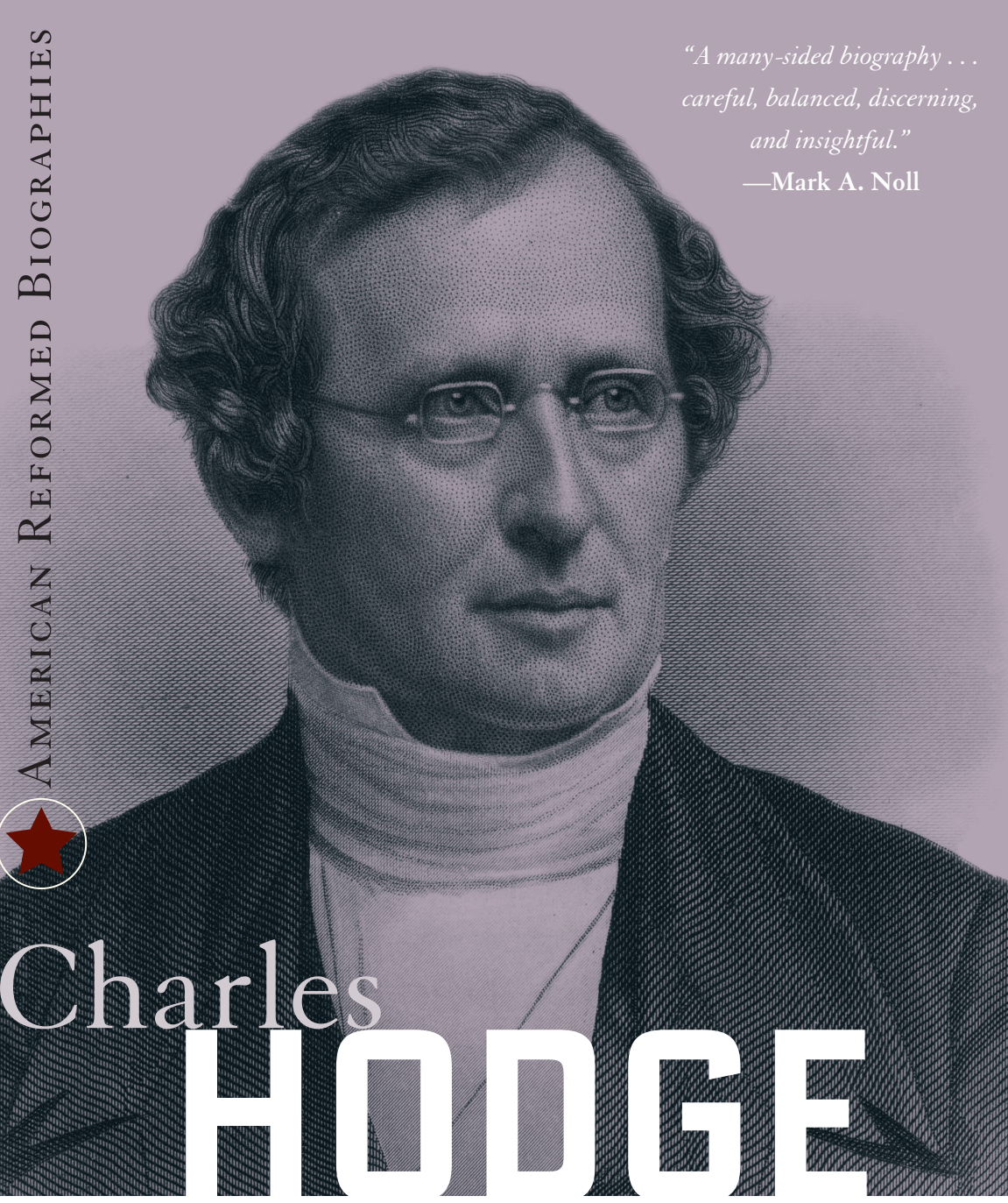
American Reformed Biographies



"A many-sided biography . . . careful, balanced, discerning, and insightful."
—Mark A. Noll

Charles HODGE

The Pride of Princeton

W. Andrew Hoffecker

Foreword by Mark A. Noll

A many-sided theologian demands a many-sided biography, which is exactly what Andrew Hoffecker has provided in this careful, balanced, discerning, and insightful book. Although the volume offers an unusually full treatment of the unusually full life of Charles Hodge, who is universally recognized as one of the leading American theologians of the nineteenth century, Hoffecker also has an argument to make. The argument is that in his long career as the mainstay of Princeton Theological Seminary, Hodge successfully combined a strong commitment to confessional Reformed theology and a winsome practice of humble evangelical piety. . . . Hoffecker's life of Hodge demonstrates conclusively that any fair reading of Hodge must recognize at least three things: a full and well-rounded life of steadfast Christian devotion, a more-than-capable advocacy of classical Calvinist doctrines such as universal original sin and the substitutionary atonement, and a set of intellectual instincts commonplace among Americans in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century.

—**Mark A. Noll**, Francis A. McAnaney Professor of History, University of Notre Dame, and author of *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*

Charles Hodge has for too long been victimized by stereotypes. In this fine biography, Andy Hoffecker sets the record straight. Here we meet Hodge the careful Reformed thinker who nurtured a deep piety. This book gives us a winsome portrait of a theologian who still deserves to be taken with utmost seriousness.

