

²³⁵ This letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/3.

²³⁶ Stephanus Johannes Paul Kruger (1825-1904) was a president of the Transvaal Republic in South

introduce them to the neighbour tribes and who could grant them places to establish mission stations:

“We had hoped to find the President here - but the people at Mooi River would not acknowledge him, and so he left just the morning before we came. Our path is dark but we have the sure confidence that God is leading us the **right** way. We had hoped to start this evening for home but now it appears duty to go back to Pretoria to see the President once more” (Archive P1a/2/3; emphasised by Murray).

However, as evidenced in this statement, his dependence on God was not just to sit back and wait, but to try to do his best in the conviction that God would surely help him. He confessed in the same letter: “I feel confident that all this delay is working out some good purpose.” In another letter dated 12 June 1862, he said “Even tho[ugh] our mission be not so successful as we wish, God is faithful and we rejoice in the confidence that these delays are of His ordering,”²³⁷ and requested wife:

“Darling let us say “I will trust & not be afraid.” Let us honour God by expecting what we see no prospect of judging by flesh. Let us daily worship & ascribe honour & glory to Him who is able to exceeding abundantly above all we can ask or think, and rejoice because we know what He can do” (Archive P1A/2/3).

Because he firmly believed God’s sovereign guidance, he could confidently advise the believers in his book *Eagle’s wing* as follows: “Wait for instruction. God is willing to teach and guide His people in a way beyond their conception” (Murray n.d.(e):86).

Africa. For more information, consult Web Encyclopedia.

²³⁷ This conviction is hardly found in the materials written during the previous period. We already saw an example in chapter 4. When Murray received a report from Abraham Faure that he could not go beyond the Sovereignty without the Governor’s permission, he was very indignant. On Murray’s response, his father advised him that the detention would be God’s will, so it was necessary for him to wait for further notice. See Murray Sr.’s letter to his son on 27 July 1850 (Archive P1A/2/1a:156-157).

The awareness of God's personal guidance and leading within history as reality and the alignment on the glory of God suggest Andrew Murray's knowledge of and acknowledgement of God's sovereignty. For Murray, this was much more than a doctrinal truth. It can also not only be described in terms of experiential categories as expressions of certain spirituality. It is much more and to be discoursed in Murray's Christology, which can be summarised as Christ the crucified.

6.1.4 The crucified Christ

In 1868, David P. Faure, a Liberal theologian who was trained in Holland, gave several lectures in Cape Town, and published the lectures under the title on *Modern Theology*.²³⁸ In opposition to these lectures, Murray argued the same issues (Authority of Scripture, sin, Christ, etc.) from the orthodox standpoint, and his lectures were published in the same year as *A Lecture on the Modern Theology*. In the book, Murray's *crucicentrism* is expressed:

“And do you now still say: “Lord[!] [S]how us a sign?” Well then, my friend, I lead you to Calvary. He is crucified already. On the weary breast, the thorn-crowned head hangs down. I show you that pallid countenance. I place your hand on that pierced heart. I tell of his death, his work, his conflict. A thousand words of grace and peace seem whispered in the solemn twilight stillness that reigns on Calvary now. One entire life of love, self-sacrificing: love, passes before our eye. In spirit, we see the Cross surrounded by a cloud of witnesses, whose infirmities he took upon himself, whose hearts he purified, whose grieves he bore” (Murray 1868:31).

²³⁸ David P. Faure's father was a cousin of Abraham Faure who had ministered the DR church in Graaff-Reinet as a predecessor of Murray Sr., and then ministered the Cape Town pastorate.

In this statement, Murray emphasises the passion of the Christ, and the effects of the passion in existential life, his theological understanding of the union with Christ, and the realisation of that.

6.1.4.1 Union with Christ

Union with Christ was a most popular subject in Murray's spirituality. His view on this correlates with that of unforgettable Calvin. Calvin urges the reason why union with Christ is important in his masterpiece:

“How do we receive those benefit which the Father bestowed on his only-begotten Son - not for Christ's own private use, but that he might enrich poor and needy men? First we must understand that as long as Christ remains outside of us, and we are separated from [H]im, all that [H]e had suffered and done for the salvation of the human race remains useless and of no value for us. Therefore, to share with us what [H]e has received from the Father, [H]e had to become ours and to dwell within us. For this reason, [H]e is called our Head (Institute III.i.1).”

In fact, Murray really experienced union with Christ from time to time. He sometimes confessed it to his wife: “I felt more clearly than ever that there undoubtedly is a state of abiding union with Christ to be attained such as we do not yet know of, and at times I felt as if it were very near” (Murray's letter to his wife on 11 June 1862).²³⁹ His book *Abide in Christ* was based on the apprehension of the union with Christ (Murray n.d.(a):5-6). His understanding of the concept was: “The Saviour has taken us into a closer union with Himself, destined us to a more entire participation of all His glory

²³⁹ This letter was written not long after his revival experience. It reveals that the influence of the revival experience on Murray's spirituality was not small.

than we have yet conceived” (Murray’s letter to his wife on 25 May 1862). The union is basically the work of God in Christ. Christ showed His people His union with the Father as an example. The Father gives everything to His Son who is united with Him. Likewise, every possession that belongs to Christ also belongs to the believers who are united with Him by the power of the Holy Spirit. Logically and practically, the believers united with Christ are able to enjoy everything that belongs to God, the Father in Christ, through the work of the Holy Spirit (Murray n.d.(a):32).

But now, how can the believers abide in or unite with Christ? Murray (1896:203-204) answers the question as follows:

“As Son, Christ was in the Father’s love when He came into the world; but it was only through obedience He could secure its continued enjoyment, could abide in it. Nor was this an obedience that cost Him nothing: no, but it was in giving up His own will, and learning obedience by what He suffered... He invites us to follow Him. ‘If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, **EVEN AS I** kept my Father’s commandments, and abide in His love.’ Christlike obedience is the way to a Christlike enjoyment of Love Divine” (emphasised by Murray).²⁴⁰

Through perfect obedience, Christ received every good thing from the Father, and could dispense it to those who are in Him (Smedes 1991:31). Likewise, “[i]n the light of His union with the Father,” His obedience must be “the law” of their life in Him (Murray n.d.(a):161). For the union, as seen above, entire obedience is fundamental. Murray’s emphasis on the believers’ union with Christ, implied as a consequence, the emphasis on the humanity of Christ and His exemplary life. This, as a matter of fact, motivated

²⁴⁰ In his book *Absolute surrender*, Murray also expresses Christ’s obedience as follows: “And what do I find, then, as I look at Christ? We spoke last night of absolute surrender to God. That was the very root of Christ’s life. He came as a man who had nothing to do but to fulfil the will of God (Murray n.d.(b):96).”

Murray to write.

6.1.4.2 Humanity of Christ and His exemplary life

Murray did not publish his books for his own benefit, even though his writings played a leading role in building up his reputation. Neither were they intended for the scholarly sphere, nor for theological students, but for Christians in general. Basically, he was ministering in writing. This fact must not be ignored when considering his spirituality. Because he was a minister, his eyes were always focused on the state of the congregation, or individual Christian. One of his masterpieces, *Holiest of All*, discloses his understanding of the state of the church as follows:

“The great complaint of all who have the care of souls is the lack of whole-heartedness, of steadfastness, of perseverance and progress in the Christian life. Many, of whom one cannot but hope that they are true Christians come to a standstill, and do not advance beyond the rudiments of Christian life and practice. And many more do not even remain stationary, but turn back to a life of worldliness, of formality, of indifference. And the question is continually being asked, what is the want in our religion that, in so many cases, it gives no power to stand, to advance, to press on unto perfection? And what is the teaching that is needed to give that health and vigour to the Christian life that, through all adverse circumstances, it may be able to hold fast the beginning firm to the end” (Murray 1996:v).

In his book *Master's indwelling*, Murray also reveals a similar opinion:

“Now this is the condition of many believers. They are converted; they know what it is to have assurance and faith; they believe in pardon for sin; they begin to work for God. Yet, somehow, there is very little growth in their spirituality, in the real heavenly life. We come into contact with them,

and we at once feel that there is something missing” (Murray 1983:10-11).

In his book *Why do you not believe?*, he says in a similar way:

“When I recently spoke with you, in the course of my pastoral visitation, my soul was filled with deep sorrow over your condition. I still met with many who with manifest earnestness and spiritual desire were seeking salvation, some indeed for many years past, and who, notwithstanding, had not yet arrived at faith” (Murray n.d.(w):9).

All these were real ministerial situations that Murray had experienced. Therefore, his situation as a minister who had to serve the church under such spiritual conditions must not be ignored, when considering his spirituality.

Murray regarded the main reason of the low spiritual and ethical condition pervading Christian life as a result of the fact that Christians did not know the truth of which the Bible speaks. In the preface of his book written in a comparatively earlier period of his ministerial life, *Abide in Christ*, it is summarised:

“While trusting in their Saviour for pardon and for help, and seeking to some extent to obey Him, they have hardly realized to what closeness of union, to what intimacy of fellowship, to what wondrous oneness of life and interest, He invited them when He said, “Abide in me.” This is not only an unspeakable loss to themselves, but the Church and the world suffer in what they lose. If we ask the reason why those who have indeed accepted the Saviour, and been made partakers of the renewing of the Holy Ghost, thus come short of the full salvation prepared for them, *I am sure the answer will in very many cases be, that ignorance is the cause of the unbelief that fails of the inheritance*” (Murray n.d.(a):5-6; emphasised by Lee).

The premise of the majority of his books is: “Many Christians do not know the Bible truth well.” We can identify more evidences related to this in his other books. In his book *Have mercy upon me*, he says:

“I am afraid that there may be some among you who shall read this book that have not yet known the grace of God in truth, which have not, indeed, found grace, because they have not yet sought it from the heart. They have long since heard of the grace of God, and yet it still remains strange to them” (Murray 1896(h):11).

In his book *Holy in Christ*, he continues:

“I fear there are some to whom the book may be a disappointment. They have heard that the entrance to the life of holiness is often but a step. They have heard of or seen believers who could tell of the blessed change that has come over their lives since they found the wonderful secret of holiness by faith. And now they are seeking for this secret. They cannot understand that the secret comes to those who seek it not, but only seek Jesus. They might fain have a book in which all they need to know of Holiness and the way to it is gathered into a few simple lessons, easy to learn, to remember, and to practise. This they will not find” (Murray 1888:vi-vii).

In another book *With Christ in the school of prayer*, he says:

“It is under a deep impression that the place and power of prayer in the Christian life is too little understood, that this book has been written. I feel sure that as long as we look on prayer chiefly as the means of maintaining our own Christian life, we shall not know fully what it is meant to be. But when we learn to regard it as the highest part of the work entrusted to us, the root and strength of all other work, we shall see that there is nothing that we so need to study and practise as the art of praying aright” (Murray 1887:vi)

His understanding the state of church led him to think of the best way to teach them Christian religion effectively. One of the best methods he had discovered was to teach people by an object-lesson and by repetition. It was an epiphany to him. In his book *Like Christ*, he describes his feeling when he discovered the method, and its application in the real situation:

“I was very much struck some time ago, in an infant school examination, with the practice a little class in object-lessons was put through. A picture was shown them, which they were told to look at carefully. They then had to shut their eyes, and take time to think and remember everything they had seen. The picture was now removed, and the little ones had to tell all they could. Again the picture was shown... again to shut their eyes and think... And so once more, until every line of the picture had been taken in... I felt that if our Bible reading were more of such an object-lesson, the unseen spiritual realities pictured to us in the Word would take much deeper hold of our inner life” (Murray 1896: 6-7).

