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CONTENTS

<i>Stan Maclean</i>	1
“Salvation is of the Jews”: Thomas F. Torrance’s Doctrine of Israel	
<i>Graeme Chatfield</i>	14
Congregational Hermeneutics: The 16 th Century Contribution of Balthasar Hubmaier	
<i>Baiyu Song</i>	23
Joseph Kinghorn’s (1766-1832) Educational Vision	
<i>David Music</i>	36
<i>The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book</i> (1864): The First “Official” American Baptist Hymnal with Music	
Reviews	46

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“SALVATION IS OF THE JEWS”: THOMAS F. TORRANCE’S DOCTRINE OF ISRAEL

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INTRODUCTION

There have been several studies of Karl Barth’s doctrine of Israel,¹ but hardly any research has been done on what Thomas F. Torrance, Barth’s greatest ambassador, had to say about Israel.² This paper is an attempt to close this gap. It is based on a number of scattered references to the subject in Torrance’s major works, along with a small collection of essays and lectures on Israel and the Jews. This article demonstrates that Torrance’s doctrine reflects the tectonic shift in the twentieth century in the Christian stance towards the Jews. This shift was precipitated by the enormity of the Holocaust. “The Christian Church can never be the same after the Holocaust,” Torrance wrote.³

This new approach involved a vigorous repudiation of all forms anti-Semitism, a clarion call to recover the Jewishness of Jesus, and a resolute affirmation of the ongoing validity of God’s covenant with Israel.⁴ Barth was at the forefront of this change. In stark contrast to his liberal predecessors, who had detached Jesus from his Jewish roots, Barth insisted that whoever has Jesus Christ through faith “must have” the Jews “along with Jesus Christ as his ancestors and kinsmen.”⁵ Doubtless, Barth’s thoughts on the Jews had an impact on Torrance, who also underlined the Jewish origins of Christianity and the irrevocable nature of God’s promises to Israel. Following Barth, he also spoke about one covenant of grace with its twofold expression as Israel and the Christian Church.

On the other hand, the essay demonstrates that Torrance’s doctrine of Israel goes farther than that of his master in Basel. Barth was no lover of the Jews, but Torrance clearly was. Christians not only must have the Jews, they *need* the Jews, Torrance exclaimed. They need the Jews to understand Jesus better, and

¹ In English we have George Hunsinger, ed. *Karl Barth, the Jews, and Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018); Mark Lindsay, *Barth, Israel, and Jesus: Karl Barth’s Theology of Israel* (London: Routledge, 2007); Katherine Sonderegger, *That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew: Karl Barth’s “Doctrine of Israel”* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

² The most we have so far is a chapter on Israel in Kevin Chiarot’s book *The Unassumed is the Unbealed: The Humanity of Christ in the Christology of T. F. Torrance* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013); a chapter that deals only with ancient Israel and its preparatory role in the incarnation.

³ Thomas F. Torrance, “The Divine Vocation and the Destiny of Israel,” in *The Witness of the Jews to God*, ed. David Torrance (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1982), 86.

⁴ See, for example, World Council of Churches, “Concerns of the Churches—The Christian Approach to the Jews,” Amsterdam Assembly, 1948 <<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/assembly/1948-amsterdam/concerns-of-the-churches-the-christian-approach-to-the-jews>>; also Roman Catholic Church, *Nostra Aetate* http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html#.

⁵ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, II/1, trans. G.W. Bromiley, ed. G.W. Bromiley and T.F. Torrance (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1957), 289.

they need them to complete the church's divine mission in the world. Both Barth and Torrance saw the Jews acting as a continuing witness to God. Still, while the former understood this witness mainly in the form of God's judgement, the latter understood this witness equally in the form of God's salvation. The Jews are not only "the flesh Christ judged, rejected, and condemned."⁶ They are the flesh that God is raising up. Torrance also distinguishes himself from Barth by allowing the history of diaspora Jews to inform his doctrine. Zionism and the Holocaust interpreted Christologically, are therefore central to his theology of Israel.

JESUS, JEW OF ISRAEL

Jews and Christians are divided over Jesus of Nazareth. Yet this man is also the ground of the unity between them. To know how Torrance understands Jesus is to know Torrance's theology, including his theology of Israel. The core of his theology is an elevated Christology, one defined by the hypostatic union of God and man in Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus is not half God and half human; rather he is fully God and fully human, and it is just as necessary to accentuate his humanity as his divinity. What people urgently needed, in Torrance's view, was a deeper participation in the real humanity of Jesus Christ, which modern theologies had tragically obscured.⁷ Torrance bemoans the fact that Christians over the centuries have stripped Jesus of his Jewishness, leaving us with a "Gentilized" Christ. This Gentile image may be a by-product of the necessary contextualization of the Gospel outside of Israel, but the downside of this process is that it enfeebles our appreciation of the incarnation, the resurrection and ascension of Christ. Yes, the Word of God became man, but this means the Word became a concrete individual man, not a man in general. While for some theologians this concreteness involves an emphasis on a free will and an individual ego in Jesus, for Torrance it involved an emphasis on the Jewishness of Jesus. Jesus' Jewish ethnicity, cultural, and religious background are not just incidental aspects of the incarnation. We need to see Jesus "as he really is," and that means "as a Jew."⁸ We need to think of him as such not only at Christmas but all the time, since the resurrection and bodily ascension of Jesus mean that "to this very day" he "remains a Jew while still the eternal Son of God."⁹

To fully understand Jesus, then, we need to know about his historical and cultural background. The study of Israel's archaeology and history are not enough. Christians need to learn the language and idioms of the Jewish scriptures, for these writings mediate "permanent structures of thought" that are signalled by terms such as "the Word," "revelation," "mercy," "truth," and "forgiveness."¹⁰ Torrance, though, felt that Christians could not do this properly on their own. They need the aid of Jewish eyes, hearts, and minds, to help them to see the Jesus who is given to us in the Scriptures. This is part what it means for the Church

⁶ Sonderegger, *That Jesus Christ*, 170.

⁷ Thomas F. Torrance, *The Royal Priesthood* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1955), 43; "The Place of the Humanity of Christ in the Sacramental Life of the Church," *Church Service Society Annual: The Church of Scotland*, no. 26 (1956): 1–10.

⁸ Thomas F. Torrance, *The Mediation of Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1983), 20.

⁹ Thomas F. Torrance, "Salvation is of the Jews," *The Evangelical Quarterly* 22 (1950): 166.

¹⁰ Torrance, *Mediation*, 18.

“to go to school with Israel,” and to share in the mortification of the hearts and minds of its people that was a necessary preparation for their reception of God in the flesh.¹¹

Torrance’s Christology is governed by the “theological algebra” of the *anhypostasis/enhypostasis*,¹² which at first glance would seem to obviate the need to be concerned about Jesus’ Jewish background. This doctrine repudiates the idea that Jesus of Nazareth was adopted by God as the Christ. Jesus is very God and very man, yet his humanity has no independent existence (*anhypostasis*) apart from its union with the Son of God (*enhypostasis*). Jesus’ humanity is also vicarious. It represents all sinful humanity, and this sinful humanity has been incorporated vicariously into the humanity of Jesus Christ, who in his substitutionary work atoned for the sins of all people. The universal significance of Jesus’ human nature clearly overshadows Jesus’ particularity, that he was a distinct human being—a male, first-century Jew.

Yet if he were not a concrete, distinctive individual, Jesus could not be our true brother and our true representative before God. Jesus’ humanity then is a situated humanity, grounded in a particular cultural, historical, and religious milieu. Indeed, Torrance argues that our knowledge of God hinges on our knowledge of Jesus the Jew of Nazareth. Unless the Word of God had become incarnate in Israel “after the flesh” of the Israelites, we would not be able to know the Son of God. Instead, Jesus would have remained “a bewildering enigma.”¹³

Jesus Christ is of course the one mediator between God and humanity. He mediates God’s revelation and redemption, and he mediates our response to God. Yet he is not a mediator apart from Israel, for without Israel the world would have no mediator. This truth is summed up in Jesus’ pronouncement that “salvation is from the Jews.”¹⁴ Yet Jesus brought to perfection the mediation of Israel. “The whole prehistory of that mediation was gathered up and brought to its consummation in Christ,” who came out of the “womb of Israel” as the “son of Mary.”¹⁵ This is apparent in Jesus’ genealogy: He is “the son of David, the son of Abraham.” It is apparent in the titles given to Jesus in the New Testament: “the prophet of the Most High,” the “great high priest,” and “king of the Jews.” They signify the mediatorial offices of prophet, priest, and king that had been forged over thousands of years in Israel. It is apparent finally in Jesus’ role as the “Suffering Servant” of Israel, which tie those offices together. Great suffering came upon Israel, as God worked incessantly to make a sinful, recalcitrant nation a suitable mediator of God’s salvation. This suffering was the means whereby God “began to narrow down his assumption of Israel into union with himself toward the point of the Incarnation where, in the midst of Israel, he was to assume man into oneness with himself in the ultimate act of reconciliation.”¹⁶

Torrance’s plea for Jewish help in comprehending Jesus was prompted in part by the nineteenth-century quest for the historical Jesus, which, in his view, had failed to help us to see Jesus as a son of Israel

¹¹ Torrance, *Mediation*, 12.