—**Richard Mouw**, President, Fuller Theological Seminary

Andrew Hoffecker's biography of Charles Hodge is a wonderfully entertaining and informative read. Hodge is one of the historic giants of Presbyterianism, combining the virtues of scholarship, churchmanship, and a delightful personality. For those who may have read some of his writings but know little of the man and the professional triumphs and personal tragedies he faced, this book will be a great introduction. To those already familiar with Hodge's life, this book will be welcomed as a twice-told tale that will reinvigorate their interest in the man and his work, and set before them an example to be emulated. Andrew Hoffecker has perhaps done as much as anyone to make Old Princeton attractive to a new generation, and this new work is surely a worthy capstone to his career.

—**Carl R. Trueman**, Professor of Historical Theology and Church History, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia

Years ago I read Andrew Hoffecker's *Piety and the Princeton Theologians*, a very moving account of the vital spirituality among the founders of Princeton Theological Seminary. That point needs to be renewed in our own day, when some writers are suggesting that it is un-Reformed to find anything good in revival or

in pietism. Who better to meet that need than Hoffecker himself, who has now returned with a full-scale biography of Charles Hodge, the great systematic theologian of Princeton. Hoffecker teaches us that Hodge's theology is rooted in the confessional traditions of the Reformed faith, but also in the New Side Presbyterianism that emerged from the revival of the Great Awakening. We learn, too, that Hodge also valued friendships with German scholars of pietistic background and spirit. So Hodge developed a form of Presbyterianism known for its balance, a balance sorely needed in our own day. Although church history is not my normal field of specialization, I could not put Hoffecker's book down. It clearly and vividly presents Hodge's theology and his story. I thoroughly enjoyed my trip to the nineteenth century, with this book as my guide. I pray that God will give it a broad readership and use it to promote balanced Reformed theology in our day.

—**John Frame**, Professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophy, Reformed Theological Seminary, Orlando

In 1981 Andrew Hoffecker published his *Piety and the Princeton Theologians*, creating renewed interest in Old Princeton Seminary and, surprisingly, focusing that interest more on Princeton's piety than on its theology. Now in his biography of the central figure of Princeton's great triumvirate—Alexander, Hodge, and Warfield—Hoffecker has done it again. In his *Charles Hodge: The Pride of Princeton*, he has given us a long-needed biography of Hodge that is properly sympathetic—and critical—with careful attention to the life and thought of this many-sided man. This book provides great reading for Princeton Seminary's bicentennial in 2012.

—**David Calhoun**, Professor Emeritus of Church History, Covenant Theological Seminary

Professor Hoffecker stresses the fundamental significance of Charles Hodge's lifelong adherence to his pietist-confessional upbringing—a determination reinforced by his formative time in Europe as a young man. Treating Hodge's life thematically, as the author does, draws out the many-sidedness of his career as Christian believer, educator, theologian, churchman, evangelical statesman, and controversialist. Those who may associate Hodge only with his *Systematic Theology* (great work though that is) are in for a surprise! Written clearly and accessibly, and thoughtfully and reflectively, and full of interesting detail, this biographical study adds momentum to the flow of recent serious writing on Princeton theology and its theologians.

—**Paul Helm**, Teaching Fellow, Theology and Philosophy, Regent College, Vancouver

There has been a happy little renaissance of attention to Charles Hodge of late (e.g., *Charles Hodge Revisited* and *Charles Hodge: Guardian of American Orthodoxy*)

as we mark the 200th anniversary of the founding of Princeton Seminary, and now Andy Hoffecker has made an essential entry in the current discussion with *Charles Hodge: The Pride of Princeton*. Hoffecker is uniquely qualified and widely respected as a scholar of Hodge and the Princetonians. His presentation of Hodge as combining in his life and ministry both the warmhearted piety of the New Side and the sturdy confessionalism of the Old School is not only historically accurate but deeply relevant to the needs of our own time. But Hoffecker also captures Hodge's fairness to the Old Side, the development of his own views, his instincts as a churchman, his participation in polemics, his engagement with the broader church, and dozens of other aspects necessary to a real appreciation and assessment of Hodge as a theologian and doctor of the church. This is now the first book to read for an introduction to Charles Hodge.

—**Ligon Duncan**, Senior Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Jackson, Mississippi

Andrew Hoffecker's biography of Charles Hodge is a beautifully written, compelling analysis of the theologian whose name is synonymous with Princeton theology. Incisive, appreciatively critical, and refreshingly judicious, Hoffecker's Hodge is neither a rigid rationalist nor an unbridled religious enthusiast but a "man of the center" who combined both the head and the heart—both Presbyterian confessionalism and evangelical pietism—in the ideal of the Princeton tradition. Hoffecker's study, which clarifies the role that Hodge played in the development of American Presbyterian identity and uncovers the relevance of his European sojourn both to his understanding of theological education and to his infamous claim that no new idea ever originated at Old Princeton Seminary, is a masterly examination of the life and ministry of the theological giant who, to the dismay of some and the delight of others, continues to exert a formative influence on the life of the evangelical mind.

—**Paul Kjoss Helseth**, Associate Professor of Christian Thought, Northwestern College, and author of *"Right Reason" and the Princeton Mind: An Unorthodox Proposal*

This is a first-rate work by a seasoned historian of American religion. Hoffecker's treatment of the towering figure of nineteenth-century American Presbyterianism is both sympathetic and constructively critical. Hoffecker helps us grasp why Hodge had such enduring influence beyond his life. One cannot understand the nineteenth century without taking Hodge seriously, nor can one understand the Reformed tradition in America without seeing Hodge as its foremost advocate. Hoffecker has reminded us throughout of both these realities. This is a masterly biography, lacking any traces of hagiography while warmly appreciating the larger theological project that motivated Hodge. Hoffecker's Hodge is a mediating figure in an age of increasing polarities.