In his book *Have mercy upon me*, he comes back to the method:

“[In] the youngest class, which is learning the ‘A, B, C,’ a different method is taken. Every letter must be pronounced before them, and, indeed, singly dictated to them. The teacher must put the sounds for them into their mouth, until they learn to pronounce and know them for themselves. It is in this way that the Lord God deals with us” (Murray 1896:19-20).

Meanwhile, for the object-lesson and repetition, an example or a criterion is necessary; this fact would lead him to try to find a model. In this context, the humanity of Christ was emphasised as an exemplary life that all Christians must follow (Murray 1896:5).

In this book *Like Christ*, Murray says:

“To study the image of God in the man Christ Jesus, to yield and set open our inmost being for that image to take possession and live in us, and then to go forth and let the heavenly likeness reflect itself and shine out in our life among our fellow-men, this is what we have been redeemed for, let this be what we live for” (Murray 1896:8).

In Christian life, the example of Christ must not be blurred. It must be the criterion of Christian life. If not, any kind of Christian life could not be legitimated, and the term ‘renewal’ in the church would disappear (Lecky 1913:8).

6.1.4.3 Was Murray a *kenoticist*?

There are opinions that Murray was a *kenoticist* due to his emphasis on the humanity of Christ and His exemplary life (Thom 1989:5-6; 1992:28). *Kenoticism* proposes that the Second Person of the Trinity limited Himself to the extent that he became a fully human-being, without ceasing to be God (Kwon 1999:1). Packer (1991:166-167) notes that in relation to *kenoticism* that there is a question as to “[h]ow could Jesus truly not have known the time of his return when as divine Son He was omniscient?” He continues that “[k]enoticists (those who, as we saw, understand the Son’s self-emptying at the incarnation as involving loss of powers as well as of glory) suggest that omniscience was given up at the time of the incarnation.” However, his judgement that this suggestion has “deep disharmony with Scripture” (Packer 1991:166):

“[S]urely omniscience should be defined as power to know all that one wills to know, and the Son’s ignorance be explained in terms of the fact that [H]e never willed to know by supernatural means more than [H]e knew that his Father willed him to know. If he knew that his Father did not wish him to have in his mind the date of his return, that settled it; the knowledge was not there. The Son, being Son, knows, just as [H]e acts, in

dependence on the Father, never on his independent initiative” (Packer 1977:167).

Murray did not say that the Son gave up his omniscience when he was incarnated, but he said that Jesus lived the exemplary life which people should follow. In his book *Like Christ*, he says:

“If His human nature is to be something real and true, and if we are to understand how Christ is in very deed to be our example, we must believe fully in what our blessed Lord here reveals to us of the secrets of His inner life. The words He speaks are literal truth. His dependence on the Father for each moment of His life was absolutely and intensely real: ‘The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing.’ He counted it no humiliation to wait on Him for His commands: He rather considered it His highest blessedness to let Himself be led and guided of the Father as a child. And accordingly He held Himself bound in strictest obedience to say and do what the Father showed Him” (Murray 1896:112-113).

He continues in the same book:

“He [Jesus] was Himself the living Word. He had the Spirit without measure. If ever any one, He could have done without the written Word. And yet we see that it [the written Word] is everything to Him... Jesus would not have been what He was, could not have done what He did, had He not yielded Himself step by step to be led and sustained by the Word of God (:133).”

From these citations, it is clear that Murray surely emphasised the humanity of Christ as well as His exemplary life. He did neither underplay the Deity of Christ in terms of any Christology-from-below, nor underrate the humanity of Christ in order to keep his Divine nature as *Gnosticism* did. He also did not assert Christ’s self withdrawal of His

Deity at the time of incarnation, as *kenoticism* asserted. Rather he asserted that Jesus is omniscience as the living Word when He was in this world as a real human. What Murray's assertion intended was to emphasise the obedience of Jesus to God. In his book *Master's Indwelling*, he says as follows:

“It was humility that brought Him [Jesus] to earth, or He would never have come. In accordance with this, just as Christ became a man in this divine humility, so His whole life was marked by it... He chose the form of a servant. He made Himself of no reputation; *He emptied Himself; He chose the form of a servant*” (Murray 1983:106; emphasised by Lee).

Jesus “humbled Himself to become man” (Murray 2003:15). This, to Murray, was the *kenosis* of Jesus. This view is the view of the Reformed confessions and theology (Hodge 1875:624-625). Murray's opinion was surely based upon Scripture, and the opinion was intended for Christians as a model of Christian life (Murray n.d.(a):161). Through the work of the indwelling Holy Spirit, the believers are united with the humanity of Christ, and can live desirable Christian lives following the example of Christ.

6.1.5 Indwelling of the Holy Spirit

To Murray, the Holy Spirit was “the power of God” (Murray's letter to his daughter on 5 June 1881).²⁴¹ Through the indwelling Holy Spirit, the believers are united with Christ and enjoy the communion with the Father in Christ (Murray's letter to his wife on 25 May 1862).²⁴² Murray also frequently experienced that he was filled with the Holy

²⁴¹ This letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/3.

²⁴² This letter is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/3.

Spirit. In a letter to his wife dated 26 June 1862, he expresses himself as follows: “The thought of the blessing of the indwelling Spirit appeared so clear, the prospect of being **filled** with Him at moments so near that I could almost feel sure that we would yet attain this happiness” (Archive P1A/2/3; emphasised by Murray).”

This was his conviction: “If God wills to bless, no instrument is too weak, and blessed it is to be the instrument which He condescends to use” (Murray’s letter on 11 Aug 1864).²⁴³ In regard to his ministry, ‘power to bless’ was to be a dominant term in his thinking. It is identified in his letter forwarded to his wife on 25 May 1862:

“I mentioned in my last [letter] how my mind had been occupied by the thought of the “power to bless” the Christian may attain. Surely if the union with Christ be a reality and the experience of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit clear, there ought to be a quiet power going out from the Christian wherever he is” (Archive P1A/2/3).

It was the life of confidence that Christians, having received the indwelling Holy Spirit, had to live. However, in many cases, believers’ lives lay in vagueness and uncertainty. Murray says that this life of uncertainty can not be to “the Lord’s pleasure.” A more fundamental contemporary problem was, in Murray’s thinking, that “the Holy Spirit has not the recognition which becomes Him as being the equal of the Father and the Son” in the church (Murray 1976:16). This way of understanding of the Holy Spirit led him to deeper study of the Holy Spirit.²⁴⁴

The correlative antipode of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is the entire dependence of

²⁴³ This letter was forwarded to his father Murray Sr. It is in the DRC Archives P1A/2/1a.

²⁴⁴ Murray’s doctrine of the Holy Spirit will be observed more, later in this chapter.

human-beings on God. ‘Absolute surrender’ and ‘entire resignation’ were Murray’s motto in this context. In his book *Thy will be done*, Murray says that the entire surrender to God is the way to reach the maturity of Christian life:

“There is an infinite difference in the part He took and the part we are to take in carrying out that will: but *the will itself* is to be as much the joy and the aim of our life as it was of His. The larger our apprehension of God’s will, and the more our surrender to it in all its breadth, to be wholly possessed of it, the more surely will we grow to the stature of the perfect man in Christ Jesus, and reach our Christian maturity” (Murray 1901:27-28).

In this statement, it is clear that Murray’s God-centred spirituality correlates with total human dependence on God’s will. To Murray, the entire dependence of human-beings on God was the only valuable wisdom that man could seek (Murray 1900:23).²⁴⁵

This brings to conclusion our paragraph on the relation between God’s sovereignty and Murray’s spirituality. It has become evident that Murray did not hesitate to accept and confess the absolute sovereignty of God. This, however, not understood as a systematic doctrine, is practically qualified in terms of Murray’s Christology. He lays the emphasis on the crucifixion of Christ, and the faithful’s unification in Christ through the work of the Holy Spirit. This work, experienced in the inner being, is specially manifested in a revival, as a special work of God’s sovereignty. In the next paragraph, Murray’s views of Scripture are considered. It also played a role in his spirituality.

²⁴⁵ In his book *Waiting on God*, Murray says: “There can be no good but what God works; to wait upon God, and have the heart filled with faith in His working, and in that faith to pray for His mighty power to come down, is our only wisdom (Murray 1900:23).”

6.2 View of Scripture

Murray's view and understanding of the Bible was firmly rooted in his conviction that it is the Word of the living God. Therefore, to him, promises which are revealed in the Bible were accepted without any doubt, and the Bible was to be the criterion for his decisions. Murray also emphasised the importance of the work of the Holy Spirit with respect to the correct understanding of the Bible.

6.2.1 The Bible as the Word of the living God

To Murray, the Bible was the Word of the living God and thus divine revelation. The world was created by the very Word of God (Murray 1868:20). In his book *Lord's Table*, he remarks:

“[A] Christian must take special care that he do[es] not suffer himself to be led away from the Word of God by the many manuals which in our days are seeing the light. These books will have this result, whenever a man seeks his instruction only in what the writer has to say, he then becomes accustomed to take everything at second hand. These books can become a blessing to the reader only when they bring him always to that portion of God's Word which is treated of in order that he may meditate further upon it himself as from the mouth of God. *There is in the Word of God an incredible power.* The blessing which lies hid in it is inconceivable. See to it that when you have read a portion you always return to that passage of the Scriptures of which an explanation is given. Receive that not as the word of man, but, as it is in truth, the Word of God, which works mightily in those that believe” (emphasised by Lee).

In this statement, Murray confirms that the Bible is the Word of God, pointing to the

fallacy of the books which lead Christians away from the Bible. According to him, the truly precious books are the books that relate Christians to the Bible. The Bible contains an incredible power. The Bible itself has a divine authority and divine origin. In his book *Like Christ*, he observes:

“Let the Scriptures in which Jesus found every day the food of His life, be thy daily food and meditation. Go to God’s Word each day with the joyful and confident expectation, that through the blessed Spirit, who dwells in us, the Word will indeed accomplish its Divine purpose in thee. *Every word of God is full of a Divine life and power*” (Murray1896:138; emphasised by Lee).

Murray thus accepted the Bible as the Word of God which was filled with a divine life and power, and he taught to the believers that the Bible must be their daily food, and that they should read and meditate it with the full expectation through the Holy Spirit who dwelt in them. In this regard, faith again plays an important role. Murray emphasises the relation between the Bible and the simplicity of faith.

In terms of this simplicity of belief, what the Bible informs us must be followed, and not questioned. His letter forwarded to his wife on 26 June 1862 indicates this as follows:

“I feel as if it is nothing but dreadful casualty on our past that prevents the wondrous blessing. Want of large views of strong desires of simple trusting faith, it is this keeps us creeping in the dust... it surely cannot be wrong to expect that He will fulfil His promise in ways & measure “abundantly above what we can ask or think.” May He Himself strengthen the desires He has stirred up & keep us waiting & expecting till the set time, the time of Love is come” (Archive P1A/2/3).

Because Andrew was convinced that simple faith toward the Bible was of dire importance in the Christian life, he was critical of reading the Bible without simplicity.

His book *With Christ in the school of prayer* shows this:

“Father waits to hear every prayer of faith, to give us whatsoever we will, and whatsoever we ask in Jesus’ name. We have become so accustomed to limit the wonderful love and the large promises of our God, that we cannot read the simplest and clearest statements of our Lord without the qualifying clauses by which we guard and expound them” (Murray 1887:vii).

The Bible is also the highest criterion of decision to Murray. In a letter forwarded to his father dated 26 May 1864, he says:

“I [Murray] cannot say that I agree in everything with Upham and Madame Guyon.²⁴⁶ I approve of their books and recommend them, because I think they put our high privileges more clearly before us than is generally done, and thereby stir us to rise higher. The incorrectness of certain intellectual conceptions or expressions becomes a secondary matter, as long as we have God’s Word to try and correct them” (Archive P1A/2/1a).