¹² Thomas F. Torrance, *Incarnation: The Person and Life of Christ*, ed. Robert Walker (Downers Grove IL: IVP Academic, 2008), 233.

¹³ Torrance, *Mediation*, 19; Torrance, *Incarnation*, 44.

¹⁴ John 4:22.

¹⁵ Torrance, *Mediation*, 22.

¹⁶ Thomas F. Torrance, “The Israel of God: Israel and the Incarnation,” *Interpretation* 10 (1956): 309.

and the climax of God's mediation through Israel. "Christians desperately need their Jewish brethren, and Jewish eyes, if they are really to discern Jesus as he really is, a Jew."¹⁷ Torrance underlined how Jews in his century had revolutionized our understanding of the physical universe, and he believed that they could *a fortiori* help us to revolutionize our understanding of Jesus. It was Jewish scientists who spearheaded the transition from a "dualist to a unitary outlook upon the universe," an outlook that permits the "miracle" of the incarnation to take place.¹⁸ Torrance felt that the Jews had an intellectual advantage over the rest of humanity, one that stems from their ability to think without dualisms and without a need for images. This advantage is not natural, however, but is a fruit of the "the creative impact of the Word of God" on them over millennia.¹⁹

ISRAEL AND ITS DIVINE VOCATION

The thing that distinguishes the Jews, more than anything, from all other peoples is that they are the only ethnic group that has been singled out and called by God, for the purpose of bringing the world closer to God. "Israel was called out from other nations to be the unique historical partner of God's personal and intimate self-revelation, whereby knowledge and worship of the living God might be earthed in human existence."²⁰ This is what it means for Israel to be the "People of God." Israel is the only nation that was fashioned by God over millennia, so that God could reconcile the whole world through them, first by being a "light" to the Gentiles, and by giving birth to one who is the "light of the world."²¹ Jesus, a son of Israel, fully illuminates and embodies the God-given vocation of Israel. The heart of this vocation is suffering witness to God's goodness and righteousness.

Torrance is cognizant of the fact that Israel has often failed to live up to its calling, that it has behaved like other nations, that it has been guilty of pride and idolatry. It has loved things on earth, while it has forgotten the things of God. "This is Israel's problem today as in the past: how to be a people of God (*laos*) as well as a human nation (*ethnos*)."²²

Did Israel's divine mission end when Jesus the Messiah established his church on earth? The answer to this question is bound up with our understanding of God's present relationship with Israel. In the main, Christianity is defined by a theology of supersession.²³ In this theology, the church, the Body of Christ, replaces Israel as the elect people of God, as the "holy nation," which is charged with the mission to bring

¹⁷ Thomas F. Torrance, "Israel: People of God—God, Destiny, and Suffering," lecture to the Anglo-Israel Friendship League and the Israel Ecumenical Working Group, Westminster Abbey, London, U.K., 6 Feb. 1978 (Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, NJ): 14.

¹⁸ Thomas F. Torrance, *The Ground and Grammar of Theology* (Charlottesville, VI: University Press of Virginia, 1980), 15.

¹⁹ Torrance, "Israel: People of God," 5.

²⁰ Thomas F. Torrance, "Christian/Jewish Dialogue," in *The Witness of the Jews to God*, ed. David Torrance (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1982), 140.

²¹ John 8:12.

²² Torrance, "Israel: People of God," 3.

²³ For a valuable study on the subject, see Michael J. Vlach, *The Church as a Replacement of Israel: An Analysis of Supersessionism* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009).

the news of God's revelation and redemption to the world. There are a number of New Testament verses that can buttress supersessionism,²⁴ but Romans 11:11–36 forces one to question it. "For the gifts and the calling of God are irrevocable."²⁵ While these words were rarely taken seriously by the church in past, they clearly guided Torrance's doctrine of Israel.

Torrance goes a step further than Paul does in Romans. While the apostle doesn't speak of a continuing mission for Israel parallel to the mission of the Church, Torrance does. For him, the "calling" of God implies a mission for Israel, although it is not ingredient in a different covenant. There is "only one covenant of grace" and "only one people of God," and Christians must regard the Jews as belonging "in the profoundest sense to the one Church of God."²⁶ This means that Israel's mission is inextricably bound up with the Gentile church and its divine mission. Yet while Christians and Jews belong to one church, their vocations differ.

The Jews have invariably been witnesses to God throughout their history, but in a different way from the church. While the Christian church lives on the "resurrection side" of the cross of Calvary, the Jewish synagogue lives on the "shadow side," behind the cross of Calvary.²⁷ In many old European cathedrals, you will find sculpted symbols of the church and synagogue juxtaposed: two queens, but one is blindfolded to stand for the Jewish synagogue. Yet Torrance believed that the synagogue still pointed to God, even if blindly.

It does so, first, because it is a *witness to the judgment of God upon human sin*. It is not hard to find unflattering statements about the Jews in the New Testament. "You stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart, you always resist the Holy Spirit,"²⁸ Stephen, the church's first martyr, accused the Jews before they stoned him for preaching Jesus as the Christ. Such statements are naturally a great source of embarrassment for churches in the post-Holocaust era that are trying to heal the enmity between Christian and Jews. Still, Torrance doesn't think we should simply gloss over negative portrayals of the Jews in the New Testament. These statements are not seeds of anti-Semitism; rather, they teach, in his view, a valuable theological lesson: that God was justifiably angry with the Jews for rejecting their Messiah and his only begotten Son. Indeed, the whole history of ancient Israel is the tragic story of the Jew's disobedience toward God. While the Jews feel the weight of humanity's hatred for God, they have been also at the forefront of humanity's resistance to God's will. They bear "unwilling witness to the antagonism of man to God."²⁹

The fact the Jews stoned the prophets of God and had the Son of God crucified is proof of the depth of their sinfulness, but ironically it is no less proof of *how close* God was to the people of Israel, how much he loved them. "The very intimacy of God's relation with Israel had the effect of intensifying the stubbornness of its self-will in a refusal of God."³⁰ "The more they were called, the more they went away,"

²⁴ Chief among them are Matthew 21:43, Gal. 6:16, Phil 3:3, 1 Thess. 2:14–16, and 1 Peter 2:9.

²⁵ Romans 11:29.

²⁶ Torrance, "The Divine Vocation," 86.

²⁷ Torrance, "Salvation," 171.

²⁸ Acts 7:51.

²⁹ Torrance, "Salvation," 171.

³⁰ Torrance, "Divine Vocation," 89. Also, Torrance, *Incarnation*, 48.

Hosea tells us.³¹ God had expected more from Israel than from any other nation because he had done more for this nation than any other one. God's anger burned hottest toward Israel because he held this nation alone to the highest spiritual standards. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore, I will punish you for all your iniquities," are the words of the prophet Amos.³² Still, it cannot be forgotten that the Jew represents every man and every woman, that their sins are universal, and that the Jewish antagonism toward God is humanity's antagonism toward God. As Barth said, "in the Jew, the non-Jew has to recognize himself, his own apostasy, his own sin."³³ Besides, even when Israel resists God, it bears witness to God and his work of salvation, as Romans 9–11 reveals. Resistance, in Torrance's view, was in fact "an inescapable and essential ingredient in its vicarious mission."³⁴

Secondly, the synagogue points to *the mercy of God*. As great as God's anger is toward the Jews, his mercy towards them is greater. Despite Israel's rejection of its Messiah and the Word incarnate, God will never reject Israel. The fact that the Jews have survived as a people down to the present, despite being hated, persecuted, and massacred by Gentiles, is evidence of God's mercy toward his elect people. "The stubborn persistence of the Jews in history in spite of all is incontestable witness to the Truth of the living God as we have it in the Bible."³⁵

Third, the synagogue bears witness to the *world's resistance to the Christ*. Jewish history is the most tragic history. No people have suffered more than the Jews. For Torrance, the suffering of the Jews is no accident of history, for they participate unwittingly in the suffering of Christ. This is a consequence of the organic bond between Israel and Jesus. Like Jesus, Jews have been hated and attacked without reason throughout history. The Jew, like Jesus, is the "scapegoat of the world," the one who unjustly punished in lieu of justice.