—**Richard Lints**, Andrew Mutch Distinguished Professor of Theology, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

Charles Hodges' magisterial *Systematic Theology* has rightfully earned its place on bookshelves for the last two centuries. Thanks to the skillful work of Professor Andrew Hoffecker, now you can get to know the man behind this work. In *Charles Hodge: The Pride of Princeton*, you'll find Hodge waxing anxious over his Greek as a college student, and you'll see him standing valiantly for truth in times of conflict. Ultimately, you'll see a theologian in the service of the church. Professor Hoffecker has already set the record straight on the Princetonian constellation; now he helps us fully appreciate the legacy of its North Star.

—**Stephen J. Nichols**, Research Professor of Christianity and Culture, Lancaster Bible College

While several prominent evangelists led by Charles Finney and a handful of princes of the pulpit, most notably Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks, had a tremendous influence on the nineteenth-century American religious scene, arguably the impact of Princeton Seminary professor Charles Hodge surpassed them all. In his masterly biography of Hodge, Andrew Hoffecker describes the theologian's many contributions: his educating of 2,500 Presbyterian ministers, editing one of the nation's religious journals for more than half a century, writing a three-volume systematic theology, engaging in debates over the direction of the Presbyterian church and Darwinism, and serving as the leading voice of Reformed theology. Hoffecker clearly shows how Hodge combined a powerful intellectual defense of Reformed orthodoxy with evangelical piety. He carefully situates Hodge in the changing religious and theological world of nineteenth-century America and Europe. Hoffecker makes Hodge come alive as a person, controversialist, apologist, and professor. Hodge led Princeton Seminary in training pastors to be rigorous scholars, careful exegetes, solid preachers and teachers, and spiritual guides.

—**Gary S. Smith**, Chairman, Department of History, Grove City College

In his carefully researched and beautifully written study, Andy Hoffecker has opened for specialists and nonspecialists alike the fascinating nineteenth-century world of Charles Hodge—one of the true intellectual giants of America. With seasoned judgment, Hoffecker examines Hodge's many contributions as educator, churchman, and scholar throughout his long and distinguished career on the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary. *Charles Hodge: The Pride of Princeton* is a feast for the mind and a joy to read.

—**Garth M. Rosell**, Professor of Church History, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

Charles

HODGE

American Reformed Biographies

D. G. Hart and Sean Michael Lucas
Series Editors

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Charles Hodge: The Pride of Princeton

Charles HODGE

The Pride of Princeton

W. Andrew Hoffecker

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For Pam
Fellow writer
Mother of our three sons, Drew, Scott, and Timothy
Soulmate
Wife of 48 years

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Foreword

MARK A. NOLL

Francis A. McAnaney Professor of History, University of Notre Dame; author: America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln *(2002)*

A many-sided theologian demands a many-sided biography, which is exactly what Andrew Hoffecker has provided in this careful, balanced, discerning, and insightful book. Although the volume offers an unusually full treatment of the unusually full life of Charles Hodge, who is universally recognized as one of the leading American theologians of the nineteenth century, Hoffecker also has an argument to make. The argument is that in his long career as the mainstay of Princeton Theological Seminary, Hodge successfully combined a strong commitment to confessional Reformed theology and a winsome practice of humble evangelical piety. Well-read scholars will thus recognize a theme that the author developed in his fine study from 1981, *Piety and the Princeton Theologians: Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge, and Benjamin Warfield*. The

general point he made there is reaffirmed with much greater detail here for the greatest of the theologians from nineteenth-century Princeton.

Regarding Hoffecker's argument, which was developed so helpfully in the earlier book and now appears even more persuasively in this biography, it is only proper that I declare an "interest." Through study that now stretches back over four decades, I have been a much-interested reader of works by and about Charles Hodge. I am grateful that Andrew Hoffecker has seen fit to make use here of some of the things I have published on the Princeton theologian. Hoffecker's first book was critically important for me, since I fear I was once among those who tended to interpret Hodge as primarily a rational theologian in thrall to a mechanical, pseudo-scientific theological method. *Piety and the Princeton Theologians* showed that, given the enduring commitment of the main Princeton theologians to practical evangelical piety, such a view was impossible. Now Hoffecker's life of Hodge demonstrates much more conclusively that any fair reading of Hodge must recognize at least three things: a full and well-rounded life of steadfast Christian devotion, a more-than-capable advocacy of classical Calvinist doctrines such as universal original sin and the substitutionary atonement, and a set of intellectual instincts commonplace among Americans in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century.

In my judgment, Hoffecker is absolutely convincing that Hodge cannot be fairly assessed without giving full attention to each of these three. The only remaining question that I would still like to discuss with Professor Hoffecker is how well Hodge's life ministry integrated these three commitments into a cohesive whole. On this one point, I am not as convinced as Hoffecker seems to be that Hodge's piety, theology, and method functioned smoothly together. But since I have been so well instructed by *Piety and the Princeton Theologians* and now by *Charles Hodge: The Pride of Princeton*, I am more than open to further instruction from all those, like Andrew Hoffecker, who have done the rigorous homework that qualifies their opinions as essential for ongoing discussion.

Readers should not be misled by the preceding paragraphs into thinking that this biography wanders off into exotic or recondite theological thickets. Rather, Hoffecker offers his assessment of Hodge's

work unobtrusively in the course of a lively narrative about a long and eventful life. Especially effective are Hoffecker's use of manuscript material for Hodge's early life and his two-year European sojourn in the 1820s, and his assiduous perusal of the scores of articles that Hodge wrote for his seminary's influential quarterly, the *Princeton Review*. The result is a compelling account of contact with a host of notables in the broader theological world, including Nathaniel W. Taylor and Moses Stuart from New England; Hodge's long-time friend but also nemesis John W. Nevin; European mentors and friends, especially E. W. Hengstenberg and F. G. A. Tholuck; and, preeminently, Hodge's colleagues at Princeton Seminary and the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), who were in a real sense his family.