C. F. C. Coetzee (1986:233) criticises Murray, because he “had no objections to cooperate with people and trends which were founded or based on completely opposite confession.” This assertion is, in some respect, agreeable, but it must be re-considered

²⁴⁶ Jeanne Guyon was a famous French mystic. She was born at Montagnis in 1648 and married M. Guyon in 1664. In 1667, she became a widow. While she was in widowhood, she felt some divined impulses. After then, she started to preach wandering from place to place. She soon became famous. However, because her doctrines and conducts excited the resentment of Bousset, she was confined in the notorious prison of Bastille. She was set free from there in 1702, and died on 9 June 1717. Thomas Cogswell Upham wrote the book *The life and opinions of Madam Guyon* (Cates 1881:538). Upham as a convert of Tuesday Meeting played a leading role for propagating American revivalism and holiness movement (Dieter 1996:29,33).

with respect to Murray's Bible-centeredness. As is clear in the above statement, Murray knew the merits and errors before he referred or introduced instructions which came from other traditions. For instance, in the introduction of the book *Wholly for God* which was extracted from the writings of William Law, Murray argues as follows:

“In mysticism, as in everything human, there is an admixture of good and evil. Some writers give prominence to what they consider its errors and dangers, and count mysticism in principle to be untrue and unhealthy. In the Preface to Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, the author writes: “Mysticism, though an error, has been associated, for the most part, with a measure of truth so considerable, that its good has greatly outweighed its evil.” The statement that what is at heart **an error** should effect so much more good than evil, cannot but strike one as somewhat strange. It would be surely more correct to say: Mysticism, because it is at root a truth, its good has, notwithstanding a considerable amount of error, greatly outweighed its evil” (Murray 1893:xx; emphasised by Murray).

He continues:

“It may help to prepare the way for reading these extracts from Law with profit, to mention some of the chief characteristics of his teaching, as they mark the true and healthy mysticism, from which the Church has nothing to fear” (:xxii).

In a qualified way, Andrew Murray thus is willing to draw valuable spiritual lessons from William Law and his mystical approach. Murray, indeed, often referred to William Law, and praised his spiritual depth, and even extracted some parts of Law's books and introduced them during the latter half of the 1890's. Some, therefore, is of opinion that Murray was deeply influenced by William Law. This assumption, however, must be re-examined in the light of the evidence of the primary sources. For Murray, the Bible, in relation to the working of the Holy Spirit, remained the fundamental criterion.

6.2.2 Murray's teaching of the Holy Spirit

The Word was closely related to the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit as the Spirit of God leads believers to the right understanding when they read or heard the Bible (cf. Westminster Confession I.5-6). His teaching of the Holy Spirit is well argued in his book *The Spirit of Christ*.

Murray undoubtedly saw the Holy Spirit as God within the Trinity. He acknowledged the personality of the Holy Spirit, and regretted that the contemporary church does not know as much of the work of the third Person in Trinity compared to knowledge of the first (the Father) and the Second (the Son) Persons (Murray 1976:5-6). His exposition of the knowledge and work of the Holy Spirit must be understood against this background.²⁴⁷

Murray's views on the Holy Spirit evoked questions and even criticism from time to time. The most significant critic of Murray's doctrine of the Holy Spirit is C. F. C. Coetzee. In his book *Die werk van die Heilige Gees in die teologiese denke van Andrew Murray*, Coetzee (1986:236-237) argues:

“Murray proclaims that people must pray for the Holy Spirit to be descended a second time. With reference to Bowen, Methodism and Revivalism, Murray has in mind the repetition of Pentecost... It is evident that Murray distinguishes between a first and second reception of the Spirit... Murray's views on being baptised in or with the Spirit, the so-

²⁴⁷ This special emphasis on the Holy Spirit may lead readers to criticise Murray that he ignored the work of Christ or ignored the inherent power of the Word etc. (cf. Coetzee 1986:234).

called second blessing... *resemble* strongly Wesley's Methodism, the holiness movements, the Pentecostalism... In outlining the relation between the work of the Spirit and the work of the faithful there is a remarkable *resemblance* with the false doctrine of the Arminianism" (emphasised by Lee).

Are these observations justifiable? In some respect, we agree with Coetzee's assertions. At the same time, a closer look is necessary in order to know why Murray indeed structured his doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the way he did. Characteristic of Murray's theological stand is the acceptance of the authority of Scripture and the inextricable relation between the Word and the Holy Spirit. This is an important starting point in the assessment of his views, because the relation between Word and Spirit is basic to his spirituality.

6.2.2.1 Relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Word

To Murray, the relationship between the Word and the Holy Spirit was unquestionably important. As we saw above, he did not hesitate to acknowledge the Bible as the Word of God and that the Bible itself has divine authority and a divine origin. In his book *Inner chamber and inner life*, he says as follows:

"One of the first requisites to fruitful Bible study is the knowledge of God as the Omnipotence One, and of the power of His word. The power of God's is infinite. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made. He spake and it was done; He commanded and it stood fast." In the word of God, His omnipotence works: it has creative power and calls into existence **the very thing of which it speaks**. As the word of the living God, it is a living word, and gives life" (Murray 1905:39; emphasised by Murray).

This statement shows that the Bible as the Word of God has God's power in itself. In his book *The Spirit of Christ*, he explains his conviction in this regard as follows:

“Our Lord applies this saying now specially to the words He had just spoken, and the Spiritual truth they contained. ‘The words that I have spoken unto you are Spirit and are Life.’ He wishes to teach the disciples two things. The one is, that the words are indeed a living seed, with a power of germinating and springing up, asserting their own vitality, revealing their meaning, and proving their Divine Power in those who receive them and keep them abiding in the heart. He wanted them not to be discouraged if they could not at once comprehend them. His words are Spirit and Life; they are not meant for the understanding, but for the Life... this is the other lesson He wished His disciples to learn-these words of His need a spiritual nature to receive them. Seed needs a congenial soil: there must be life in the soil as well as in the seed. Not into the mind only, nor into the feelings, nor ever, the will alone must the word be taken, but through them into the life” (Murray 1976:32-33).

If the Bible is interpreted only by human reason or logic in order to appeal to human understanding, it cannot provide comfort and consolation (Berkhof 1998:198). In laying the emphasis on the divine origin of the Bible in relation to the work of the Holy Spirit, he also believed that it is the Holy Spirit that clarifies the Bible. He says:

“In our study of the work of the Blessed Spirit, we cannot be too careful to get clear and firm hold of this blessed truth. It will save us from right-hand and left-hand errors. It will keep us from expecting to enjoy the teaching of the Spirit without the Word, or to master the teaching of the Word without the Spirit... If you would be full of the Spirit, be full of the Word, If you would have the Divine Life of the Spirit within you grow strong, and acquire power in every part of your nature; let the Word of Christ dwell richly in you” (Murray 1976:33).

Because the Bible is the inspired Word of God, Murray could not separate the coherence

or close relationship between the Word and the Holy Spirit. He says: “In the Holy Trinity, the Word and the Spirit are ever in each other, one with the Father” (Murray 1976:33). In regard to the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Word, Calvin already remarked:

“The letter, therefore, is dead, and the law of the Lord slays its readers where it both is cut off from Christ’s grace (II Cor. 3:6) and, leaving the heart untouched, sounds in the ears alone. But if through the Spirit it is really branded upon hearts, if it shows forth Christ, it is the word of life... And what has lately been said –that the Word itself is not quite certain for us unless it be confirmed by the testimony of the Spirit- is not out of accord with these things. For by a kind of mutual bond the Lord has joined together the certainty of his Word and of his Spirit so that the perfect religion of the Word may abide in our minds when the Spirit, who causes us to contemplate God’s face, shines; and that we in turn may embrace the Spirit with no fear of being deceived when we recognize him in his own image, namely in the Word (Institutes I, ix, 3).”

It appears that Murray’s view on the relationship between the Word and the Holy Spirit is not different from that of Calvin. Does the problem then occur when it comes to Murray’s thinking on the baptism with the Holy Spirit?

6.2.2.2 Murray’s thinking on the baptism of the Holy Spirit

Basically, Murray’s doctrine of the Holy Spirit was based on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. When the believers accepted Christ as their Lord and Saviour, they also have received the indwelling Holy Spirit. However, he struggled, as a minister of church, with the question of why some believers had a strong living faith and power while others staggered under the burden of the lack of power and life. His book *The Spirit of*

Christ addresses this question:

“In our preaching and in our practice He [the Holy Spirit] does not hold that place of prominence which He has in God’s plan and in His promises. While our creed on the Holy Spirit is orthodox and scriptural, His presence and power in the life of believers, in the ministry of the word, in the witness of the Church to the world, is not what the word promises or God’s plan requires. There are not a few who are conscious of this great need, and earnestly ask to know God’s mind concerning it, and the way of deliverance out of it. Some feel that their own life is not what it should and might be” (Murray 1976:6).

The reason for this, to the mind of Murray, was that many people “did not know or honour the Indwelling Spirit as the strength of their life ... They knew not what it was, day by day, to wait in lowly reverence for the Holy Spirit to deliver from the power of the flesh, and to maintain the wonderful presence of the Father and the Son within them” (Murray :6). At this point, we must follow the argument of Murray carefully, since he relates it to his view of the baptism with the Holy Spirit and its relation with the grace of regeneration. Murray thought that “when the life of the Church is not in very intense devotion to her Lord, that the preaching and the faith of the Baptism of the Spirit should find less entrance than that of redemption and forgiveness” (Murray :19-20). He understood the baptism of the Holy Spirit as something different, or distinguishable from the grace of regeneration which refers to that act of God in which people turn to God from their situation of sin, and seek to life, and embrace salvation (Murray :21). He explained the baptism of the Holy Spirit as follows:

“When Jesus reminded His disciples (Acts i. 4) of John’s prophecy, they were already partakers of this grace [of regeneration]. Their baptism with the Spirit meant something more. It was to be to them the conscious

presence of their glorified Lord, come back from heaven to dwell in their hearts, their participation in the power of His new Life. It was to them a baptism of joy and power in their living fellowship with Jesus on the Throne of Glory” (Murray 1976:21).

This does not refrain him from raising the questions and differences in this regard that prevailed in his day.²⁴⁸ He asks:

“Was the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost the complete fulfilment of the promise, and is that the only baptism of the Spirit, given once for all to the newborn Church? Or is not the coming of the Holy Spirit on the disciples in the fourth chapter of Acts, on the Samaritans (Acts viii), on the heathen in the house of Cornelius (Acts x), and on the twelve disciples at Ephesus (Acts xix), also to be regarded as separate fulfilments of the words, ‘He shall baptize with the Holy Ghost’? Is the sealing of the Spirit given to each believer in regeneration to be counted by him as his baptism of the Spirit? Or is it, as some say, a distinct, definite blessing to be received later on? Is it a blessing given only once, or can it be repeated and renewed?” (Murray :21-22).

While considering these questions, he says: “it is of great consequence that at the outset we should not allow ourselves to be occupied with points as these [questions], which are after all of minor importance” (Murray :22). In his book *The Spirit of Christ*, Murray substantially treats these questions. In a chapter ‘The Baptism of the Spirit,’ he explains:

“There are specially two diverse views to which much attention has been directed of late. The one maintains that, as every believer receives the Holy Spirit in regeneration, there can be no thought of a Baptism of the Spirit still to be sought for. The promise was fulfilled to the Church in the Gift of Pentecost, and of that heritage of the Church every believer gets his

²⁴⁸ This question is not yet clearly settled. The opinion of John Stott and that of Martyn Lloyd-Jones as opposite views on the question are a good example of this debate. Myung-hyuk Kim’s study on this question in Korean context is also a good guide. Consult these books; Stott’s *Baptism and Fullness*; Lloyd-Jones’s *Joy Unspeakable* and *Revival*; Kim’s *The 18 Hot Issues of Korean Church*.

share on believing in Christ. The opposite view holds that just as Christ's disciples, and Philip's converts at Samaria, and the twelve men at Ephesus, were true believers, and yet needed specially to receive the promised Spirit, so now every believer must seek and may expect this baptism subsequent to his conversion" (Murray 1976:213).