Anti-Semitism has been called "Christianity's most disturbing legacy to the Western world."³⁶ Torrance did not quite see it that way. Rather, he interpreted anti-Semitism as a product of the spirit of the anti-Christ at work in Western societies. "The Jew bears witness to the contempt and antagonism of the human heart to God. He who despises the Jew despises Christ."³⁷ The Jews, of course, are not willing witnesses to Christ; instead, they are witnesses to Christ despite their lack of faith in him.

THE HOLOCAUST

Christians were not directly responsible for the Holocaust. Still, there was a conviction among many church leaders and theologians that "Christian" Europe had provided fertile soil for the near extermination of European Jewry in the 1940s. In the blunt words of the Catholic theologian Gregory Baum, "the Church has produced an abiding contempt among Christians for Jews and all things Jewish, a contempt that aided

³¹ Hosea 11:2.

³² Amos 3:2.

³³ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, I/2, trans. G.T. Thomson and Harold Knight, ed. G.W. Bromiley and T.F. Torrance (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1956), 511.

³⁴ Torrance, "The Divine Vocation," 89.

³⁵ Torrance, "Salvation," 164.

³⁶ Ralph Klein, "Anti-Semitism as Christian Legacy," *Currents in Theology and Mission*, 11 no. 5 (1984): 285.

³⁷ Torrance, "Salvation," 169.

Hitler's purposes."³⁸ For Rosemary Reuther, this problem is as old as Christianity, a product of its foundational theology. Reuther contends that anti-Judaism is the "left hand of Christology."³⁹ In short, the exaltation of Jesus is the denigration of Judaism.

Torrance didn't think that Christology paved the way for the Holocaust, but he did believe it was the key to making sense out of this horrific event. The Holocaust certainly testifies to the wickedness of human nature, and it also testifies, from the view of many Jews, to the absence of God in the world. Torrance was adamant that, contrary to all appearances, the Holocaust was a witness rather to God's presence and work in the world. He does not deny that the Holocaust was the climax of a long history of anti-Semitism in Europe, yet he was exceptional in seeing this genocide as an attack on Jesus Christ. Indeed, he interpreted the Holocaust as the terrible price of Israel's "vicarious mission to mankind."⁴⁰ It indicated the depth of the "penetration" of the Word of God into European culture but also the depth of sin in this culture. The Holocaust was a naked attack on the nation that bore the Word of God and gave this Word to the world, and it has to be understood, Torrance argues, in "relation to the blood of the covenant faithfulness of God, sealed in the innermost destiny of Israel"⁴¹

Torrance's interpretation of the Holocaust was reinforced, if not shaped, by his visit to *Yad Vashem*, the Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem. After seeing words from Ezekiel 16, "in thy blood live," inscribed on the Museum's memorial stone, he told his Israeli host that these words from that prophet provided a clue to the meaning of the Holocaust when read in light of the cross of Jesus Christ.⁴² He explained to him that this blood is that of the covenant "cut into" the "flesh" of Jews "from generation to generation" and the "blood of the covenant remembered of God who will not abandon" the Jews.⁴³

Auschwitz was no proof that God had finally abandoned the Jews, that they were among the reprobate. Paradoxically, God was *there* in the Holocaust. As Torrance said in one of his sermons, "fire rages in the world" yet "God is in the fire."⁴⁴ Yet God was present intensively in the Holocaust, because of the organic bond between the Jews and Jesus. Jesus Christ was there in solidarity with the suffering of his people. Torrance wanted Jews to know that unless they believe God suffers with them, "then there is no answer to the horror of *Yad Vashem*."⁴⁵ Only the cross of Christ can give Jews the assurance that God is with them in the pits of suffering and in death, for the cries of the victims in the death camps were an echo of Jesus' cry of dereliction on the cross. The Holocaust testifies to God's solidarity with his people, but, more importantly, it testifies in a mute and horrible way to God's atonement for the sins of his people.

I know no other way to relate the mighty living God of Providence to the fearful cruelty, violence, and suffering of mankind than through the cross of Christ. For us this means that

³⁸ In Rosemary R. Reuther, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1996), 7.

³⁹ Rosemary R. Reuther, "Anti-Semitism in Christian Theology," *Theology Today* 30 no. 4 (1974): 365.

⁴⁰ Torrance, "Christian/Jewish," 147.

⁴¹ Torrance, "Christian/Jewish," 147.

⁴² Torrance, *Gospel, Church, and Ministry*, ed. Jock Stein (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 178.

⁴³ Torrance, *Gospel, Church, and Ministry*, 178.

⁴⁴ Thomas F. Torrance, *The Apocalypse Today* (London: James Clark, 1960), 73

⁴⁵ Torrance, *Gospel, Church, and Ministry*, 178.

God does not abandon us in irreversible guiltiness of our existence or in the unappeasable agony of our shame, but rather enters himself into its terrible depths, unites himself with us as our God even in the utmost extremity of death, in order to expiate our guilt and redeem us into life.⁴⁶

ZIONISM AND THE MODERN STATE OF ISRAEL

While the Holocaust constrained churches to retract their anti-Judaic statements, the establishment of a new state of Israel in 1948 forced churches to reconsider God's promises to ancient Israel. The story of the Wandering Jew is a legend. Still, it reinforced a Christian perception of the Jew as an outcast, another Cain, who for his role in the death of Christ is cast out of Israel by God, and who must remain a fugitive and refugee in the world until the end of time. The rebirth of Israel, however, meant that the Jew had a home again, and this forced Christians to re-think the biblical promises regarding the Jews and their land.

Although churches in the post-Holocaust era made strides to reverse their anti-Judaism, many were reluctant to back the new state of Israel. The *United Church of Observer*, an organ of the United Church of Canada, for example, called on Jews to "renounce their fanatical claims for an immediate state."⁴⁷ Although the appearance of *Nostra Aetate* in 1965, which condemned all "displays of anti-Semitism," ushered in a new era in Catholic-Jewish relations, the Vatican would not formally recognize the state of Israel until 1993. By contrast, Torrance was unwavering in his support of the new state of Israel. He believed that the Jews had an *iure divino* (divine right) to the land of Palestine. "Our Jewish brethren are entirely right in claiming that the *amabar-aritz* (People of the Land) concept is integral to that mission of Israel and belongs inalienably to the concrete form of God's covenant with Israel"⁴⁸ Torrance understood modern Israel as a nation resurrected from the grave, a fruit of the "organic bond" that exists between Jesus and ancient Israel. So, while the Holocaust is a participation of the Jews in the death of Christ, the new Israel is their participation in the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Despite the secular origins of Zionism, Torrance had no doubt that the return of the Jews to the Promised Land and the rebirth of Israel had divine sanction. World history, he believed, revolved around Christ, but this also meant that history revolved by implication around the Jews. Torrance believed that the Jews give us our "only clue" to history. Israel, he argued, "constitutes the critical centre in the human race and in human history."⁴⁹ In contrast to existentialist theologians like Rudolph Bultmann, he took seriously the historical dimension of redemption. History is the time-space field where God reveals himself and where his redemption takes place. For this reason, the Jew is always God's "finger pointing to the future."⁵⁰ The corporate experiences of the Jews are signs that "God will act ... act in history ... act among the nations."⁵¹

⁴⁶ Torrance, "Israel: People of God," 9.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Lindsay, *Barth, Israel, and Jesus*, 61.

⁴⁸ Torrance, "Israel: People of God," 11.

⁴⁹ Torrance, "Divine Vocation," 86.

⁵⁰ Torrance, "Salvation," 172.

⁵¹ Torrance, "Salvation," 172.

Torrance's support for modern Israel was indicative of his deep sympathy for Jews, but it was also indicative of a core theological principle of his—that there is no dichotomy between God and creation, between God and space-time. The rebirth of the nation of Israel was confirmation of this principle. In the culture of the Jews, he wrote, “the physical and the spiritual; the temporal and eternal; and the moral and religious are held inseparably together.”⁵² Christians, therefore, must be on guard against over-spiritualizing God's redemption. As N. T. Wright noted, that part of the Lord's prayer, “Thy kingdom come, on earth as in heaven,” “remains one of the most powerful and revolutionary sentences we can ever say.”⁵³

The return of the Jews to the land of Israel testifies to the verity of the temporal, physical, and spatial dimension of God's redemption. In the Bible, the promise of land to the Israelites was as important as the promise of forgiveness of sins, and Torrance was convinced that there was a “deep interconnection” between the people of Israel and the Holy Land. The very identity of the people of Israel is closely bound up with this land. At the end of the Seder meal, for example, diaspora Jews have always shouted “Next year in Jerusalem.” For Torrance, then, to imagine Israel without land is to ask for “a diminishment in its existence and a distortion of its significance for mankind.”⁵⁴

The Holocaust and rebirth of Israel could serve as parables for the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, but for Torrance these are more than parables. He saw the return of the Jews to the Holy Land as the first fruits of the resurrection of the whole creation, which Jesus Christ has inaugurated. The resurrection of Jesus “entails the resurrection of the promised land and its people.”⁵⁵ George Knight contends that the biblical promises regarding the land have been literally fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Jesus, after all, was nurtured by the land of promise and his body was “composed” of the “produce of the land,” so that he did in fact become the *place* of the God's redemptive purpose.⁵⁶ Yet, at the same time, Jesus cannot be unyoked from the people of Israel, because of that persistent union he has with them. So, while the promises regarding the land may be fulfilled in Jesus, they nonetheless extend to the people of Israel who are tied to this land.