While keeping his focus on Hodge, Hoffecker also manages to communicate a very great deal about the theological debates and institutional developments of an entire era. Because Hodge, especially in his editorial labors for the *Princeton Review*, was so deeply engaged with such a wide array of contemporary affairs, readers of the biography will learn a great deal about Calvinism versus Arminianism, revivalism, church boards, Roman Catholicism, the nature of baptism, the book of Romans, the nature of language, slavery, the American Civil War, nineteenth-century scientific developments, and much more. As befits a volume published by P&R Publishing, there is also much illuminating material on the main Presbyterian schism of the mid 1830s and the reunion of northern Presbyterian churches in the late 1860s. Above all, at the center of the book, as also of Hodge's career, is his dedication to theological education, which extended for more than half a century, during which time he personally instructed more candidates for the Christian ministry than any other teacher of his era.

One of Hodge's activities that I was particularly pleased to see fully treated in these pages was the regular meditations he offered for seminary students on Sunday afternoons. Ever since reading some of the outlines that Hodge prepared for these "conferences," a few of which were published after his death, I have thought that they represented the best examples of Hodge's biblical, theological, and devotional commitments functioning in harmony with each other. As readers discover for themselves how these "conference" meditations

tied Hodge's far-ranging concerns together, and why Andrew Hoffecker justly gives them a prominent place, they, too, will come to a much greater appreciation of a theologian who has been more often caricatured (as heroic paragon or negative exemplar) than understood. Only the right kind of understanding lies in store for those who pick up this book and read it.

It remains to comment on a curiosity. In 1880 Charles Hodge's son, Archibald Alexander Hodge, published a substantial biography of his father, shortly after the latter's death. Subsequently, there have appeared a great number of articles, dissertations, anthologies, and essays on various aspects of Charles Hodge's theology. But no full-scale biographies appeared until this year, 2011. And now there are two of them. In early 2011, Oxford University Press brought out Paul Gutjahr's *Charles Hodge: Guardian of American Orthodoxy*. Like Hoffecker, Gutjahr, who is a professor of English at Indiana University, did the requisite digging in Hodge papers and comprehensive reading in the vast Hodge corpus. Also like Hoffecker, Gutjahr is sympathetic to the main concerns of Hodge's life. The main difference in the two books is that Hoffecker aims his story at those who already have heard about Hodge and who may already be interested to some degree in the Reformed and Presbyterian themes of his life, while Gutjahr is writing more for the general student of American history who may know nothing at all about Hodge. The result is two fine studies, complementary to each other, rather than competitive. In fact, as someone who has been privileged to read both volumes, I can wholeheartedly recommend them both as together providing, really for the very first time, the kind of full-scale attention that Charles Hodge has long deserved but, as a faithful Calvinist himself, never sought.

Series Preface

"All history is biography," Ralph Waldo Emerson once remarked. Emerson's aphorism still contains a good deal of truth. History is the memory and record of past human lives, thus making biography the most basic form of historical knowledge. To understand any event, period, or text from the past, some acquaintance with specific persons is crucial.

The popularity of biography among contemporary book buyers in America supports this insight. Recent biographies of John Adams and Ben Franklin have encouraged many—who fear for America's historical amnesia—to believe that a keen and formidable interest in history still exists among the nation's reading public. To be sure, the source of this interest could be the stature and influence of the subjects themselves—the founding fathers of the United States. Still, the accessibility of biography—its concrete subject matter, intimate scope, and obvious relevance—suggests that the reason for the recent success of these biographies is in the genre of writing itself.

American Reformed Biographies, coedited by D. G. Hart and Sean Michael Lucas, seeks to nurture this general interest in biography as a way of learning about and from the past. The titles in this series feature American Reformed leaders who were important representatives or interpreters of Reformed Christianity in the United States and who continue to be influential through writings and arguments still pertinent

to the self-understanding of Presbyterian and Reformed theologians, pastors, and church members. The aim is to provide learned treatments of men and women that will be accessible to readers from a wide variety of backgrounds—biography that is both sufficiently scholarly to be of service to academics and those with proficiency in American church history and adequately accessible to engage the nonspecialist. Consequently, these books are more introductory than definitive, with the aim of giving an overview of a figure's thought and contribution, along with suggestions for further study.

The editors have sought authors who are sympathetic to Reformed Christianity and to their subjects, who regard biography not merely as a celebration of past accomplishments but also as a chance to ask difficult questions of both the past and the present in order to gain greater insight into Christian faith and practice. Thus, American Reformed Biographies is designed to make available the best kind of historical writing—one that yields both knowledge and wisdom.

Acknowledgments

My acquaintance with Charles Hodge and Old Princeton began in my sophomore year of college, when I was the lone student in an advanced Greek class that met three times a week—inappropriately, I might add, immediately after lunch. My professor and I labored through the Greek text of Paul's book of Romans. I found myself frequently drawn, among other sources, to Hodge's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. Between 1962 and today, many people have encouraged and assisted me, as a student and then professor, contributing to the successful completion of this study of the prominent Princetonian.

Key to the culmination of this project and paradoxically my greatest encourager and critic is my wife of forty-eight years, Pam. Although her writing career ended years ago, throughout this project she has guarded my time and fought the temptation to be like Job's impatient wife. When the light at the end of the tunnel came into view, she read the manuscript and offered words that impelled me to finish strongly.