The first viewpoint overlaps, according to Murray, the stand of Ernest Boys, argued in his book *Being Filled with the Spirit*. The second view referred to the ideas of Asa Mahan in *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*. The first view was in accordance with the traditional Reformed persuasion (cf. Stott 1975:21), and the second correlated with the view of the Holiness Movement (cf. Hollenweger 1972:21).²⁴⁹

Murray chose a middle way. He tried to find useful instruction from both of them. He comments the view of Earnest Boys as follows:

"There was one passage to which one referred as having been made a great blessing to him, and by which others had been struck, as making clear the position we ought to take towards the Holy Spirit, without which our prayer for His working would avail but little. Mr. Boys writes: 'If we were asked very briefly the true meaning of being "filled with the Spirit," we should say that it involved, *not, our having "more of the Spirit," but rather the Spirit having more of us*. There is a vast difference between the two; and many who earnestly seek this fullness of the Spirit fail to see this. They are longing, waiting, praying for God to give them something more; when, in order to be "filled with the Spirit," they must give *Him* something more than they have given already.'" (Murray 1976:215; emphasised by Murray).

Murray considers Boys' view as "one side of the truth" (Murray :215), and continues:

²⁴⁹ Generally, the baptism of the Holy Spirit is popular in Pentecostalism. However, because Pentecostalism started in 1901, it will not be mentioned in this study. In this regard, Coetzee's criticism that Murray's doctrine of the Holy Spirit resembled the Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal lacks foundation (cf. Coetzee 1986:237).

“I have already expressed my deep sense of the truth and value of the positive part of the teaching in Mr. Boys’ book, but with the extent to which he goes in denying that we should still pray for the Spirit I can hardly agree... The Spirit is the Spirit of God. He is not only in the Church, *but also in the Father and the Son*. The Father, the Son, and His Body the Church: the Spirit is the one life in which these have their fellowship. God has not given His Spirit to believers, in the sense of parting with Him; or as if, by once giving, He did not now need any more to give. By no means” (Murray 1976:218; emphasised by Murray).

When dealing with Asa Mahan’s view, Murray is of opinion that he [Mahan] also sincerely tried to explain the baptism of the Holy Spirit in accordance with the biblical testimony:

“Let us now turn to the other side. In Dr. Mahan’s book, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, we have an entirely different aspect of God’s truth from one who equally desires only to know what the mind of God in Scripture is” (Murray :216).

Must it be understood against these remarks that Andrew himself prayed to be baptised by the Holy Spirit? In his diary entry on 18 April 1877, he wrote:

“In prospect of uniting God’s children in Europe and America, it is my prayer and expectation that the Lord lead me to this who may be a blessing to me, and in fellowship with whom I may indeed receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. O my Father I ask this of Thee!” (Archive P1A/1d).

This entry should not be interpreted out of context, nor used as a proof that Murray indeed subscribed to a Pentecostal theology of a second blessing. He is critical of the book of Mahan, for instance. And, his theology covered a much wider horizon. Murray points out deficiencies in Mahan’s view:

“Let me say at once, that if it be maintained in connection with this second view that every believer must consciously seek and receive, as a distinct experience, such a Baptism, this does not appear to me what the Word of God teaches” (Murray 1976:217-218).

He subsequently adds his own opinion of Mahan’s interpretation:

“But if it be put in this way, that in answer to believing prayer many believers have received, and *those who seek it will often receive*, such an inflow of the Spirit of God as will to them indeed be nothing less than a new Baptism of the Spirit, I cannot but regard it as in harmony with the teaching of Scripture” (Murray :218; emphasised by Lee).

Murray thus carefully considered both views of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and then formulates his own conviction:

“A third view takes somewhat middle ground, and while agreeing with the first, that the Holy Spirit dwells in every believer, it maintains that the believer may from time to time receive very special conscious renewals of the Spirit’s presence and power from on high, and that these may justly be regarded as fresh baptisms of the Spirit” (Murray :213).

In conclusion, Murray (:220-221) thus saw that the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the grace of regeneration could occur both simultaneously and separately. His view on the baptism of the Holy Spirit is actually quite different from that of the Wesleyan or the Holiness Movement or even further, that of Pentecostalism in the sense that Murray did not accept the baptism of the Holy Spirit as a second or a third experience (cf. Hollenweger 1972:25).²⁵⁰ He acknowledged the distinction between the baptism of the

²⁵⁰ Hollenweger says that the Wesleyan and the Pentecostal emphasise “the second” or “the third.” He says that especially in Pentecostalism, the debate on the question whether it was the second or the third led them into schism (Hollenweger 1972:21-25).

Holy Spirit and the grace of regeneration, but he took the stance that the baptism of the Holy Spirit is a continual experience throughout Christian life (cf. Kim, M-h 1998:104-155; Burkhardt 1988:157). It could happen two or three or four times or even more in the course of life time.

Although Murray's doctrine of the Holy Spirit was different from both the Reformed and Wesleyan confessions in some respects, his *pneumatology* was largely based on the Reformed theology. We must consider the difference in the light of his Bible-centred spirituality and his own experience of the Worcester revival.²⁵¹ His father Murray Sr.'s influence must also be considered²⁵², as much that of William C. Burns.²⁵³ Murray related the Bible to the presence and existential work of the Holy Spirit which correlated with the baptism or fullness of the Holy Spirit. This again, formed a cornerstone of his spirituality.

²⁵¹ Although interpretations are different among various theological traditions, the Bible itself speaks of the subsequent giving of the Holy Spirit to believers even after the day of Pentecost (cf. Byun, J-k 2001:35-41). Church history also testifies to many cases of the fact. Therefore, we cannot say that the Pentecost itself as a specific event can be repeated. However, the refusal of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit to believers needs to be re-estimated (cf. Kim, M-h 1998:154-155). The revival experience at Worcester was a refreshing one to minister Murray, because many Christians were changed inwardly and outwardly by the event, even though it was temporary one. Generally speaking, it is most natural to ministers that expect revival while they serve churches for this sort of reason (Lloyd-Jones 1986:15-32). As already seen, Murray lamented the low standard of Christian life pervaded in the churches. Therefore, as a minister, it seems to be natural for Murray to emphasise revival and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which he had already experienced. Murray's view on Pentecost also needs to be understood on the basis of his Bible-centred spirituality. He as other ministers in 19th century tended to interpret the Bible literally rather than theologically (cf. Bebbington 1989:14).

²⁵² While Murray was still in Graaff-Reinet as a young man, his father prayed to God for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at every Friday (Neethling 1909:33). This fact sheds a light on the fact that Murray was not a stranger to the concept of outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

²⁵³ After experiencing continued revivals, Burns thought that Pentecost could not be a once for all event, but an event that could be continued by the Holy Spirit (Burns 1870:59). In his article 'Mode of Conducting a Revival, so as to improve such a visitation of Divine grace - Errors and Evils to be avoided,' he says that although revival is a work of God, its coming can be facilitated by efforts such as "holiness to the Lord" and "prayer unceasing and earnest" etc. (Burns 1840:333-334). It was possible for Murray to be influenced by Burns on this matter, and it would be supported by his own experience of the revival at Worcester.

6.3 A Holy life

The living, the preaching, and the emphasis on a holy life was one of the leading principles in Murray's spirituality. He not only learnt this concept from his father when he was young, but it also was invigorated when he actively worked in his ministry. After the Worcester revival, he went around vast areas of South Africa for revival conferences in order to sustain and to extend the effects which the revival created. In addition, as a member of the Foreign Mission Board of the Dutch Reformed Church, he had also visited several places outside the Colony for the settlement of foreign missionaries. Travelling these, he witnessed many children of God who endured a low standard of Christian life. To Murray, who had already experienced marvellous works of the Holy Spirit, the low state of Christian life without blessed experiences seemed to be a deplorable situation. In his book *Abide in Christ*, which was written just after the Worcester revival, he describes it as follows:

“[W]hy those who have indeed accepted the Saviour, and been made partakers of the renewing of the Holy Ghost, thus come short of the full salvation prepared for them... Step by step we shall get to see... how indispensable the experience of its blessing is to a healthy Christian life, and how unspeakable the blessings are that flow from it... I pray still more earnestly that He would, by whatever means, make the multitudes of His dear children who are still living divided lives, to see how He claims them wholly for Himself” (Murray n.d.(a):5-7).

In his book *Holy in Christ*, published in 1887, he deplores the situation where Christians gives little concern to holiness:

“There is not in Scripture a word more distinctly Divine in its origin and

meaning than the word holy. There is not a word that leads us higher into the mystery of Deity, nor deeper into the privilege and the blessedness of God's children. And yet it is a word that many a Christian has never studied or understood... What multitudes of believing Christians there are who have none but the very vaguest thoughts of what holiness is! ... To many, holiness has simply been a general expression for the Christian life in its more earnest form, without much thought of what the term really means" (Murray 1888:v-vi).

Similar sentiments are found in his book *Master's Indwelling* published in 1895. It reads as follows:

"Now this is the condition of many believers. They are converted; they know what it is to have assurance and faith; they believe in pardon for sin; they begin to work for God. Yet, somehow, there is very little growth in their spirituality, in the real heavenly life. We come into contact with them, and we at once feel that there is something missing. There is none of the beauty of holiness or the power of God's Spirit in them" (1983:10-11).

The citations are taken from books of Andrew Murray that was published over a period of four decades. In all the years, the practical life of Christians left much to wish for. This situation sheds light on why Murray continually emphasised the Christian holy life. He preached Christian holiness, and prayed for it, and published books in which holiness was the main theme.²⁵⁴ It became an integral part of his spirituality.

6.3.1 Murray's understanding of holiness

Murray did not think conditionally when it comes to Christian holiness. Neither did he base it on human effort or ability. To him, because Christians were consecrated by God,

²⁵⁴ Murray's books, *Holy in Christ*, *Be Perfect* and *The Holiest of All* etc. deal with Christian holy life as their main subject.

they were holy regardless of their ethical temperament and their way of living. This means that he understood that holiness as entire dependence on God. In *The Children for Christ*, which was a translation of his comparatively early *Wat zal toch dit Kindeke wesen?* published in 1863, Murray (n.d.(c):362) expressed himself as follows:

“*Holy*. The word expresses a relation. Whatever was separated unto God and made His property was called holy. ‘The Lord will show who are *His* and who is *holy*: the man whom the Lord shall choose, he is holy.’ Apart from the moral character, even inanimate object, whatever had been given to God, and taken by Him to be His own, was holy” (emphasised by Murray).

He also did not think of living a Christian holy life in terms of a burden. Because God who redeemed His children from mortal sin was the God of holiness, Christians, as God’s children, had also to be holy. In regard to this, it was God that cast out human sin. The casting out of sin was not dependent on human effort, but entirely dependent on God Himself. Murray (1895:173-174) says: “That word *absolute dependence* is one of the most solemn and large and precious of words. A great German theologian wrote two large volumes some years ago, to show that the whole of Calvin’s theology is summed up in that one principle of *absolute dependence upon God*; and he was right” (emphasised by Murray).²⁵⁵ Ian Murray (1987:261) observed that “[f]or the Christian, holiness is the beauty of the God whom he has been brought to know... [H]e delights in God and seeks to be like him.” To the Christian, holiness is not a burden, but rather something to be sought.

²⁵⁵ As we can see in this statement, Murray’s affirmation of Calvin sheds light on the fact that Coetzee’s criticism that Murray had “a noticeable negative attitude” against the reformers is weak of root (cf. Coetzee 1986:233).