Torrance's championing of modern Israel was not without qualifications. He lamented that Israel had often behaved like other nation-states, and so had failed to live up to its divine calling and mission. The problem is that Israel is both a *laos* (a people) of God and an *ethos* (a nation), that it has a “laic destiny” alongside an “ethnic actuality.”⁵⁷ Zionism is an assertion of the latter, but Torrance exhorted Israel to resist the temptation “to allow its ethnic actuality to suppress its laic destiny.” Yet in view of Israel's treatment of its Arab Palestinian minority, which has culminated recently in the construction of a wall around this people, it appears that Israel is failing to resist this temptation. Gentiles Christians can be forgiven for being unable to discern the “laic” side of Israel or the lineaments of Israel the church. Still, Torrance was optimistic that Israel would fulfil its laic destiny, and wrote about God being “creatively at work in Israel ... giving

⁵² Torrance, “Israel: People of God,” 10.

⁵³ N. T. Wright, *Surprised by Hope* (New York: Harper One, 2008), 29.

⁵⁴ Torrance, “Israel: People of God,” 11.

⁵⁵ Torrance, “Israel: People of God,” 12.

⁵⁶ George Knight, “Israel –The Land and Resurrection,” in *The Witness of the Jews to God*, ed. David Torrance, (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1982), 40.

⁵⁷ Torrance, “Divine Vocation,” 86.

substance and shape to the structure of the people of God.”⁵⁸ Modern Israel, he concludes, is like a “woman in the last stages of travail, as a new reality struggles to be born.”⁵⁹

Yet Torrance cautions us against expecting Israel to “only be church.”⁶⁰ God has called the Jews, unlike Gentiles, to be a godly nation, a light unto other nations. As the vision of new Jerusalem in Revelation (21:24) tells us, “[T]he nations will walk by its light, and the kings of the earth will bring their glory into it.” Israel, symbolized by Jerusalem here, is not a symbol of a spiritual community only. It is also destined to be a model for all nations, for it will be a nation that is illuminated by the “glory of God”⁶¹ and be one that fulfils its laic calling for God. As Torrance puts it, “[T]he ethnic as well as the laic nature of Israel is thus to be regarded in proleptic relation to the redemptive purpose of God for all peoples and nations in a new earth and a new heaven.”⁶²

A CHRISTIAN MISSION TO THE JEWS?

The new Christian appraisals of the Jews in the post-Holocaust era have put into question concomitantly the church’s mission to the Jews. Within mainline churches, missions to the Jews today, if there are any, are limited usually to civil inter-faith dialogues, for the purpose of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence. Torrance is sensitive toward the Jews—they must be approached with “sympathy and understanding”—but he did not want a mission that was this limited. The church’s core mission today to Jews, he felt, must be no different than it was in the first century. The Church “is obliged to witness to Christ and proclaim the Gospel to Israel now as it was in the New Testament times.”⁶³

At the centre of the Jewish-Christian dialogue, Jürgen Moltmann has acutely observed, there is the great messianic question that begs to be answered: “Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?”⁶⁴ Torrance, of course, does not think Jews must continue to wait for another Christ, but he also does not think that Jews need to convert to Christianity. The church’s mission to the Jews shouldn’t be patterned after missions to other peoples. The church cannot bring the Gospel to Israel, Torrance argued, because the Gospel came out of Israel. The church has to acknowledge first that it is a “debtor to Israel,” that salvation is from the Jews—salvation that is by grace for Jews and Gentiles.⁶⁵ The Christian mission must involve a recognition, then, that Jews are “brother believers” who share with Christians the same faith in God, who, with Christians, are under “one covenant of Grace” and constitute “one people of God.”⁶⁶

⁵⁸ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 144.

⁵⁹ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 144.

⁶⁰ Torrance, “*Israel: People of God*,” 3.

⁶¹ Revelation 21:23

⁶² Torrance, “*Israel: People of God*,” 3.

⁶³ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 140.

⁶⁴ Jürgen Moltmann, “Israel’s No,” *Christian Century* 107 (Nov. 7, 1990): 1021.

⁶⁵ Torrance, “Divine Vocation,” 95.

⁶⁶ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 139, 143.

There is in fact, then one church with two parts: the root one of Israel, the “Jewish Church,” and a branch one of the Gentiles, the “Christian Church.”⁶⁷

Now this throws at us the strange paradox of a Church that openly confesses Jesus as the Christ and a Church that refuses to confess Jesus at all. Now we need to understand that for Torrance the essence of the church is not human faith but God’s election and that the true nature and composition of the church will be unveiled only with the final advent of Christ. Torrance believed with Paul that the Jews’ rejection of their Messiah was an ingredient in God’s plan of salvation for the Gentiles. Nonetheless, he also believes that the Christian church must bear part of the blame for the Jews persistent rejection. They cannot now recognize the “Gentilized” Christ that non-Jews have created, and we should not expect them therefore, Torrance felt, to become Christians in the normal sense. Indeed, he didn’t believe the Jews had to abandon their synagogue to find Christ, because they can, and will at some point, discover him within their own God-given covenant, which is still valid, in his view. Still, the Christian Church has a responsibility to help Jews discover him within the synagogue, within their own covenant. To accomplish this, the church’s mission to the Jews must have the following features.

First, the mission, Torrance insists, must be aimed at “all Israel,” not simply to individual Jews. In other words, the Christian witness to the Jews must take “*corporate form*.”⁶⁸ This approach is consonant with that of the ancient prophets of Israel. Today this approach is much more challenging since Jews now are deeply divided, especially in regards to the meaning and relevance of their spiritual heritage. Love for Israel though is one thing that unites all Jews, and the return of millions of them to the promised land makes a Christian witness to all Israel more feasible than ever. The great hope is that as a fruit of this witness, Israel “will participate in the restructuring of the covenant relations” that have occurred with the coming of Jesus, its Messiah.⁶⁹

Second, this mission will involve *cooperation* with Israel. The Christian Church must learn to “share, and be seen to share, in the mission of Israel.”⁷⁰ The church’s mission originated in Israel, which is “the great prophetic Word of God addressed to mankind,” and it cannot be completed without Israel.⁷¹ Torrance bemoans that Jewish rabbis have reduced the Word of God to a dead letter, have severed it from the Word revealed. Still, he believes that the Christian Church can rectify this problem by bringing to the Jews the word of the Gospel, so that Israel can recover “the creative source of their life in the living Word of God.”⁷² The secret to this cooperation is the “incorporating” of the Christian witness within the mission of Israel.⁷³ There is an echo here of Paul’s horticultural analogy in Romans 11, where the Gentile community, as the wild olive branch, is grafted into the trunk of the domestic olive tree, which is Israel.

⁶⁷ Torrance, “The Divine Vocation,” 87.

⁶⁸ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 145.

⁶⁹ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 148.

⁷⁰ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 146.

⁷¹ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 146.

⁷² Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 147.

⁷³ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 140.

Third, the mission will be one of *reconciliation*, for the Christian Church “cannot be perfect, cannot reach its fullness apart from Israel.”⁷⁴ Yet reconciliation needs to occur within Christianity as well. Torrance rightly believed that the fractures in the Christian church were fatally undermining the Christian witness to the Jews. These divisions make Jews sceptical of “the sincerity” of the Christian faith in the “atoning reconciliation” of Jesus Christ.⁷⁵ The Christian mission to the Jews must be corporate in both directions. It must be directed to all Israel, yet it also must involve the whole church in unity. While Christians must work to overcome the barriers separating them, they must simultaneously work at reconciliation with Israel, the “Jewish Church.” Indeed, full Christian unity will be impossible as long as Christians are separated from their Jewish brethren since in Torrance’s view, the schism between Christians and Jews is the oldest and deepest one and “the root cause of all other schisms in the one People of God.”⁷⁶ Reconciliation at this foundational level has the highest priority, for the Jews “hold the secret” to the unity of humankind, not only to the unity of the church.⁷⁷