Scholarship on Hodge would be impossible without the assistance and cooperation of the Speer Library at Princeton Theological Seminary and the Firestone Library at Princeton University. Steve Crocco and his staff at the seminary and Ben Primer and his staff of the Rare Books and Special Collections Department at the university made letters and papers available from numberless boxes and folders courteously and in a timely manner.

My family has been kind enough to approach me about the book project gingerly. In phone conversations and in face-to-face contexts, immediate and extended family would query about my progress. When writing went well, they were rewarded with: "Looks good; thanks for asking." In down times, they heard: "Don't ask and I won't tell." The family breathed a collective sigh of relief when I relayed to them on New Year's Day, "It's submitted!" No one had to ask what "it" was.

Faculty, staff, and students at Reformed Theological Seminary remained optimistic that *Charles Hodge* would see the light of day. I am especially grateful that the seminary offered help in the form of TAs. At various stages they wandered the stacks of the library, retrieved journal articles, combed through the seemingly endless issues of the *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, and wrote succinct reports on their labors. Andy Jones, Brent Evans, Warren Bennett, and Jeff Spanogle aided the birth of this book by their research.

D. G. Hart, Sean Lucas, and John Muether were kind enough to read the manuscript at the worst time of the year—late December 2010—and made suggestions that strengthened the final product. John Muether did double duty by also preparing the index, as he has done for other books in the American Reformed Biographies series. By a happy coincidence, John also has an ancestral connection to Charles Hodge as a first cousin six-times removed. For all of these reasons, I offered to concede a couple of points the next time we meet on the tennis courts.

In the patience department, P&R Publishing personnel have gone above and beyond to hasten the manuscript to press. Marvin Padgett and Barb Lerch, in Phillipsburg, New Jersey, and John Hughes, in Whitefish, Montana, have been indispensable. Karen Magnuson performed the often thankless but nevertheless essential task of copyediting with consummate skill. She has reduced in number whatever may remain the shortcomings of this work.

Introduction

The year 2012 marks the bicentennial of the founding of Princeton Theological Seminary. Propitious events such as beginnings of major institutions like Princeton occasion thoughtful looks backward at their origins and prominent individuals associated with their early years. Ironically, in 1997 scholars celebrated another bicentennial—that of the birth of Princeton's most famous figure in the nineteenth century, Charles Hodge. The results of that three-day conference were published in the highly acclaimed *Charles Hodge Revisited: An Appraisal of His Life and Work*. Since until recently the only biography of Hodge was the one written by his son A. A. Hodge, *The Life of Charles Hodge* published in 1880, scholars have lamented the absence of critical studies of Hodge and his writings. This volume attempts in a small way to fill that vacancy. Although Hodge was not a founding professor of Princeton, he joined the school in its very infancy. Hodge's contributions to nineteenth-century Presbyterianism and his writings are of such magnitude in both quantity and importance that a volume of this size could not hope to be comprehensive in scope. Therefore, it focuses on his contributions as educator, churchman, and scholar.

These three dimensions were no small matter. Unlike the twentieth century, when theological scholarship and ecclesiastical activity became sharply bifurcated, in the early nineteenth century denominational

participation and scholarship more frequently than not were closely allied. To borrow from Bruce Kuklick, it was an era of churchmen and philosophers. Hodge occupied a prominent position in those ranks. Since the seminary had originated so close to his involvement, and Hodge was one of its earliest graduates, he became an ardent supporter of both its Reformed perspective and its specific goals in educating ministers in the Presbyterian church. He labored as strenuously to maintain the seminary's model of theological education as he did to continue the Reformed tradition that it had been founded to propagate. For him, the two went hand in hand. From his earliest days until he died in 1878, Hodge manifested a piety and belief that reflected a unique combination of Presbyterian New Side piety and confessional belief.

Many contemporary scholars remember Hodge chiefly for his hefty *Systematic Theology* and therefore recollect his stout defense of Calvinism as framed in a scholastic mold. Such analyses so steadfastly fastened on what are considered by modern standards antiquated methods and conclusions that Hodge lay buried under a barrage of negativism. At the other end of the spectrum, conservatives so revere his Calvinist orthodoxy that it prevents any genuine criticism. Undoubtedly Hodge greatly respected every previous era's attempts to trumpet the achievements of Reformed theology. As *Charles Hodge Revisited* illustrates, a nuanced analysis of his life and work has emerged. Adding to the difficulty of assessing Hodge's ample body of work, however, recent thinkers who might otherwise be expected to be sympathetic to Hodge have—in the name of postconservativism—mounted strong criticism of his theological method. In the midst of this complexity, the present work attempts an appreciatively critical study that takes into account details of his entire life, his vast correspondence with family and associates, and the breadth of his contributions to American religious life in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Our study unfolds in six parts. Part 1 examines Hodge's roots. His familial and churchly affiliations, conversion, college and seminary education, early attempts at ministry, and initial years as seminary professor molded Charles Hodge as a person and formed the prominent features of his thinking that he apparently never seriously doubted.

While despite his objections to the contrary he changed his mind on theological and historical matters, his patterns of thought and habits of life remained remarkably constant.