To Murray's mind, God's holiness relates to the pledge that God Himself would do every blessed work. In a letter to his wife (11 June 1862), he says:

“[T]he soul felt at moments very deep in consciousness of sinning & straying from God- especially in the consciousness of such impurity of motive and self seeking while seeking after God & His holiness. But this I can say I trust Him at moments with an unbounded trust and with the sure confidence that He will yet reveal Himself and do His own work with power. “Be ye holy for I am holy” is a word that has given me much comfort.– God's holiness must be taken as the pledge of ours, because He hate sin & is mighty to cast it out. His Holiness can consume it. Let us not only fear but also trust & rejoice in & expect everything from His Holiness. Let us try & understand that precious promise “I am the Lord your Holy One” (Archive P1A/2/3).

In his book *The New Life* published in 1885, he continually exposes his understanding of holiness:

“Not only salvation, but holiness - salvation in holiness: for this end has God chosen and called us. Not only safe in Christ, but holy in Christ, must the goal of the young Christian be. Safety and salvation are in the long run found only in holiness. The Christian, who thinks that his salvation consists merely in safety and not in holiness, will find himself deceived. Young Christian, listen to the word of God: Be holy... And what is this holiness that I must have? ... Holiness is more than purity... Holiness is the filling with that which is good, divine, with the disposition of Jesus... And how do we become holy? By the sanctification of the Spirit” (Murray 1965:73-74).

Christians are holy only through the power of God. Murray states in *The Inner Chamber and the Inner Life*, published in 1905, that:

“It is most needful to know God's word and meditate on it. It is most

needful to set our heart upon being holy, as our first and chief object in studying the word. But all this is not enough; everything depends upon our following Christ in asking the father to sanctify us through the word. *It is God, the Holy Father, who makes us holy*” (Murray 1905:139; emphasised by Murray).

Murray recognised ‘Christian humility’ as a main fruit of a holy life. Therefore, to Murray, the pursuit of holiness which did not increase humility could not be true Christian holiness (Murray 2003:79). Again, the fact that holiness is objectively linked to God and God’s grace, does not mean that holiness can, at the same time, be rooted deep in human existence. Murray thinks in relations. Therefore, within his thinking, he also allows for appeal, for challenging God’s children to be holy in their living, in other words, to be sanctified.

In a notebook titled by him ‘The ministry,’ Murray communicates the importance of the sanctification as follows:

“Certainly Protestant theology after distinguishing so carefully and so long between justification and sanctification must learn to connect them, but the connection must be vital. The true relation would rather be expressed in such a formula as this, that **justification sanctifies** or that **evangelical forgiveness regenerates**” (Archive P1A/7/1; emphasised by Murray).²⁵⁶

In regard to Christian holiness, it is, by the way, useful to consult the opinion of Calvin:²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ According to the note book, the above mentioned statement was written on 17 January 1907.

²⁵⁷ According to Bouyer (1969:85), sanctification was one of the most important instructions of Calvin. He says that “[f]rom the point of view of Reformed spirituality, the most important complement brought by Calvin to Lutheranism was his doctrine of sanctification.” Meanwhile, in regard to holiness, Simpson (1984:190) discusses Calvin as follows: “One of his [Calvin’s] objectives in writing the Institutes was in fact to teach men true godliness.”

“Scripture draws its exhortation from the true foundation. It is not only enjoins us to refer our life to God, its author, to whom it is bound; but after it has taught that we have degenerated from the true origin and condition of our creation, it also adds that Christ, through whom we return into favour with God, has been set before us as an example, whose pattern we ought to express in our life. What more effective thing can you require than this one thing? Nay, what can you require beyond this one thing? For we have been adopted as sons by the Lord with this one condition: that our life expresses Christ, the bond of our adoption... Ever since the Holy Spirit dedicated us as temples to God, we must not commit anything to defile ourselves with the filthiness of sin” (Institutes, III.vi.3).

Calvin understood that a holy life was the most demanded thing of a Christian. This is quite similar to Murray’s opinion. In his book *The Inner Chamber and the Inner Life*, Andrew says:

“‘Sanctify them in Thy truth, Thy word is truth.’ The great object of God’s word is to make us holy. No diligence or success in Bible study will really profit us unless it makes us humbler, holier men. In all our use of Holy Scripture this must be definitely our main object. The reason there is often so much Bible reading with so little real result in a Christ-like character, is that “salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth,” is not truly sought” (Murray 1905:137).

As disclosed in this statement, it is not difficult to see his unquestionable emphasis on holiness. He even put sanctification to the same level as faith in salvation (cf. Peterson 1995:68). Murray’s emphasis on Christian holiness is also found in his book *Holy in Christ* as follows:

“It has been my continual prayer that God might use what is written to increase in His children the conviction that we must be holy, the knowledge of how we are to be holy, the joy that we may be holy, the faith that we can be holy. And may He stir us all to cry day and night to Him for

a visitation of the Spirit and the Power of Holiness upon all His people, that the name of Christian and of saint may be synonymous, and every believer be a vessel made holy and meet for the Master's use" (Murray 1888:viii).

Peterson (1995:68) says that "[t]o separate sanctification from redemption and conversion is inaccurate and unhelpful." This brings us to a further distinction that was of great importance for Murray, *viz.* perfection. In the next paragraph, we must consider his teaching in this regard.

6.3.2 Murray's understanding of perfection

Murray's concern with Christian holiness started with his awareness that many Christians remained on a low level of Christian life. The question, "What is the want in our religion that, in so many cases, it gives no power to stand, to advance, to press on unto perfection?" was continually asked by Murray himself (1996:v). His emphasis on Christian holy life obviously caused him to address the issue of about perfection. On this matter, much opposition, even in those days, was articulated (Murray 1894:5).²⁵⁸ Although Murray was well acquainted with this criticism, he insisted on it, and argued why Christians had to pursue perfection in their life. His book *Be Perfect*, published in 1893, reads as follows:

"If ministers are to seek this [perfection] above everything in their charge of the Church of God, they need themselves to feel deeply and to expose faithfully the low standard that prevails in the Church. Some have said that they have seen Perfectionism slay its thousands. All must admit that Imperfectionism has slain its tens of thousands. Multitudes soothing

²⁵⁸ See the preface of Murray's book *Be Perfect* (Murray 1894:5).

themselves in a life of worldliness and sin with the thought that as no one is perfect, imperfection cannot be so dangerous. Numbers of true Christians are making no progress because they have never known that we can serve God with a perfect heart” (Murray 1894:70).

Coetzee (1986:237) evaluated Murray’s teaching on perfectionism, and concluded:

“(1) [H]e gets to know the attainability of perfection in this life in the sense that man can reach a stage where he is free from immediate sins. (2) When referring to this distinction, Murray consequently gets to see the lives of the faithful consisting of two phases, or even more, he distinguishes between two types of Christians... [T]he two different types of Christians and the obedience of man as condition resemble strongly Wesley’s Methodism, the holiness movements, the Pentecostalism and the Neo-Pentecostalism” (numbers are laid by Lee).

In the light of Coetzee, thorough analysis is necessary to investigate Murray’s understanding of perfection with regard to its influence on his spirituality. To begin with: Murray’s understanding of perfection did not mean a stage of sinless perfection which could be attained during life time. His book *Be Perfect* underlines this: “In perfection there are degrees. We have perfect, more perfect, most perfect. We have perfect, waiting to be perfected” (Murray :72). What does this indicate? It is the incremental or gradual state of holiness which is held by Reformed theology (Berkhof 1976:534). Murray’s understanding of perfection instead implies a kind of purpose that Christians had to pursue throughout their life time. This is not different from Calvin’s view of sanctification:

“[W]ith continuous effort striving toward this end: that we may surpass ourselves in goodness until we attain to goodness itself. It is this, indeed, which through the whole course of life we seek and follow. But we shall attain it only when we have cast off the weakness of the body, and are

received into full fellowship with [H]im” (Institutes III.vi.5).

Although Murray was convinced that there were “two different types of Christians,” his understanding of this matter was quite different from what Coetzee finds. Firstly, even though he said there were two stages of Christian life, Murray never said that the relation between justification and sanctification was separable as the Wesleyans did (Berkhof 1976:530).²⁵⁹ Rather he criticised their separation. “Certainly Protestant theology after distinguishing so carefully and so long between justification and sanctification must learn to connect them” was his assertion (Archive P1A/7/1).²⁶⁰

Secondly, he never defended the concept of a sinless Christian as the Wesleyans did. He even thought that Christians could commit sin because human sin could not be eradicated completely during life time. This view is confirmed in the ‘story of young lion’ in his book *Abide in Christ*:

“I have read of a young lion whom nothing could awe or keep down but the eye of his keeper. With the keeper you could come near him, and he would crouch, his savage nature all unchanged, and thirsting for blood - trembling at the keeper’s feet. You might put your foot on his neck, as long as the keeper was with you. To approach him without the keeper would be instant death. And so it is that the believer can have sin and yet not do sin. The evil nature, the flesh, is unchanged in its enmity against God, but the abiding presence of Jesus keeps it down. In faith the believer entrusts himself to the keeping, to the indwelling, of the Son of God; he abides in Him, and counts on Jesus to abide in Him too. The union and fellowship is the secret of a holy life: “In Him is no sin; he that abideth in Him sinneth not.”” (Murray n.d.(a):190).

²⁵⁹ Louise Berkhof (1976:530) says in his book *Systematic Theology* that “[b]ut while they [reformers] made a careful distinction between the two, they also stressed their inseparable connection... Wesley did not merely distinguish justification and sanctification, but virtually separated them.”

²⁶⁰ This archival document is titled ‘The Ministry.’

This teaching is quite different from that of Wesley on human sin, because Wesley taught that the sinless stage of Christian life could be attained. Newton Flew (1934:335), one of the leading Methodist theologians, evaluates Wesley's teaching on human sin as follows:

“Inheriting as we did the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, Wesley tends to speak of sin as a quantum, or hypostasis; as a substance which might be expelled, or rooted out, or as an external burden which might be taken away... he never quite shook off the fallacious notion “that sin is a thing which has to be taken out of man like a cancer or a rotten tooth”.”

Reflecting on the Holiness Movement, Eugene Osterhaven (1971:114) observed at the same time:

“[C]ertain groups of holiness people have modified their teaching to allow for minor imperfections. These latter are no longer considered to be sins, but of a less serious character. Among some adherents of the “higher life” or “victory” movements they are spoken of as belonging only to the old nature that has been crucified with Christ, so that the Christian, who has risen with Christ into newness of life, has not “really” committed them and therefore is not responsible for them.”

This assertion is also quite different from that of Murray who emphasised the need for Christians to try to be more perfect. Although he admitted pervading human sin, he challenged the highest standard of Christian life. His book *The Holiest of All* shows his view on this as follows: “I have not been afraid of continually repeating the one thought: *Our one need is, to know Jesus better*; the one cure for all our feebleness, to look to Him on the throne of heaven, and really **claim the heavenly life He waits to impart**” (Murray 1996:vii; italicised by Murray and bolded by Lee). This view cannot

justifies or satisfies any lower stage of Christian life. Benjamin Warfield (1958:457-458) says:

“Nothing can be more important than that the conception of perfection be maintained at its height... The habit of conceiving of perfection as admitting of many imperfections - moral imperfections, glossed as infirmities, errors and inadvertences - not only lowers the standard of perfection and with it the height of our aspirations, but corrupts our hearts, dulls our discrimination of right and wrong, and betrays us into satisfaction with attainments which are very far from satisfactory. Such compromises lull men to sleep with a sense of attainments not really made; cut the nerve of effort in the midst of the race.”