Fourth, the Christian mission to the Jews must be a *priestly* one. The Christian Church must obey the call in First Peter to be a “holy priesthood,” which, for Torrance, entails an emphasis on sacrificial service to God in imitation of Christ. This divine command to be a holy priesthood is a key to reconciliation and cooperation between Christians and Jews, since this command was first made to Israel (Ex. 19:6). Obeying this command will though be the greatest challenge for both Christians and Jews, since the Church and Israel have historically neglected their priestly calling. The church has instead allowed cultures to dictate its agenda; while Israel has been preoccupied with preserving its ethnic identity. The priestly ministry, though, can help to bring the Church and Israel together. The church cannot fulfil this ministry unless it sees it as a participation in Christ’s fulfilment of Israel’s calling, and Israel will never see Jesus as the Christ unless it recovers its own priestly ministry with the help of the Christian Church. One of the most effective ways the church can help Israel is by standing with her in suffering and by bringing the light of the cross of Christ into the dark abyss of the Holocaust. “To the unappeasable agony of the question ‘Why,’ Christians can only point to the Cross of Christ, which speaks of God himself present in the depth of human violence and abandonment, giving the Cross its unconquerable power.”⁷⁸

Lastly, the Christian mission to Israel must be *eschatological*. For Torrance, eschatology is essentially about the advent of Christ in history and the full unveiling of his kingdom. No one knows, of course, when the final advent will occur, yet Torrance believed that there were signs that it was imminent. The Jews are a chief sign, and therefore the world needs to watch them. Torrance believed that this small community gave direction to world history, that they were God’s “finger-post pointing to the future.”⁷⁹ If we follow the Jews, it will be shown to us that “God will act in history” and “act among the nations.”⁸⁰ He clearly acted in the

⁷⁴ Torrance, “The Israel of God,” 317.

⁷⁵ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 146.

⁷⁶ Torrance, “Divine Vocation,” 87.

⁷⁷ Torrance, “Divine Vocation,” 86.

⁷⁸ Torrance, “Christian/Jewish,” 5.

⁷⁹ Torrance, “Salvation,” 171.

⁸⁰ Torrance, “Salvation,” 172.

twentieth century, in Torrance's view, when the Promised Land was restored to the Jews. This was not the first largescale return in the history of the Jews to their land, but Torrance saw this one falling within the "witness of Israel to the coming day of the Lord."⁸¹ Another witness to the advent will be reconciliation between Christians and Jews and their cooperation in witness and service to God. Progress in these areas buoyed Torrance's hopes. He saw Christians and Jews being "harnessed together" in the Israel of God as part of the mysterious plan of God "for witness, service and mission in the accelerating rush of world events toward the end-time, when Christ himself will come to take up his reign and make all things new."⁸²

CONCLUSION

Torrance's doctrine of Israel is a theologically constructive attempt to heal the enmity between Christians and Jews, who together constitute the Israel of God. The doctrine is reflective of the post-Holocaust era in Christianity, which saw the church make amends for its anti-Judaic heritage. It stands out for its attempt to bring about reconciliation between Judaism and Christianity without compromising the essence of the Gospel. Torrance advocates a form of "soft supersessionism,"⁸³ in which the covenant that God made through Jesus Christ does not abrogate the one made under Moses, but instead completes and extends it. Yet it cannot be fully completed and extended without Israel, and therefore not apart from the reconciliation and cooperation of the Jewish and Gentile Church of God; for there is really only one covenant, one of grace, just as there are only one people of God, although grievously divided. Yet instead of calling Jews into the Christian Church, Torrance called the Gentile Church (the wild olive tree) to be re-grafted back into Israel (the domestic olive tree).

Torrance's reflections on Israel bring us to the profound depths of his Christology, and to the point where he advances beyond Barth in his theology of Israel. The nexus of his doctrine is the "organic bond" that he posits between Jesus of Nazareth and Israel. This bond is revealed in the incarnation of the Son of God in Israel, and the potency of it stems from Torrance's conviction that the Son assumed and healed our sinful human nature.⁸⁴ It is thus an intimate bond. God was with the Jews even in a place completely alien to God—at Auschwitz. Through this bond, then, God's covenant promises to Israel remain valid, because through Jesus, God has gathered up all the sins of Israel, including its unconscionable rejection of its Messiah, and has atoned for them on the cross. Through this bond, moreover, the sons of Israel are participating now in the resurrection of Jesus' flesh as they lay hold once again of the land that was promised to their forefathers.

⁸¹ Torrance, "Christian/Jewish," 145.

⁸² Torrance, "Divine Vocation," 96.

⁸³ I am indebted to George Hunsinger for this term: "After Barth: A Christian Appreciation of Jews and Judaism," *Pro Ecclesia* XXIV no.3 (2015): 391–92.

⁸⁴ Torrance, *Mediation*, 40–42.

CONGREGATIONAL HERMENEUTICS: THE 16TH CENTURY CONTRIBUTION OF BALTHASAR HUBMAIER

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In my book, *Balthasar Hubmaier and the Clarity of Scripture*,¹ I describe how Hubmaier developed his hermeneutic by exploring the concept of the clarity of Scripture. I compared Hubmaier's concept of the clarity of Scripture with those of Erasmus, Luther, Zwingli, and the Anabaptist Hans Denck. In this essay I explore how Hubmaier's hermeneutic found expression in the developing practice of a congregational hermeneutic, first in his church at Waldshut on the Rhine, and later in Nikolsburg in Moravia. While tracing this developing practice, I will identify those situations that challenged his original understanding and led to modifications of his position, and eventually to his rejection of that position. Rather than being a purely historical-theological exploration, I propose that the various issues Hubmaier faced in developing and eventually rejecting a congregational hermeneutic find clear parallels for today's churches that are appropriating a congregational ecclesiology, and hence provides an opportunity for those churches to reflect on the possible outcomes that might flow from adopting specific hermeneutical responses to the challenges they face.

WHY BOTHER WITH THIS QUESTION?

Among those Christian traditions that share an ecclesiology of a gathered church of regenerate believers, the question of congregational or community hermeneutics remains a live concern. The idea that the whole of a congregation is involved in determining the meaning of Scripture is being challenged by the claim that it is the leadership of such congregations who have the authority and responsibility to determine the meaning of Scripture. Congregations only have authority to challenge leadership where there is a moral failure or theological error.² On the other hand, the house church movement³, some of the missional church groups,⁴

¹ Graeme R. Chatfield, *Balthasar Hubmaier and the Clarity of Scripture: A Critical Reformation Issue* (Eugen, OR: Pickwick, 2013).

² Mark E. Dever, *Nine Marks of a Healthy Church*, 4th ed. (Washington, DC: IX Marks, 2005); Mark E. Dever, *A Display of God's Glory: Basics of Church Structure, Deacons, Elders, Congregationalism and Membership*, (Washington, DC: IX Marks, 2001).

³ Robert Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in their Historical Setting* (Homebush West, NSW: ANZEA Publishers, 1981).

⁴ Michael Frost and Alan Hirsch, *The Shape of Things to Come: Innovation and Mission for the 21st-Century Church* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003); and Michael Frost, *Exiles: Living Missionally in a Post-Christian Culture* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006).

as well as Anabaptist influenced groups⁵ advocate congregational hermeneutics as the way to determine the meaning of Scripture and its application in the lives of believers.

THE GENESIS OF HUBMAIER'S MODEL

In the ferment of the early period of the 16th-century Reformations, the role of the congregation in determining whether they were being taught the truth from the Word of God was appealed to by both Martin Luther⁶ and Ulrich Zwingli⁷. Yet both these reformers, once their reformation of the church was established to their liking greatly diminished the role of the congregation, privileging the role of theologically trained clergy, particularly emphasising training in the original biblical languages and Latin.

In 1519 Balthasar Hubmaier, Doctor of Theology and one-time protégé of John Eck (the Eck who backed Luther into a corner at the Leipzig debate on the issue of the authority of Pope, Councils and Scripture), became an advocate of evangelical reform. He supported Ulrich Zwingli at the second Zurich disputation (26-28 October 1523) against the Roman Catholic representative Johann Fabri. Hubmaier was present when those who were to become the Anabaptist group led by Conrad Grebel argued against Zwingli's position to concede authority for the implementation of reform of the church in Zurich to the Zurich City Council.⁸

In 1523 Hubmaier shared with Zwingli what would become foundational hermeneutical principles among Protestants, that is, *sola Scriptura* and the perspicuity (clarity) of Scripture. Hubmaier typically conflates these principles in the phrase 'the plumbline of the bright clear Word of God'⁹. Between October 1523 and January 1524 Hubmaier also shared with Zwingli an insistence that preaching for the local congregation should be in the local language, in this case, German.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, such an insistence led to new translations of the Scriptures into German; Luther's New Testament in 1522, and Zwingli's full Bible in 1524. However, after the first believers' baptisms in Zurich (21 January 1525) Hubmaier emphasised the use of a German translation of Scripture as the basis on which the whole of the congregation can determine if their preachers are truly presenting the message of the gospel.¹¹ He also makes the point that the older

⁵ Stuart Murray, *Post-Christendom: Church and Mission in a Strange New World* (Milton Keynes, Bucks: Paternoster, 2004); and Stanley Hauerwas, *After Christendom: How the Church is to Behave if Freedom, Justice and a Christian Nation are Bad Ideas* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1999).