In part 2, Hodge's extended study abroad is rehearsed in rather great detail. Previous reflections on his two-year hiatus have relatively downplayed this experience because it occurred so early in life that it seemed to bear no real significance when viewed against the broader context of his mature years. I argue, however, that his European experience did in fact "broaden" him as he formed relationships with Germany's evangelical and mediating theologians. But more importantly than expanding his intellectual horizons, it afforded him firsthand experience with a new model of theological education that stood in stark contrast to that of Princeton Seminary. Hodge would return to America not only with a confidence he had previously lacked but also with a renewed vigor for maintaining what had led to Princeton's founding. He brought back a vision for the strongest academic preparation possible characteristic of German scholarship without its professional and philosophical trappings.

Hodge's advocacy of Old School Presbyterianism forms the heart of part 3. His emergence both in denominational discussions and in the field of religious journalism constitutes the primary thrust of these chapters. Numerous issues disrupted the unity of the Presbyterian denomination in the early nineteenth century. Old Schoolers and New Schoolers differed—sometimes radically—on topics ranging from union with Congregationalists to biblical and theological interpretation, voluntary societies, abolitionism, and revivalism. Hodge used both his pen and his penchant for debate at General Assemblies to forge distinctive Princeton positions as a moderate Old Schooler distinct from the two larger factions within the denomination.

While bearing affinities with part 3, the fourth division of this study examines Hodge as Old School controversialist and churchman. Rather than his opposition to narrow issues that divided Old School from New School views, I focus on his interaction involving issues that distinguished his unique Reformed perspective from others with whom he usually agreed. I consider his views on religious experience, evangelicalism, education both parochial and public as well as his

surprising support of Roman Catholic baptism, and conflicts with the Mercersburg school of theology and Southern Old Schoolers. Again, Hodge utilized both his journal and the General Assembly floor to express his views.

The shortest section of this work, part 5, "Interaction with Europe," harks back to Hodge's interest in intellectual currents emerging from the Continent. Deeply appreciative of his Protestant heritage emanating from the old country, Hodge continued his alertness to contemporary European biblical and theological scholarship. He vented frustration that rather than Europe's scholars' returning to previously held orthodox views, new movements emerged or old views continued unabated in an unorthodox direction. Hodge viewed Anglicanism's Oxford movement and German transcendentalism as potential threats—and, in the case of transcendentalism, an already realized menace to American religion. In this context, chapter 31 also explores Hodge's poignant response to a longtime friend dating back to Hodge's 1826–28 sojourn in Germany.

The final section, part 6, narrates Hodge's contributions in the last decades of his life. He weighed in with great gusto on the reunion of Northern Old School and New School factions and struggled to keep his emotions under control over the tragedy of the Civil War and its aftermath. He also displayed his heartfelt relation with evangelicals outside the Reformed tradition, as he had when writing his earlier popular theology, *The Way of Life*. Our final topics are Hodge's fascination yet growing concern with modern science and the celebration of his jubilee—fifty years of seminary teaching.

Hodge emerges from this study a vigorous voice for nineteenth-century Reformed thinking. He was a child of his times and thus powerfully influenced by the various contexts in which he was educated. Hodge and his colleagues manifested a coherence in thought and activity that distinguished Princeton as an Old School institution. Though Hodge did not originate that tradition, his contributions were without parallel in the various venues in which he participated.

Abbreviations

BAB	David H. Kelsey, *Between Athens and Berlin: The Theological Education Debate* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993)
BH	*A Brief History of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, at Princeton, New Jersey: Together with Its Constitution, Bye-Laws, &c.* (Princeton, NJ: John Bogart, 1838)
BS	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
CHP	Charles Hodge Papers, 1773–1930, collection no. C0261, Firestone Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University
CHPC	Charles Hodge, *The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1851)
CHR	John W. Stewart and James H. Moorehead, eds., *Charles Hodge Revisited: A Critical Appraisal of His Life and Work* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002)
Dissertation	*A Dissertation on the Importance of Biblical Literature, by Charles Hodge, A.M. Teacher of the Original Languages of Scripture, in the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church at Princeton* (Trenton, NJ: George Sherman, 1822)

"Journal"	"Charles Hodge: Journal of European Travels," Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary
JPH	*Journal of Presbyterian History*
LCH	Archibald Alexander Hodge, *The Life of Charles Hodge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1880)
LSAP	D. G. Hart, *The Lost Soul of American Protestantism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002)
MTC	John W. Stewart, *Mediating the Center: Charles Hodge on American Science, Language, Literature, and Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1995)
PAI	Glenn T. Miller, *Piety and Intellect: The Aims and Purposes of Ante-Bellum Theological Education* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990)
PR	*Princeton Review* (also encompasses former names of this publication: *Biblical Repertory*, *Biblical Repertory and Theological Review*, and *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*)
PS	David B. Calhoun, *Princeton Seminary*, 2 vols. (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1994, 1996)
"Retrospect"	Charles Hodge, "Retrospect of the History of the Princeton Review," *PR*, Index vol. (1871)
RRPM	Paul Kjoss Helseth, *"Right Reason" and the Princeton Mind: An Unorthodox Proposal* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2010)
RWLRA	Immanuel Kant, *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (New York: Harper, 1960)
SABC	D. G. Hart and John R. Muether, *Seeking a Better Country: 300 Years of American Presbyterianism* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2007)
ST	Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1872–73)
UCRC	Paul K. Conkin, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995)

WID	Charles Hodge, *What Is Darwinism? And Other Writings on Science and Religion*, ed. Mark A. Noll and David N. Livingstone (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994)
WOL	Charles Hodge, *The Way of Life* (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1841)
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*