It appears as if Murray is perfectly in harmony with Warfield as far as the motivation to emphasise the importance of holiness is concerned. But carefully reading of his exposition though indicates that he does not seem to fit into the theological tradition to which he belonged, *viz.* the Reformed. Of course, in some respects, this observation seems correct, while in other respects, it shows that the tradition which he belonged to gave little concern to a matter that the Bible clearly taught (Hesselink 1992:278). Murray accepted Christian perfection, but in a way that did not go far from the boundaries of Reformed tradition. I cannot dare to say that Murray was not influenced by the contemporary movements pervading in the European continent and America (Dieter 1996). He was a learned man who liked to study, even secular philosophy and science.²⁶¹ He learnt much from, for example, the Holiness Movement. His daughter remembers:

“In 1874 he [Murray] had a copy of the Brighton and Oxford meetings held by Mr. & Mrs. Pearsall Smith sent him. He much enjoyed reading

²⁶¹ See Murray's book *Modern Theology* published in Cape Town in 1868.

these with Miss Ferguson & Bliss and discussing the teaching and very earnest prayers from every one went up for the Spirit's teaching. He also preached much about the subject and taught it as far as he saw is in the Bible encouraging the people to trust and follow after the Lord's leading" (Archive P1A/8/1).²⁶²

When it was possible, Murray discussed views that addressed him with his colleagues, his brother John, his wife and his father.²⁶³ Moreover, he always compared them with the Bible. This also applied for the teaching of holiness. This question interested him long before he participated in the Holiness Movement. A letter forwarded to his wife on 12 June 1862 confirms: "What I have written above is the best answer to what you write about the *Higher Life* in one letter so hopefully in the other despondingly" (Archive P1A/2/3; emphasised by Lee). This fact shows that Murray and even his wife were already concerned about the higher and more holy life. His concern on this subject was surely revealed in their thinking long before he participated in the Holiness Movement. The concern was a result of the influence of his father and the Worcester revival, rather than his participation in Holiness Movement itself. Murray taught Christian perfection, but it was intended as the ultimate goal of Christian life rather than what could be attainable in this world.

As we have observed, Murray's teaching on perfection was surely different from that of the Wesleyan or the Holiness Movement, even though he used the same terms such as second blessing, two stages and entire sanctifications, etc. Although he used those terms,

²⁶² This archival document is titled 'A Daughter's recollections.'

²⁶³ We have already observed in chapter 5 that when Murray had a different view on confirmation from the general administration of the DRC, he firstly asked his father Murray Sr. He also asked his brother John, a professor of theological seminary at Stellenbosch whether his theological view was correct. "My dear professor - Help me a little with my theology" was the heading of his letter. See Murray's letter forwarded to his brother John on 25 February 1878 (Archive P1A/2/2).

the meanings and intentions of the terms were quite different.²⁶⁴ Again a *via media* is detected in Andrew Murray. He keeps in a way of his own to both persuasions.

6.3.3 Was Murray influenced by William Law?

How much was Murray influenced by William Law? Some are of opinion that Murray was deeply influenced by William Law, and therefore, the mystical tendency in his work can be ascribed to Law. Coetzee (1986:234) also says that “[i]t is clear that Murray’s thoughts in this respect were influenced by the Mystic, with the accent on *the subjective experience* as proof of the living God” (emphasised by Lee).

Du Plessis (1919:470) also says that Murray was much influenced by Law:

“[C]ommencing with the publication in 1888 of *Holy in Christ*, he dwells with greater persistency on the subject of *sanctification*. This period may be subdivided into two by the year 1894- the stage when he was not yet acquainted with Law’s writing, and the stage when he had fallen under the influence of that great mystic” (emphasised by Du Plessis).

Meanwhile, Williams Lindner (1996:126) writes minutely on Law’s influence on Murray. In his book *Andrew Murray* published in 1996, he states as follows:

“Just before the Murrays left for Keswick in 1895, Andrew became increasingly drawn to the work of eighteenth-century English mystic William Law. In many respect a deep and remarkable man, Law and his book *A serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* had a profound effect on men like John Wesley and George Whitefield and the revivals under their

²⁶⁴ We have already observed Murray’s usage of specific terms. He confesses in his book *Two Covenant and the second blessing* that he used the term ‘second’ due to his inability to find a suitable word (Murray 1899:169).

ministry. Though Law held several unorthodox convictions, his emphasis on *the experiential nature of religious life and the surrender of the self life* attracted Andrew's attention" (emphasised by Lee).

However, to the author's mind, Murray was not so much influenced by Law. He rather discovered and borrowed some ideas from Law's writings, which supported his own thinking. In order to prove my thinking, it is thus necessary to go back to the time before the year of 1893, because Murray says, in the introduction of Law's book *Wholly for God*, written at the end of October 1893, that he met William Law's writings "last winter" for the first time (Murray 1894:xi). If this study, therefore, can identify the similar factors that Coetzee and Lindner assume during the period before 1893, the above mentioned assumptions are none other than houses built on sand.

6.3.3.1 Murray's emphasis on experience

Coetzee (1986:234) contended that Murray utilised the subjective experience as a proof of the living God due to the influence of Law. However, Murray had already dealt with the importance of experience in his writings before he met Law. Moreover, he did never say that experience was a proof of the living God. On this, he is very clear in his book *Abide in Christ* which was published in Dutch in 1864:

"When first the sinner is led to trust in Christ for salvation, he, as a rule, looks more to His work than His person. As he looks at the Cross, and Christ suffering there, the Righteous One for the unrighteous, he sees in that atoning death the only but sufficient foundation for his faith in God's pardoning mercy... But as time goes on, and he seeks to grow in the Christian life, new needs arise. He wants to understand more fully how it is that God can thus justify the ungodly on the strength of the righteousness of another. He finds the answer in the wonderful teaching of

Scripture as to the true union of the believer with Christ as the second Adam... And so he is led to feel that it can only be in fully realizing his personal union with Christ as the Head, that he can fully experience the power of His righteousness to bring the soul into the full favour and fellowship of the Holy One... And this experience sheds its light again upon Scripture” (Murray n.d.(a):59-60).

In this citation, Murray expresses the opinion that experience leads people to a better understanding of the Bible. Experience itself is, however, not a proof of the living God, but helped to achieve a better understanding of the Word of God. As far as experience is concerned, Murray used it as assistance for revealing the truth in the Bible. He had, in the healing of his throat, a first hand encounter in this regard.

His emphasis on experience can also be found in a letter forwarded to his wife on 26 June 1862:

“And though the strong & clear feeling of those solemn days have part away I still trust that became “God is faithful who has called us into the fellowship of His Son Jesus Christ” we shall be led to the fuller experience of what our God hath prepared for us even in this life” (Archive P1A/2/3).

He went on:

“What is promised in God’s word I have not yet experienced as it is set forth “the indwelling of the Father & the Son”-“the being filled with the fullness of God”- “the being pure as He is pure”- and so much more- and it surely cannot be wrong to expects that He will fulfil His promise in ways & measure “abundantly above what we can ask or think.”” (Archive P1A/2/3).

By now, it should be clear that Murray’s emphasis on experience or experiential

theology and spirituality was not dependent on the influence of William Law. This constitutive side of his theology and spirituality was rather originated almost entirely from his father, who affected his beliefs and actions as a child and student. Can we interpret his conversion as the inauguration of the experiential side of his theology? That, at least, was the confirmation that experience and the effects thereof were (and are) very real and existential. His father, in fact, directed him towards the experience of conversion.²⁶⁵ Murray Sr.'s emphasis on experience or experimental knowledge of faith is clear in a letter to his sons on 20 February 1847:

“Every one who knows anything experimentally of the life of faith knows it to be a life of beginning. No German nor Dutch fellows can experimentally teach us the force of the simplest lesson in Christ’s school - “without Me, ye can do nothing.”” (Archive P1A/2/1a:78-80).

His father’s influence on emphasising experiential religion was reinforced by his experience of the Worcester revival. In many letters forwarded to his wife during 1860’s, it is not difficult to find the word ‘experience,’ and to discover embedded it in his spirituality.

6.4 A life of prayer

It is not an over-estimation to say that Murray’s life was the life of prayer. G. B. A. Gerdener (1958:174) describes him as “a man of prayer and power” in his book *Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field*. To Murray, prayer was “both one of means and one of the fruits of union to Christ” (Murray n.d.(a):147), and was “to do

²⁶⁵ See Murray’s letter written on 14 November 1845 (Archive P1A/2/1a:65-66).

what would otherwise not be done” (Murray 1887:249).²⁶⁶ He thought that the purpose of prayer was the glory of God (Murray 1887:152). He described prayer as a continuous turning away from earth to God and as a means to let God become God (1901(k):128).

Therefore, he challenged the Church to pray uncompromisingly. He regretted the state of many Christians who did not pray, or did not pray effectively or did not pray with whole their hearts. “It is the lack of secret prayer... that explains the feebleness of the Christian life to resist the world, and its failure to bring forth fruit abundantly” (Murray 1905:6). He thought that one of the reasons was that Christians did not know exactly how to pray. For this reason he wrote the book *With Christ in the School of Prayer* in order to guide Christians. In the preface of the book, he describes his motive as follows: “It is under a deep impression that the place and power of prayer in the Christian life is too little understood, that this book has been written” (Murray 1887:vi).²⁶⁷

At the same time, Murray always stressed Morning Prayer. He thought that morning as the opening hour of a day had to be consecrated to God in Christian life. Thus, he says in his book *The Inner Chamber and the Inner Life*: “If the morning hour be holy to the Lord, the day with its duties will be so too” (Murray 1905:6-7). To Murray, the consecration of some portion of morning time to God was a duty as well as a privilege of true Christians (Murray :11). His book *The Morning Watch* was especially written to help young Christians with their practice of morning family prayer (Murray 1917:3).

²⁶⁶ In his book *The State of the Church*, Murray (1985:46) says that “the prayer on earth are in very deed the condition for the power from heaven for the extension of the kingdom on earth.” To Murray, prayer was the power of heaven.

²⁶⁷ Murray wrote several books that prayer was dealt with their main subject: *The Prayer Life*, *The Morning Watch*, *Eagles Wing*, *The Secret of United Prayer*, *The Secret of Intercession* and *Ministry of Intercession*, etc.

Although Du Plessis (1919:470) is of opinion that Murray did not lay emphasis on intercessory prayer until the later period of life, he, in fact, was much concerned with it comparatively earlier in his life. When he was in Holland, he interceded much for world-wide mission work with colleagues in the society *Sechor Dabar*. He also engaged in the world-wide intercessory prayer meeting which was held once a month for missionary work. However, the time he felt its necessity more clearly was later. The letter forwarded to his wife on 27 April 1861 sheds light on this:

“I almost humbled when I heard it and felt so ashamed of my unbelief that I had almost thought it useless at Worcester to ask prayer for Bloemfontein- there they were all too unprepared for a revival of that the God of free and wondrous grace might indeed make my visit a blessing” (Archive P1A/2/3).

Murray’s emphasis on intercession also is expressed in his book *Abide in Christ* which was originally published in Dutch in 1864:

“He [Jesus] does not think so much of prayer – as we, alas! too exclusively do- as a means of getting blessing for ourselves, but as one of the chief channels of influence by which, through us as fellow-workers with God, the blessings of Christ’s redemption are to be dispensed to the world” (Murray n.d.(a):148).

This statement shows us that he understood intercession clearly. All of the above mentioned evidences confirm Murray’s deep concern with intercession. His life, indeed, was a life of prayer.

6.5 Conversion of people

Murray as a converted sinner had as much concern for other's conversion as his father Murray Sr. did. In a letter forwarded to his children on 10 June 1862, he talks about the chief Ramkok to his children. He tried to convince Ramkok and his tribe of the Gospel, but they did not want to receive it. Murray was much disappointed: "Oh how sad Papa's heart was!" The he continued:

"[God] wants to let us see that it is His work to change people's heart, and to make us pray more. And so my little pets must help to pray that God may make the heart of the people willing to hear about Jesus" (Archive P1A/2/3).