⁶ Martin Luther, "That a Christina Assembly or Congregation has the right and power to judge all teaching and to all, appoint, and dismiss teachers, established and proven by Scripture, 1523," trans. Eric W and Ruth C. Gritsch, in *Luther's Works*, vol 39. *Church and Ministry*, I, ed. J. J. Pelikan, H.C. Oswald, and H.T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1999), 301–14.

⁷ Ulrich Zwingli, "The Preaching Office," in *Huldrych Zwingli Writings*. Vol 2. *In Search of True Religion, Reformation, Pastoral and Eucharistic Writings*, Pittsburgh Theological Monographs, ed. H. Wayne Pipkin (Pittsburgh PA: Pickwick, 1984), 147–86.

⁸ Chatfield, *Hubmaier and the Clarity of Scripture*, 16.

⁹ Balthasar Hubmaier, "Statements at the Second Zurich Disputation," in *Balthasar Hubmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism*, ed. and trans. H. Wayne Pipkin and John H. Yoder, *Classics of the Racial Reformation* vol 5 (Scottsdale, PA and Kitchener ONT: Herald Press, 1989), 24. Writings from this volume of Hubmaier's works will be cited hereafter as "title of work," PY, page number.

¹⁰ Hubmaier, "Statements at the Second Zurich Disputation," in PY, 25.

¹¹ Balthasar Hubmaier, "On the Christian Baptism of Believers," in PY, 112–13.

German translations are more trustworthy than the new translations being produced in Zurich¹² as he insists Zwingli is “adding” to the Word of God to suit his own interpretation. Hubmaier cites Zwingli’s translation of Mark 10:14 where Jesus invites children to come to him as an example of Zwingli doing “violence” by adding a single letter and changing the text to read “of theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”¹³ Hubmaier asserts, “I will let every Christian congregation judge in the power of the read and heard Word whether it says ‘theirs’ is the kingdom of God or ‘of such’ is the kingdom of God.”¹⁴

While the foundation for Hubmaier’s congregational hermeneutic is the view that the local congregation has the role and authority to test the teaching of their priests and preachers by the “plumb line of Scripture,” there is evidence that Hubmaier’s understanding of this idea developed over his life time as a reformer. At the Second Zurich disputation (October 1523) when speaking to the topic of removing “idols” from the churches, he states “a whole parish congregation will gather and decide unanimously without disorder that the images shall be moved out.”¹⁵ In his *Theses Against Eck* (August 1524) he refines this view setting out the ground rules for resolving theological disputes. In such cases “which of two understands it [the disputed topic] more correctly is conceived in the church by the Word of God and born out of faith.”¹⁶ The need to maintain order leads him to propose that “three or four men shall be properly elected out of the church ... Not that they should stand in judgement over the truth of the Word ... but [to judge] which party comes closest to the intent of the divine Word or deviates from it.”¹⁷ These judges are to be “theologians, sound in doctrine, not hooded nor capped, but instructed in divine teaching by God himself.”¹⁸ There is a place for the “learned ones” who are to be listened to, but theirs is not an authoritative declaration as to who is correctly interpreting the Word of God.¹⁹ However, when the judges deliver their verdict it is not the end of the matter. Should something be “revealed” to a person in the church, they have the right to speak, and the judges are to remain silent while they speak.²⁰ The final verdict is reached when there is unanimity among the whole congregation, when ‘everyone becomes silent’.²¹ While this approach may reflect the examination process familiar from his previous university setting, it differs in giving the final say to the whole of the congregation in determining who more closely represents what the Word of God says on the disputed issue. Interestingly, Hubmaier does not call on the City Council at Waldshut to be the judges, as had been the case with Zwingli at Zurich.

Hubmaier established an Anabaptist church at Waldshut between Easter 1525 and 5 December 1525 when he was forced to flee that city, a congregation numbering no more than 400. While in Waldshut he wrote several booklets that describe his ecclesiology. However, he was unable to have them printed until

¹² Balthasar Hubmaier, “Dialogue with Zwingli’s Baptism Book,” in PY, 181, 190.

¹³ Hubmaier, “Dialogue with Zwingli’s Baptism Book,” in PY, 229.

¹⁴ Hubmaier, “Dialogue with Zwingli’s Baptism Book,” in PY, 230.

¹⁵ Hubmaier, “Second Zurich,” in PY, 25.

¹⁶ Balthasar Hubmaier, “Theses Against Eck,” in PY, 49-57.

¹⁷ Hubmaier, “Theses Against Eck,” in PY, 52.

¹⁸ Hubmaier, “Theses Against Eck,” in PY, 56.

¹⁹ Hubmaier, “Theses Against Eck,” in PY, 56.

²⁰ Hubmaier, “Theses Against Eck,” in PY, 54.

²¹ Hubmaier, “Theses Against Eck,” in PY, 54.

around July 1526 when he had established another Anabaptist church in Nikolsburg, Moravia. Nikolsburg had become a safe haven for religious refugees, including an estimated 2,000 Anabaptists of varying perspectives. One of these delayed publications *A Form of Christ's Supper*,²² demonstrates that the principles outlined in his *Theses Against Eck* were practised in the Waldshut congregation and the Nikolsburg congregation. The priest “sits down with the people” and explains the Scriptures to them.²³ Hubmaier explicitly states: “No one shall be coerced herein, but each should be left free to the judgment of his spirit.”²⁴ However, this is not licence to unaccountable male individualism (women were commanded to be silent in the meeting and to ask questions of their husbands later at home)²⁵. He goes on:

those who are present have the opportunity and the authority to ask, if at any point they should have some misunderstanding or some lack ... Then one to whom something is revealed should teach, and the former should be quiet without any argument and quarrelling. For it is not customary to have conflict in the church.²⁶

Nor is this instruction an open invitation to debate any topic at all as he carefully qualifies this authority to question by adding:

but not with frivolous, unprofitable, or argumentative chatter, nor concerning heavenly matters having to do with the omnipotence or the mystery of God or future things, which we have no need to know, but concerning proper, necessary and Christian items, having to do with Christian faith and brotherly love.²⁷

It was precisely the topics nominated by Hubmaier as excluded from public questioning during the church meeting that were topics he hotly debated with other religious refugees who had found sanctuary in Nikolsburg, specifically Lutherans whom he engaged in two treatises on *Freedom of the Will*,²⁸ and the Anabaptist Hans Hut, who was preaching about the imminent return of Christ, which Hut calculated for Easter 1528. Later he would also dispute with the Zurich Anabaptists (later known as Swiss Brethren) the relationship of church and state in his work *On the Sword*²⁹ (dedicated 24 June 1527), but these topics are not included in this list.

In July 1527, the Austrian authorities were able to have Hubmaier extradited to Vienna to face charges for sedition over his role in the Peasants' War of 1524–25, but to also examine his theology, as he was by this time recognised as a leader among the Anabaptists. A written *Apologia* dated 3 January 1528, provides the final evidence of development in Hubmaier's understanding of congregational hermeneutics.³⁰ In Article 17 “On the Church” he writes:

²² Balthasar Hubmaier, “A Form for Christ's Supper,” in PY, 393–408.

²³ Hubmaier, “A Form for Christ's Supper,” in PY, 394.

²⁴ Hubmaier, “A Form for Christ's Supper,” in PY, 395.

²⁵ Hubmaier, “A Form for Christ's Supper,” in PY, 396.

²⁶ Hubmaier, “A Form for Christ's Supper,” in PY, 396.

²⁷ Hubmaier, “A Form for Christ's Supper,” in PY, 396.

²⁸ Balthasar Humbaier, “Freedom of the Will, I,” in PY, 426–48; “Freedom of the Will, II,” in PY, 450–91.

²⁹ Balthasar Hubmaier, “On the Sword,” in PY, 492–523.

³⁰ Balthasar Hubmaier, “Apologia,” in PY, 524–62.