PART 1

Roots

The Presbyterian church in the nineteenth century exercised an influence on American life out of proportion to its numerical strength. While other denominations transplanted from Europe maintained their connection with a mother church in Europe, Presbyterians began and eventually prospered without support from their predecessors in the old country. Lack of a bond with Presbyterians in Scotland did not prevent them from leaving a significant imprint on American ecclesiastical life and the larger culture as well. In fact, at the conclusion of the century, historian Robert Ellis Thompson attributed the measure of success the denomination enjoyed to "services it has rendered to theological science, the interest it has maintained in Christian doctrine, the high standard of intelligence it has set up for both its ministry and its people, its capacity to develop strength of character, its superior family discipline, and its conservative influence upon the national life."[1] Thompson's description of the Presbyterian denomination could also be ascribed to Charles Hodge, arguably the church's most dominating figure in the first half of the century. Through the seminary where he taught, the journal he edited,

and the service he rendered in the courts of the Presbyterian church, Hodge also left a legacy out of proportion to what might be expected given his background. Left fatherless as a child and raised through the thriftiness and ingenuity of his mother, Hodge overcame hurdles that could have easily prevented his achieving the stature he had by the time of his death in 1878. In a clearly discernible trajectory, his family heritage, devout religious habits, education at Princeton College and Seminary, and early ministry provided a platform from which he later exercised enormous influence in American life. Firmly planted in twin emphases of early Presbyterianism—New Side piety and confessionalist traditions—Hodge imbibed and embraced practices and beliefs that would propel him to, by every measure, a remarkable ministry spanning more than fifty years.

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New Side Confessionalist

Charles Hodge was born, raised, and educated in the Presbyterian church, where he carried out an influential ministry for over half a century. He did so during the formative and arguably the most tumultuous period in American history. The nation was less than twenty-five years old when he was born on December 28, 1797. By the time of his death in 1878, his beloved country would have witnessed seismic shifts in its political, cultural, and social life. It would emerge from the larger Enlightenment era with its own distinctive intellectual traditions, solidify its national identity by the appearance of new political parties, experience rapid westward expansion and dramatic changes in demographic patterns, and eventually undergo the violent upheaval of a massive civil strife that almost severed the country in two.

No less a transformation would convulse his church. Formed in Philadelphia in 1706 by Francis Makemie and seven other pastors, American Presbyterianism was less than a hundred years old at Hodge's birth, yet had already suffered its first schism and reunion over revivalism and would experience intense debates over a wide range of biblical

and theological issues and two more debilitating divisions and one subsequent reunion before Hodge died.

No passive bystander in the midst of these events in decades of sweeping change, Hodge emerged not only as one of the most significant religious and educational figures of his era, but also as a prodigious intellectual voice commenting on issues and ideas across a wide cultural horizon. From religion in general to detailed biblical, theological, and denominational disputes, from fine points of American political and electoral debates to the latest developments in science, from the intricacies of Civil War strategy to discussions on the monumental issue of slavery, Hodge's probing, thoughtful analysis gained many followers. Hardly an issue in American public life escaped his notice. His meticulously crafted views became a significant theological force, shaping opinions throughout American culture.

While known primarily for his conservatism, his staunch advocacy of Old School Calvinism, and his remark that a new idea never originated at his seminary, Hodge also launched into uncharted waters. He bridged the gap between the First Great Awakening's revivalism, the engine that drove much of American religion from its inception, and the zenith of Old School confessionalism that dominated the Presbyterian denomination in the first half of the 1800s. He helped initiate the trend of American theologians' venturing to Europe to shore up deficiencies in their scholarship and to ensure that their schools graduated pastors fully apprised of the latest biblical and theological studies. His founding of Princeton's *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* helped to inaugurate the heyday of nineteenth-century religious journalism. Training more pastors than all other seminaries in his era combined, Hodge extended Presbyterianism's influence by fleshing out one of the most compelling, coherent worldviews of all his denominational peers. His explication of the core ideas and values of what became known as "The Princeton Theology" established a legacy within his denomination that lasted into the twentieth century.

Hodge traced his ancestral lineage in an autobiographical section of A. A. Hodge's biography of his father. Charles focused on his family's religious heritage, their economic prosperity, and their manifold contributions to American public life. The Hodges came from solid

Presbyterian stock that extended back to the early 1700s in northern Ireland. Following their parents' deaths, William, Andrew, and Hugh Hodge immigrated to America in 1730. They settled in Philadelphia, which boasted several churches, among them the Presbyterian church, which constructed its first building in 1704. The Hodge brothers not only prospered as Philadelphia merchants but established strong attachments to the Presbyterian denomination. Their involvement with the church intensified during the upheaval of the revival led by George Whitefield in 1743. Hannah Hodge, whom everyone knew as "a mother in Israel," wife of the youngest son, Hugh, was a child of a Huguenot refugee who had left France at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and along with other refugees helped to found First Presbyterian Church on Market Street in Philadelphia.[1]

In enumerating the backgrounds and occupations of his forebears, Hodge rehearsed their successful careers. While many were merchants, he listed physicians and surgeons, lawyers, a congressman, several United States senators, and a Supreme Court clerk. He took special notice of those who had served in the military, which included his father, Hugh. A graduate of the College of New Jersey in 1773, Hugh trained in medicine and served as a surgeon with the Pennsylvania troops in the Revolutionary War. British forces captured him and held him prisoner in November 1776, but he obtained release after several months through the efforts of George Washington. Hodge paid tribute to his father's courage in ministering to victims of the yellow-fever epidemics of 1793 and 1795. In describing his family background, Hodge commented, "These family details are of interest to those whom they concern." But he continued immediately with words that could easily summarize an emphasis that dominated his life: "I wish, however, that those who come after me should know that their ancestors and kindred were Presbyterians and patriots." Regardless of particular vocation, Hodge's family served both their church and their country.[2]