While he was on an evangelistic tour in 1876, he felt a heavy burden in his heart for the great need of evangelists to serve the scattered people in the outposts and the border regions. He confessed his feelings to his wife in a letter to her on 24 January 1876: If possible, he wanted to work as an itinerant preacher, because "[i]t appears terrible to let them go on in darkness and indecision when they are willing to be helped" (Archive P1A/2/3). His wish, actually, was an impossible one to execute, because he had to take care of his flock in Wellington. He also knew he could not take the work upon himself. After reading the letter, his wife worried much about her husband's feelings, because his taking the work meant their lifestyle would be severely affected. On his wife's anxiety, Murray writes a letter in order to relieve her on 30 January 1876: "I am afraid my last [letter] will have frightened you with the idea of my becoming Evangelist. I cannot say I have any prospect of becoming one. - I only felt the terrible need" (Archive P1A/2/3).

We must conclude that Murray carried this awareness and urge throughout his life. As prayer, conversion became part of his life and spirituality.

6.6 Doing Spirituality

Murray's spirituality did not flutter in his brain or heart. It was very much embodied in a historical, real, existential side. It was a motivation to get involved, to change society, to play a role. Consequently, an anonymous author described him: "He is essentially a man of action" (Archive P1A/8/1). As a man of action, Murray emphasised practical action from time to time, and what believer had to do was not the will of humanity but that of God (Murray 1978:12).²⁶⁸ In his book *Holy in Christ*, he says: "Not knowledge of the will of God, not even approval, not even the will to do it, but the doing of it. Knowledge, and approval, and will must lead to action (Murray 1888:65)." In his book *Working for God*, Murray himself urges action as follows:

"If this is to come, we must remember two things. The one is that it can only come by beginning to work. Those who have not had their attention specially directed to it cannot realise how great the temptation is to make work a matter of thought and prayer and purpose, without its really being *done*. It is easier to bear than to think, easier to think than to speak, easier to speak than to act. We may listen and accept and admire God's will, and in our prayer profess our willingness to do, - and yet not actually *do*. Let us, with such measure of grace as we have, and much prayer for more, take up our calling as God's working men, and do good hard work for Him. Doing is the best teacher. If you want to know how to do a thing, begin and do it (Murray 1901(w):39; emphasised by Murray).

²⁶⁸ Murray (1978:12) says in this book *Not my will*: "heaven's citizens find complete joy in contemplating and doing the glorious will of God."

Murray's active involvement in society can be deducted to three fundamental aspects: his educational work, his social involvement and his input in missionary work. Each must be analysed respectively in order to outline his 'doing spirituality.'

6.6.1 Educational work

There can be little objection that Murray was a leading figure in the enhancement of South Africa according to Christian principles. In order to observe his educational work, we have to turn back to the year of 1856 when he married Emma. In that year he and his wife actively participated in the establishment of Grey College in Bloemfontein. He served as the first Rector of the college.

When Andrew ministered at the Cape Town, he also engaged himself in the establishment of the Good Hope Seminary for young ladies and the Normal College for the training of teachers, and worked as a member of the original board of managers, even though it was only for a short period (Du Plessis 1919:396). In 1873 shortly after his arrival in Wellington, he established the Huguenot Seminary. George P. Ferguson (1927:1) recalls the background in his book *The Builders of Huguenot* as follows:

“In December, 1872, the Rev. Andrew Murray of Wellington was spending a holiday with his wife and family at Kalk Bay. They had recently passed through a time of bereavement; two children, a little girl of five and a baby boy, had died within a short time of each other. As Mrs. Murray expressed it, God had emptied their hands that He might fill their hearts... Miss Catherine Elliott, came to see them, bringing with her a copy of the larger life of Mary Lyon. Mr. Murray had seen a shorter Life, and been much interested, but this fuller Life, and Miss Elliott's enthusiasm for her heroine, so touched his heart that he was moved to immediate action.”

Ferguson noted that the deep relation between the spirituality of both the Murray's, and the vision to create an educational Institution. This was spirituality in action. It was part of his life, his ministry, his thinking and his interpretation of reality. Murray's effort in educational work is also appeared in his participation in Pan-Presbyterian Council which was firstly held in Edinburgh in 1877. During the year of 1877, he visited not only Edinburgh for the Council, but also Europe and America on education's behalf. In his letters documented in *Kerkbode*, the aim of his visit was formulated: "There are three matters which will specially engage my attention... These three things are the condition of the Church, *education*, and the state of the spiritual life in the countries which I am about to visit" (Du Plessis 1919:294; emphasised by Lee). Murray's daughter's recollection of his participation in Pan-Presbyterian Conference shows his spiritual maturity. She recalls:

"In 1877 he went to the Pan Presbyterian council in Edinburgh. After he had attended the meetings it was announced that the South Africans should have ten minutes allotted to them. His co-delegate was indignant saying "Have we come 6,000 miles to speak only ten minutes?" No, answered father we have come here for the spiritual intercourse and I do not care if we can say nothing" (Archive P1A/8/1).

6.6.2 Social work

As observed in chapter 4, Murray is characterised as "extremely religious" person, apathetic to social work and involvement of it (Landman 1989:164; Saayman 1996:206). However, such assumptions should be re-considered. Murray taught people to serve society sincerely. He himself practiced it. His book *Master's Indwelling* underlines his

teaching on this matter:

“The other sign of an infant is this: He can do nothing to help his fellowman. Every man is expected to contribute something to the welfare of society. Everyone has a place to fill and a work to do. But the babe can do nothing for the common good. It is just so with Christians. How little some can do! They take part in work, as it is called, but they exercise little of the spiritual power or the carrying of real blessing” (Murray 1983:12).

Murray, in fact, attested that, because the church is not extremely religious, she can do nothing effectively for and in the welfare of the world. One more example is found in his book *The Full Blessing of Pentecost*:

“Christian brother, if you will have the blessing increased, begin to live as a man who is left here on earth only in order that the love of God may work by you. Love all around you with the love of God which is in you through the Spirit. Love the children of God cordially, even the weakest and most perverse. Exercise and exhibit your love in every possible way. Love the unsaved” (Murray n.d.(f):116).

Moreover he taught his children that to serve society is a way of serving Jesus. He wished that his children would work voluntarily for social welfare. In his letter forwarded to his daughter Kitty²⁶⁹ on 9 July 1877 when he was in Edinburgh for participation in Pan-Presbyterian Council, he says:

“Let me give you an account of my Sunday morning yesterday. I went at 8 o’clock to a large Hall, called Drill Hall, when the volunteers are exercised. There were gathered together some 600 poor ragged men, women and children to breakfast... They are almost all young people of 18 and 20 who do the work. Coming out on Saturday evening to meet the poor,- and

²⁶⁹ Kitty (Catherine Margaret) Murray was born on 12 August 1860 when Murray still in Bloemfontein. She was the third daughter and also the third child of Murray. She passed on 22 September 1928.

then serving them in the Hall. *May someone of my dear children learn to live and serve Jesus so*" (Archive P1A/2/3; emphasised by Lee).

In addition to these citations, the fact that the Huguenot Seminary was, in fact, established to train social workers, reveals clearly that Andrew was indeed involved in and concerned with social and contextual issues.

6.6.3 Missionary work

Murray's books *The Key to Missionary Problem* published 1901, and *Working for God* published the same year, and *Foreign Missions and The Week of Prayer* published in 1902, and the pamphlets *The Kingdom of God in South Africa* (1906) and *The Dearth of Conversion* (1898) are a few that focused on the subject of mission. Indeed, most of his books deliberately refer to the challenge of missionary work. It was as integrating as conversion in his theological approach. Again, it is founded upon spirituality in action.

Murray's book *Working for God* shows his advocacy of mission as follows:

"And what do we see now? After 1800 years two-thirds of the human races have scarce heard the name of Jesus. And of the other third, the larger half is still as ignorant as if they had never heard. Consider again what this means. All these dying millions, whether in Christendom or heathendom, have an interest in Christ and His salvation. They have a right to Him... Christ has a right to them. It would make His heart glad to have them come and be blessed in Him... The great majority of those who are counted believers are doing nothing towards making Christ known to their fellow-men. Of the remainder, the majority are doing so little and that little so ineffectually, by reason of the lack of wholehearted devotion... And so, with a finished salvation, and a loving Redeemer, and a Church set apart to carry life and blessing to men, the millions are still perishing" (Murray 1901(w):22-23).

In his book *The Key to the Missionary Problem*, he reminds the church of her identity and then deplores the state of the Church toward mission. He points to the tendency that the Lord's command is regarded as a kind of burden like the Law of Moses:

“Every believer redeemed to be a soul-winner... And there are tens of thousands more who have some thought of its being part of their calling, who yet have looked upon it as a command beyond their strength, and never known that, as a law and a power of their inmost nature, its fulfillment is meant to be as every function of a healthy body is, a joy and a strength, the path to the full development of their spiritual nature. Even the commandments of our Lord Jesus may be to us as great a burden as the law of Moses” (Murray 1901(k):139-140; emphasised by Murray).

Therefore, he urges that missionary work must be performed with voluntary devotion with joy, and not in sensing it as a duty (Murray 1901(w):111).

When the Synod of 1857 decided to initiate a foreign mission and constituted a Mission Committee, Murray was nominated as one of the Committee members. As we have already observed, he, as a Committee member, accompanied McKidd and Gonin who were dispatched outside the Colony as the first foreign missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church, in order to help them to establish the mission station and to take a chance to preach the Gospel to the neighbour tribes. He remained in the Committee until his official retirement in 1906.

In 1877, he opened the Missionary Training Institute in Wellington.²⁷⁰ This Institute was established to provide young people with suitable training for mission work.

²⁷⁰ According to G. B. A. Gerdener, 878 young men were produced and admitted as missionaries by this Institution during from 1881 to 1952 (Gerdener 1958:31).

Because funds for the Institute were far from sufficient, Murray and his colleagues engaged with this institute prayed fervently from its commencement. As an answer to those prayers, the Institute grew quickly, and George Ferguson was inducted as its first principal. In his diary entry of 10 June 1876, a prayer related this work remains:

“ I . Training school

Mr. Ferguson to be given if he is the right man. Pupils to be given for Him. **Mr Weich**, his wife and work: for God’s blessing on them and that when Mr. F [erguson] comes his position may be clear and comfortable. Holy Oak ladies for 3rd Dec [ember] in God’s good time. **Children** to be trained for missionaries – for teachers- for daily life” (Archive P1A/1d; emphasised by Murray).

All works that Murray undertook were always carried to God’s hand in prayer for all needs and for His glory. On 11 November 1886, the Ministers’ Mission Union was launched as an effect of Murray’s initiative. A total of £ 300 was promised annually when it began its work with forty members (Du Plessis 1919:375). This Union made a tremendous appeal for the mission work in the Dutch Reformed Church. Murray was the life long chairman of the Union. His children, that is, his second daughter, Mary²⁷¹, and his sons John²⁷² and Charles²⁷³ gave themselves as missionaries.

²⁷¹ Mary Ellen, Murray’s second daughter and second child, was born on 14 December 1858. She worked as a missionary from 1883 to 1905, and from 1920 to 1929. She passed on 19 August 1936 (*Murray-Stamregister* 1955:21).

²⁷² John Neethling, Murray’s third son and eighth child was born on 7 November 1868. He worked as a minister associated with mission and a military Chaplin. He passed in 1937 (*Murray-Stamregister* 1955:22).