The authority the particular church now commends and gives over to its chosen, established, and ordained minister and priest, so that all things may be done in an orderly manner. . . . Now whoever hears and is obedient to the priest is also obedient to the particular church as the daughter; whoever is obedient to the daughter is obedient to the mother; whoever is obedient to the mother is obedient to her bridegroom and husband Christ Jesus; whoever is obedient to Christ Jesus is obedient to his heavenly Father, who is the source of all authority.³¹

Hubmaier had consistently taught that authority was given by Christ to his church, and that authority remained with the church until the return of Christ. The church elected their priest or preacher or bishop (he uses the terms interchangeably, though he does not use the generic Catholic term *pfaffen* in a positive way until in the *Apologia*). Initially, it appears there is no topic that the congregation as a whole cannot consider. In his *Theses Against Eck* Article XVI, the church is to be heard in matters of offense or brotherly love, “but in matters of faith [decision shall be made] in no other way than solely according to the rule of Scripture.”³² This does not remove matters of faith from the congregation’s judgment, instead it places the congregation’s judgment under the authority of Scripture, and the formal process of determining who comes closest to the meaning of Scripture as described earlier in these *Theses* applies. By July 1527 in *The Form of the Lords Supper* the authority of the congregation to debate any topic has been qualified, though the process of coming to a consensus about who comes closest to the meaning of Scripture remains in place. Who determines the meaning of Scripture on the “reserved” topics is not clearly stated. Can they be debated in a gathering other than a worship service where the whole of the congregation engages in the debate, or have these topics been reserved to the elected priests and preachers of the congregation? In the specific case of dispute between Hubmaier and Hans Hut, Bergsten concludes that in fact two disputations took place; one before the whole congregation (where no conclusion was reached), and the other, at the insistence of Lord Leonard von Liechtenstein (a baptised member of Hubmaier’s Anabaptist church in Nikolsburg) before a closed group of nobles, resulting in the house arrest of Hut.³³

In his *Apologia*, Hubmaier has elevated the role and authority of the elected priest of a congregation, so that obedience to the priest is required of the congregation if they are to be obedient to the command of God. While the *Apologia* was written by Hubmaier during his imprisonment and therefore needs to be read cautiously, there is evidence that Hubmaier’s simplistic congregational hermeneutic was already being given a more nuanced understanding. Was this because he recognised theological flaws in his approach, or was it simply a pragmatic response to his changed context?

³¹ Hubmaier, “Apologia,” in PY, 547.

³² Hubmaier, “Theses Against Eck,” 54.

³³ Torsten Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier: Anabaptist Theologian and Martyr*, ed. and trans. W.R. Estep (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1978), 363.

ECCLESIOLOGICAL UNDERPINNING

Underpinning Hubmaier's congregational hermeneutic is his ecclesiology. Brian Brewer in *A Pledge of Love* has demonstrated the sacramental nature of the interdependence of Hubmaier's teaching on baptism, the Lord's Supper, fraternal admonition and the ban as essential to defining the church, universal and particular.³⁴ Hubmaier himself provides a summary of his ecclesiology in his *Catechism*.³⁵ For Hubmaier faith and the oral confession of that faith proceeds water baptism. Water baptism is a sacrament, a pledge of obedience, made between the confessing candidate and God on the one hand, and the church on the other. The baptismal pledge:

is a commitment made to God publicly and orally before the congregation in which the baptised person renounces Satan and all his imaginations and works. He also vows that he will henceforth set his faith, hope, and trust solely in God and regulate his life according to the divine Word, in the strength of Jesus Christ our Lord, and if he should fail to do so, he thereby promises the church that he would dutifully accept brotherly discipline from it and its members.³⁶

The church for Hubmaier is identified as the universal Christian corporeal church and fellowship of the saints, assembled only in the Spirit of God, the mother church, and bride of Christ, and:

each separate and outward meeting assembly or parish membership that is under one shepherd or bishop and assembles bodily for instruction, for baptism and the Lord's Supper. The church as daughter has the same power to bind and loose on earth as the universal church, her mother, when she uses the keys according to the command of Christ, her spouse and husband.³⁷

The church is based on the oral confession of faith that Jesus is the Christ, since in Hubmaier's view, "although faith alone makes righteous, it does not alone give salvation."³⁸ Water baptism of a person who orally confesses faith in Christ is the outward sign of the church using the power of the keys given to it by Christ at his ascension whereby sins are forgiven, and the gates of heaven are opened to them. Participation in the Lord's Supper is the sign that indicates the church has used that same power of the keys to forgive the sins of those members who have confessed their sins, repented and sought forgiveness and have renewed their pledge of love for their fellow believers. However, that same power of the keys can be used to exclude a member from participation in the Lord's Supper and refuse to renew their pledge of love, thus to ban them from the fellowship, and close the gates of heaven to them until such time as they repent and demonstrate that repentance in changed lifestyle, after which they can be readmitted to the church.

³⁴ Brian Brewer, *A Pledge of Love: The Anabaptist Sacramental Theology of Balthasar Hubmaier*, Studies in Christian History and Thought (Milton Keynes, Bucks: Paternoster, 2012).

³⁵ Balthasar Hubmaier, "A Christian Catechism," in PY, 339-365.

³⁶ Hubmaier, "A Christian Catechism," in PY, 350-351.

³⁷ Hubmaier, "A Christian Catechism," in PY, 352.

³⁸ Hubmaier, "A Christian Catechism," in PY., 352.

This authority of the church to bind and loose sins, to open and close the gates of heaven is according to Hubmaier given directly to the church, and not via the leadership within the church.³⁹ This is clearly demonstrated in Hubmaier's declaration of the ban on a recalcitrant member of a congregation:

Therefore, our Christian congregation and assembly has reason, is moved and obliged by the earnest command of God and our Lord Jesus Christ to behave toward you according to his divine command ... Therefore in our congregation we conclude unanimously with our spirit concerning you who have thus behaved, in the name and in the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, and give you over to the devil for the destruction of the flesh so that the spirit might be saved on the day of the Lord Jesus.⁴⁰

Clearly, there is a major shift in Hubmaier's thinking about congregational authority by the time he writes his *Apologia*, where he explicitly states that the authority the church receives from Christ has been given to his "chosen, established, and ordained minister and priest," and that obedience to the priest is now the requirement of all in the church, since obedience to the command of the priest is the equivalent to obedience to God our heavenly Father, the source of all authority.⁴¹

FLAWED OR AHEAD OF ITS TIME?

What drives this shift in Hubmaier's thinking about the authority of the congregation; his restricting congregational consideration to prescribed topics? Hubmaier does not fundamentally change his ecclesiology in the *Apologia*. Despite being imprisoned and facing execution, he maintains his stance rejecting infant baptism and affirming public and oral confession of the Christian faith takes place prior to baptism. He also maintains his view on the Lord's Supper, and on the ban.⁴² He concedes that he will "postpone" teaching on these articles until the next Christian council, or if the King doesn't want to wait till then, he will defend his position before the king's council and universities to be "judged according to the Word of God".⁴³ Given his "obstinacy" on the major topics of baptism and the Lord's Supper, Hubmaier's change in his understanding of where authority lies in the church does not appear to be a concession made to his Austrian inquisitors by which he thought to gain his freedom. Theologically he continues to understand the church as being formed of those who publicly confess faith in Christ and then are baptised as an expression of that faith, who covenant together to live out that faith and accept the discipline of the church if they sin. His emphasis on "good order" appears to drive his change to identify the authority of the church as now residing in the office of the duly elected priest or bishop. The movement towards this change was evident in Nikolsburg but is stated plainly in the *Apologia*. Was it simply the context of increasingly strident and intractable opposition within his congregation that initiated a pragmatic response; a response Hubmaier appears to regard as not constituting a theological shift?

³⁹ Hubmaier, "A Christian Catechism," in PY, 412.

⁴⁰ Balthasar Hubmaier, "On the Christian Ban," in PY, 417.

⁴¹ Hubmaier, "Apologia," in PY, 547.

⁴² Hubmaier, "Apologia," in PY, 555–57.

⁴³ Hubmaier, "Apologia," in PY, 558.

Hubmaier's pragmatic solution to intractable critics fundamentally changes his ecclesiology. If Hubmaier was correct to argue that the authority of Christ has been given to the church as a whole until the return of Christ, he must, if he is to be true to his key hermeneutic principle, find a clear command of God that states this authority has been passed to the elected priest or bishop of the congregation and that the congregation retains no residual authority, for that is the outcome of his view about the authority of the elected priest or bishop in his *Apologia*. In short, he has arrived at a place Cyprian would endorse; not only is there no salvation outside the church, a statement of Cyprian Hubmaier is fond of quoting, but also now the idea 'where the bishop is, there is the church'.⁴⁴ It would appear that Hubmaier has to either concede his Anabaptist hermeneutic is flawed, or this pragmatic response does not have a basis in Scripture.

ISSUES TO ADDRESS TO APPLY HIS MODEL TODAY

The above assessment of Balthasar Hubmaier's congregational hermeneutic identifies several key issues that face any group seeking to implement a congregational hermeneutic. Hubmaier argues that the Scriptures, translated into the vernacular of a people group, are the basis for knowing what God commands Christians to believe and do and that this can be known by any individual Christian reader, attracts the counter-argument of unchecked individualism, where every believer can arrive at their own valid interpretation of Scripture.