Besides historical details, Hodge also revealed the earliest religious influences in his family, which reflect the interplay between evangelical pietism of the First Great Awakening and traditional confessionalism as represented by the Old Side–New Side division that roiled Presbyterians and the New Light–Old Light separation among Congregationalists in

the eighteenth century.[3] The Hodge family became enmeshed in the dispute over revivalist piety and its role in religious experience. As a result of "religious excitement" that attended George Whitefield's preaching, Hodge noted that two parties formed the Presbyterian church: those who favored the revival (the New Side) and their opponents (the Old Side). Both groups affirmed the doctrines of the Westminster Confession, but they differed so sharply over the role of religious experience or piety that the denomination split in 1741. The New Siders stressed evangelical conversion resulting in a life of pious living as essential to identifying oneself as a Christian and thus among God's elect. In contrast, the Old Siders disparaged revivals and the enthusiasm that often accompanied them as a spurious form of religion. They claimed that since God's election of believers resides in his mysterious decree, the only sure sign of his choosing lies not in a testimony of a radical conversion experience but rather in a person's adherence to the doctrinal teaching of the Bible and the Westminster Confession. Hannah, Charles's grandmother, joined First Church in the mid-1730s, but it was predominantly confessionalist in its sympathies. Since she attributed her conversion to the ministry of Whitefield, she left First Church with other New Side converts. A throng of 160 communicants formed Second Presbyterian Church in 1743 as a New Side congregation pastored by Gilbert Tennent, who gained notoriety for his fierce denunciation of Old Side Presbyterians as unregenerate Pharisees in his famous sermon "Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry."[4]

In 1745 Hannah married Hugh Hodge, also a founder of Second Church, who served as deacon until his death. The Hodge family established a pattern of denominational loyalty that survived for generations. Their home became the center of New Side activity, gaining fame as "the resort of clergymen and the centre of religious meetings." Hodge expanded on Hannah's religious influence and independent spirit by noting that her house after her husband's death was "the home of several old and infirm ladies, supported in great measure by her bounty; and here also originated the weekly meeting for prayer and religious instruction observed still in the Second Church, and in most of the other Presbyterian Churches of the city." Still more telling, Hodge relates the successful outcome of the meetings and the barely

disguised disdain of denominations that did not share their revivalist sympathies: "The crowd [of people gathering in their home was] often so great as to fill, not only the parlor and kitchen but even the back garden, close up against Christ Church ground, and much to the offence of our Episcopal brethren, who called them 'Those conventicles held by Mrs. Hodge.' " The term *conventicles* was the name given by seventeenth-century Anglicans to small nonconformist or dissenting groups meeting illegally or in secret for religious worship. They met for fellowship and Bible study. The Hodge family had a history of pietist activity within the church. They remained active in Second Church through successive generations down to Charles's elder brother Dr. Hugh Lenox Hodge, who served as ruling elder. Thus Hodge grew up an heir of evangelical piety, familiar with its religious enthusiasm and activism.[5]

Hodge, however, also recounted other practices reflecting that in addition to pietism, his family retained important elements of Old Side confessionalism, an alternative and somewhat antagonistic expression of religious experience from that of New Side evangelicalism.[6] Confessionalist Presbyterians, like their counterparts in Lutheran and Episcopalian denominations, explained religious experience primarily in terms of doctrinal faithfulness to church confessions and participation in the sacraments and corporate worship over against revivalist-inspired piety that characterized the Great Awakening. They stressed catechetical instruction and participation in congregational life under careful oversight of the clergy, which stood in contrast to the privatism and individualism of revivalism. Charles Hodge's theological perspective and deepest religious convictions as well as his teaching, publishing, and participation in denominational affairs mirrored his family's background in the internecine quarrels of these two rival traditions that competed in forming the identity of American Presbyterianism from the mid- to late eighteenth century.

Occasionally the tension between these two traditions has been summarized as the struggle between ardor (the evangelical zeal of New Siders) and order (the ecclesiastical and liturgical emphases of Old Siders). The former stressed personal holiness and devotional fervor manifested in keeping diaries of religious experiences and other

expressions of personal devotion as indispensable qualities for effective ministry. Old Siders, however, demanded theological precision and strict subscription to the Westminster Standards as more important. Thus, in the early decades of American Presbyterianism, the denomination experienced a heightened tension over its very identity. This conflict constitutes the background for interpreting the life of Charles Hodge.

Both elements play prominent roles in shaping his early life. Isolating these two strands in Hodge's experience and subjecting them to probing analysis as autonomous entities is possible—but only in the abstract. The thesis of this study is that Charles Hodge manifested the attributes associated with Calvinistic confessionalism (strong adherence to creedal religion, liturgical forms, and corporate worship) as well as the characteristics of evangelical pietism (the necessity of vital religion marked by conversion, moral activism, and individual pious practices). That he should be raised in Philadelphia, the cradle of American Presbyterianism, an originally staunch Old Side territory that had given way to New Side influences during the First Great Awakening, only strengthens the notion that these two strands could be combined in a figure that loomed so large in the Presbyterian church. But as the nineteenth century unfolded and new factions developed within the denomination, Hodge became one of the prominent leaders of Old School Presbyterianism. Hodge never relinquished his eighteenth-century New Side heritage, though he criticized its revivalist excesses. It not only shaped his early years but remained an integral part of his belief and practice throughout his life. But he also became firmly convinced that as Presbyterianism developed in the nineteenth century, Old School traditions held stronger claims than the New School to the origin of American Presbyterianism and what constituted its identity in both belief and practice. This study narrates Hodge's role in substantiating those claims.