²⁷³ Charles Hugo, Murray’s fifth son and last (11th) child, was born on 16 November 1873. He worked as a minister in Nyssaland, Montagu, Rhodes, Mochudi, Viljoenskroon. He passed on 23 July 1953 (*Murray-Stamregister* 1955:23).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have analysed Murray's spirituality as it is expressed in his books. His spirituality was basically a God-centred spirituality. He firmly believed and confessed God's sovereignty and human impotence. The only purpose of his life was to give glory to God. For this reason, he emphasised a holy Christian life. He also emphasised the life of prayer, because he thought that the ultimate purpose of prayer was the glory of God. For God's glory, he tried to convert those who were not yet converted. For God's glory, he wanted to hear and to obey His Word with simple faith. Because he loved the Lord, he could love the works that had to be done for His Church, and he could give unlimited gratitude to God for making him minister. His spirituality was also one of involvements of doing.

We have now arrived at the end of our study. What remains is a short conclusion.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to analyse the spirituality of Andrew Murray Junior (1828-1917) from a church historical perspective. In terms of this purpose, we aimed to trace the development of Murray's spirituality. In addition, the prominent influences on the development were to be disclosed. Further more, the research aimed to describe the characteristics of his spirituality in terms of style and language, documentation and argumentation in such a way that reflects a comprehensive theological and historical grip on the theology of Murray as the most well-known South African theologian in the world.

In order to achieve the purpose, we have analysed Murray's spirituality and its development diachronically and synchronically, and have assessed it theological-critically. Obviously, several socio-political and theological assumptions that Murray received needed to be re-considered by his spirituality, because his spirituality was to be a hermeneutical key for interpreting his thinking and way of act. His spirituality and its development as well as the issues that influenced (or impacted on) it had, therefore, to be disclosed by the primary sources rather than by several theological assumptions. These sources were presented themselves in his publications. A corpus of his spiritual and theological publications was translated into many languages (also Korean) worldwide, because they received a very large reading circle. Today, over 80 years after his death, the demand for his books, especially among evangelical churches and Christians, has not seized. This was a major motive for the author to undertake the study.

In the course of our analysis, we tried to locate (from primary sources) the main and subsequent influences that impacted on the formation and development of Murray's

spirituality. In order to outline the theological location of Murray's spirituality, secondary literatures were consulted. We went even further and argued a profile of what is regarded as spirituality in a Christian, Reformed and confessional way. This argumentation helped us in an orientation towards formulating appropriate questions for analysing the sources. Special care was, however, taken to let the sources speak, rather than to shift this profile unto them (the sources) in order to describe Murray's spirituality.

Following Murray's letters and diaries chronologically, the subsequent Chapters (2-5) were embodied in the description of the development of Murray's spirituality. What did the sources reveal?

Chapter 2 was the result of the investigation of the formative period of Murray's spirituality in various archival documents. This formative period was demarcated from his birth (1828) until the end of his stay in his uncle's home in Aberdeen, Scotland (1845). We concluded that Murray's spirituality during this period should be characterised as 'receptive.' That connotes that he did not any specific spiritual properties, but was open to receive what his father conveyed to him without any questioning thereof. Although influence was exerted by his uncle John Murray of Aberdeen and William Burns, they were peripheral. His father's spirituality was characterised as Evangelical-Reformed and Puritanical-confessional, in the Scottish Presbyterian sense of the word. Andrew Murray himself was still too young for self-reflection in a spiritual way. His self-reflection occurred when he was a theological student in Holland.

Chapter 3, therefore, was devoted to the time when he stayed in Holland, at the University of Utrecht, where he studied theology. Theology as a science confronted him with a challenging situation. Receiving a historical orientation and critical view on Christianity and reality, did not make it easy for him to retain the spirituality that was received from his father, and that was strengthened in his uncle's home and within the Scottish ecclesiastical context of revivals and the 'Disruption.' His receptiveness was challenged in the academic world and its demands to be scientifically objective.

The experience of a personal and radical conversion after a long spiritual struggle proved to be a turning point, as far as his spirituality is concerned. It provided him with a historical and spiritual point of orientation. His conversion created the awareness of the existential reality of Christ and the Holy Spirit of whom the Bible speaks. This experience formed the foundation on which his spirituality, now his own, rested. His activity in student societies kept him from spiritual devastation, and invigorated a passion for prayer and missionary work.

The experience of conversion also confirmed that his father's spiritual guidance did not rest on assumptions or mere tradition. It was true in the comprehensive sense of the Word. The basis of his belief and spirituality was confirmed through the experience. His conversion experience provided him with a platform from where his spirituality could develop further.

Chapter 4 observed Murray's ministry in Bloemfontein (1849-1860). This was, by far, a different context compared to Scotland and Holland. Confronted with the demands of

the practical ministry, his concerns were drastically changed. They (concerns) received a practical ecclesiological emphasis. His letters reflect a spirituality in which basic characteristics could now be identified. These were: a God-centeredness, a Bible-centeredness, a Church-centeredness and the tendency to effectuate his spirituality and beliefs in practical life.

Although these characteristics were not different from those (not so well developed) of the previous period in Utrecht, the emphasis in each characteristic was shifted. In his God-centeredness, the emphasis moved from seeking God's love or solace to seeking God's gracious leading. His reading of the Bible was now for practical reasons in view of his obligations in preaching, teaching and pastoral care. He read and meditated the Bible for the benefit of the congregation, while he had read it for his personal knowledge and piety in the previous period. In Utrecht, his spirituality was superficial and theoretical for the benefit of his personal piety. Now, it, however, became practical what also had to be reasonable in his field ministry. This development must be noted, because it indicates that Murray's spirituality could be systematised. Strikingly though, is the bitter awareness that his life and spirituality lacked powers and consistency in his ministry during this period. He frequently complained about this.

After 10 years of Bloemfontein ministry, Murray's spirituality took on a more defined form. It was basically based on what he received from his father, but he was contextually assimilating his spirituality in terms of his individual and spiritual experience. Although his practical ministry gave not a little influence to his spirituality, his conversion still occupied the centre position of it. However, after 1860, two further

experiences widened the horizon of his spirituality. This was discussed in Chapter 5.

His spiritual conviction and life were deeply affected by two outstanding religious experiences. These experiences – the revival of 1860 and those that followed it, and divine healing of his throat – opened his eyes to expect more and to see further, as far as his spirituality was concerned. He was contemplating personal experiences (to a greater extent) of a fuller and over-flowing Christian life. These experiences reinforced the spiritual influence that he received from his father. And they (the experiences) also confirmed the authenticity and genuineness of his conversion, and opened the doors to consider and embrace the power of faith, of prayer, of holiness in life, of the revival of the Church, and of divine healing.

Theologically, his focus also shifted increasingly towards the work of the Holy Spirit in the children of God. The work and power of the Holy Spirit is the point of contact between God and human, and this defined the foundation and power of his spirituality. The active work of the Holy Spirit in humanity was also the key concept for his Christology. Christ is understood and confessed from the perspective of the work of the Holy Spirit. The effect was the awareness of an enormous trust and belief in what he did and preached. The times of spiritual struggle and frustration were something of the past. ‘Absolute surrender’ and ‘entire resignation’ became household realities that changed his outlook.

The revival and divine healing experiences provided him with theological convictions and proofs that consolidated his spirituality and that formed the platform of his

publications that started now to come from the press. His books are expressions of his spirituality that conveyed an attractiveness with which readers gladly associated.

The last Chapter of our research focused more on Murray's publications. We are of opinion that Murray's books are based on and expression of his spirituality that was shaped, developed and consolidated by some factors: his father's influence, his spiritual struggles and agony, the experiences of conversion, revival and divine healing. Murray's spirituality was consolidated as matured one, before he got acquainted with the Holiness Movement and William Law. Both of these were conditionally accommodated by Murray, and cannot serve as hermeneutical keys to apprehend his theology.

Arguing from the point of view that Murray's theology was based on his spirituality, Chapter 6 defined the characteristics of this spirituality. In this regard, Murray disclosed a devout awareness of the sovereignty of God. His spirituality was a spirituality that related to the authority of Scripture as the inspired Word of God. The critical question was whether this Word always remained free as the Word of Christ? There was a tendency that Murray sometimes listened more to the voice of his inner spirituality, than the voice of good shepherd. Living a holy life, living a life of prayer and living a life of converting people were identified as the rest of the characteristics of his spirituality.

Murray's spirituality was the one that developed contextually and became consolidated. Ecclesiologically (that is theologically and church historically), his spirituality fits into the framework of 19th century Evangelicalism. Murray, however, never reflected critically on his spirituality. His spirituality also lacked the deep sense and significance

of a church historical orientation. It was a spirituality that tended to immediately be embodied at the very moment of situation. Therefore, it, in a positive sense, was able to be called as a spirituality of doing. It brought him to a sincere involvement in matters of society.

In conclusion, Andrew Murray Junior (1828-1917) was a man who had a true Christian spirituality, a spirituality that was formed by that of his father Andrew Murray Senior (1794-1866). A comparison between the two at next page (Table 4), confirms this finding.

Table 4 Comparison Murray’s spirituality with his father Murray Sr.

Classification	Andrew Murray Senior (1794-1866)	Andrew Murray Junior (1828-1917)
God Centeredness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Sovereignty of God * Priority of God’s glory * Priority of the knowledge of Jesus Christ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Sovereignty of God * Priority of God’s glory * <i>Crucicentrism</i> * Indwelling Holy Spirit * Human impotence
Bible centeredness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Bible as the Word of God * Coherence of the Bible to the Holy spirit * Bible as the criterion of life * Literal interpretation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Bible as the Word of God * Bible as the criterion of life * Simple faith towards the Bible * Literal interpretation
Church centeredness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Much concern on church affairs * Gratitude for God’s calling into His ministry * Anti-Liberal attitude 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Active participation in church affairs * Gratitude for God’s calling into His ministry * Anti-Liberal attitude
<i>Activism</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Emphasis on mission work * Emphasis on social work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Educational work * Mission work * Social work
<i>Conversionism</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Emphasis on conversion experience * Ardent for other’s conversion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Conversion experience * Ardent for other’s conversion
Emphasis on holy life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Holiness in Christian life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Holiness in Christian life
Emphasis on prayer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Throne of Grace 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Intercessory prayer * Morning prayer
Emphasis on revival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Regular prayer for revival: outpouring of the Holy Spirit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Revival experience * Working for revival * Doctrine of the Holy Spirit
Divine healing		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Doctrine of divine healing

In the final analysis, the following Table 5 summarises our findings.

Table 5. The development and characteristics of Murray’s spirituality

Stage		Contemporary Spirituality	Change
Formative (1828-1845)	Chapter 2	* Obey Murray Sr.’s instruction without question * Lack of spiritual conflict	* Receptive spirituality
Developing I (1845-1848)	Chapter 3	* Spiritual conflict * Conversion experience (1845) * Finding God’s love, solace * Human impotence * Struggle with self-pride and lack of prayer	* Theoretical spirituality
Developing II (1849-1860)	Chapter 4	* Spiritual conflict * God’s gracious guidance * Struggle with doubt in faith and lack of power in ministry	* Practical but lack of conviction and power
Matured Period Chapter 5 (1860-1917)	Revival (1860)	* Conviction in faith * Understanding the benefit of entire surrender of humanity * Emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit	* Practical with conviction in faith and power in ministry
	Divine Healing (1882)	* Change the view on sickness * Having more simplicity in faith and in prayer * More emphasis on entire surrender of humanity	
Murray’s spirituality	Chapter 6	* Emphasis on God’s sovereignty * Acceptance the Bible as the inspired Word of God * Emphasis on a Christian holy life * Emphasis on prayer * Emphasis on conversion of people * Doing spirituality	

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Archive P1A/1c : Andrew Murray Junior's diary during from Sept. 1864 to July 1868.
Archive P1A/1d : Andrew Murray Junior's diary during from May 1876 to Sept. 1884.
Archive P1A/2/1a : Letters between Murray and his parents
Archive P1A/2/2 : Letters between Murray and his bothers and sisters
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