Hubmaier was aware of this counter-argument and initially insisted that the members of the visible church, to whom the individual had voluntarily agreed to be under its authority in terms of faith and conduct, effectively controlled this individualism by requiring unanimity of the whole church on debated issues. Nor was this a gathering of shared ignorance, as he explicitly has a place for those who are learned in biblical languages to assist the congregation in the explanation of darker passages. He is careful to insist that the congregation is not held hostage by those who are learned in the original biblical languages and Latin. To do that would be to "establish another 'Papazare'[papacy]".⁴⁵ The "learned" also bring to the conversation insights from the teachers of the church, ancient and contemporary, and that material is also subject to the "plumbline of Scripture."

However, Hubmaier's experience alerts us to a further challenge to a congregational hermeneutic, the reserving of topics and authority to elected leadership. Initially, the congregation was still permitted to engage in actively determining understanding of topics not reserved to the elected leaders and to be the authority to impose discipline within the church. However, by the time of his *Apologia* (1528), Hubmaier had removed all authority from the church, who he claimed had handed that authority to their elected priest or bishop. In effect, he had established another authority over the visible church other than the congregation.

⁴⁴ Cyprian, "Letter 66 (69), 8 to Florentius Pupianus," <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050668.htm>.

⁴⁵ Hubmaier, "Christian Baptism of Believers," 143.

Within the last ten years, people from 'free church' traditions have re-discovered Hubmaier and are looking to apply his insights to their existing churches. For example, Simon Goncharenko, in his book *Wounds that Heal*,⁴⁶ argues for a restoration of church discipline in the church along the lines of Hubmaier's fraternal admonition and ban, where the baptismal pledge places the church member voluntarily under the discipline of the church. For Goncharenko authority to discipline is exercised on behalf of the church by its elected Bishop. This was a pattern he had seen working effectively in his Russian Baptist church and urges contemporary Southern Baptist churches to adopt this model. While he advocates adopting Hubmaier's model of congregational discipline, my concern is that he ignores the legitimate role of the congregational hermeneutic that was essential to Hubmaier's congregational ecclesiology.

Stuart Murray has argued that the failure of Anabaptism in the sixteenth century was mainly due to the dominance of Christendom, one key feature of which was the linkage between membership in the church through infant baptism and citizenship. He argues that in a post-Christendom setting, our present setting in the western world, where this link has been removed, it is time for Anabaptist congregationalism and, its related hermeneutic, to flourish and contribute to the ushering in of the kingdom of God.⁴⁷ However, voluntarism has not necessarily proved fertile ground to develop Anabaptist type congregationalism and hermeneutic, and Hubmaier's experience suggests that even if a group establishes itself along congregational lines, pragmatic responses may undermine the coherence of the hermeneutic, and the gathered church ecclesiology it espouses. Hubmaier's experience should act as a salutary warning for all who advocate a gathering church ecclesiology that incorporates a congregational hermeneutic.

⁴⁶ Simon Goncharenko, *Wounds That Heal: The Importance of Church Discipline with Balthasar Hubmaier's Theology* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011).

⁴⁷ Murray, *Post Christendom*, 21.

JOSEPH KINGHORN'S (1766–1832) EDUCATIONAL VISION

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The significance of Canada Baptist College (1836–1849) has been well-recognised.¹ However, after the College's closure, many have forgotten its connection with an English Baptist minister, Joseph Kinghorn. Though the Norwich minister never saw the rise and fall of the Canadian academy, Kinghorn played significant roles in the life of the school's founders: Newton Bosworth (1778–1848),² John Gilmour (1792–1869), John Mockett Cramp (1796–1881),³ and even Benjamin Davies (1814–1875).⁴

When Bosworth, Gilmour, Cramp, and Davies moved to Upper and Lower Canada in the 1830s and 40s, they also brought the English Particular Baptist tradition to Central Canada. Thus, their efforts in Montreal were construed as an attempt to extend the denominational college movement from England and

¹On the formation and the fall of Canada Baptist College, see anonymous, "Canada Baptist College (1836–1849)," [http://web.ncf.ca/fm120/History/Bosworth/Canada_Baptist_College_\(1836-1849\).htm](http://web.ncf.ca/fm120/History/Bosworth/Canada_Baptist_College_(1836-1849).htm); Theo T. Gibson, *Robert Alexander Fyfe: His Contemporaries and His Influence* (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1988), 17–43; T. A. Higgins, *The Life of John Mockett Cramp, D.D. 1796–1881. Late President of Acadia College; Author of "The Council of Trent," "Baptist History," Etc.* (Montreal: W. Drysdale, 1887), 83–110; William H. Brackney, *Congregation and Campus: Baptists in Higher Education* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2008), 135–136; Anonymous, "Canada," in *The Canada Baptist Magazine, and Missionary Register* 1 no. 1 (June 1837): 17–22; George W. Campbell, "Canada Baptist College, 1838–1849: The Generation and Demise of a Pioneering Dream in Canadian Theological Education" (ThM Thesis, Knox College, University of Toronto, 1974).

²For Bosworth, Kinghorn was the man who argued with his friend Robert Hall, Jr. (1763–1831) over the term of communion for more than a decade. Bosworth also worked with Kinghorn as a committee member of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), especially during the time of the Serampore controversy (1827). See Hall's letters to Bosworth, "XIX To Mr. Newton Bosworth, Cambridge [August 26, 1806]," and "XXXVII To Mr. Newton Bosworth, Cambridge [April 23, 1813]," in Olinthus Gregory, ed., *The Works of Robert Hall, A.M. With a Brief Memoir of His Life by Dr Gregory: And Observations on His Character as a Preacher, by John Foster*, 4th ed. (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1835), V: 447–450, 482–484. On Bosworth, see F. H. Armstrong, "The Rev. Newton Bosworth: Pioneer Settler on Young Street," *Ontario History* 58.3 (1966): 163–171; Glenn Tomlinson, *From Scotland to Canada: The Life of Pioneer Missionary Alexander Stewart* (Guelph, ON: Joshua, 2008), 221–224, 299. On the Serampore controversy, see "Narrative of the actions taken by the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society in the Serampore controversy with Joshua Marshman in 1827," *New Baptist Miscellany, and Particular Baptist Magazine* 1 (April 1827): 161–165.

³When Gilmour was a student at Horton (1816–1820), and Cramp at Stepney (1814–1817), they heard sermons preached by Kinghorn, which were directly addressed to the 'young ministers.' In fact, Cramp's signature can also be found in the letters drawn by students who requested these sermons to be published (Martin Hood Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich* [Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander, 1855], 353). Further, Cramp had a personal relationship with Kinghorn, as he frequently wrote to the Norwich pastor asking for recommendations for books and opinions (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 397–398).

⁴Benjamin Davies studied at Bristol and later received a PhD from Leipzig in 1838. While at Bristol, he studied under Thomas Steffe Crisp (1788–1868), who was baptised by Kinghorn and accompanied Kinghorn on the missionary society's second expedition trip to Scotland. Wilkin wrote that Crisp was baptised by Kinghorn at Norwich in July 1817. In a letter, Crisp wrote, 'I gladly embrace the opportunity of thanking you for the Christian kindness and friendship with which the whole of your conduct towards me has been marked. I shall always be grateful for your readiness in affording me the aid I requested, and shall always think with pleasure of your deportment towards me, during my visit at Norwich' (Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 365–366). On Kinghorn's second trip to Scotland, see Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn*, 383–388.

Wales overseas. This movement can be traced back to the formation of Bristol Academy in 1720.⁵ With the influence of the Evangelical Revival, a renewed interest in religious education can be found in the promotion of Sunday schools, as well as the founding of Horton (1806) and Stepney (1810) in England, and Abergavenny (1807), Pontypool (1836), and Haverfordwest (1839) in Wales.

Compared to the beginning of the century, when the leading Baptist theologian John Gill (1697–1771) remarked that in general the English Calvinistic Baptists “were unhappily ignorant of the importance of learning,” the change was remarkable.⁶ D. M. Himbury rightfully noted that “it was the ‘Evangelical awakening and the rise of Fullerism’ and the subsequent revitalisation of the English Baptist community that provided a critical impetus for the development of the Baptist academies.”⁷ Himbury was not alone, as such a thesis was further expanded by R. Philip Roberts, Nigel Wheeler, Keith S. Grant, and Anthony R. Cross.⁸

Joseph Kinghorn lived in this time of transition. Furthermore, according to John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825), Kinghorn was “one of the most learned men in our denomination, and a very excellent, godly man.”⁹ The fact that Kinghorn preached sermons at all three Baptist academies in England was uncommon and significant. Yet, how representative Kinghorn’s educational vision was among the Particular Baptists, will be the subject of further investigation. Following a brief biographical sketch of Joseph Kinghorn, the remainder of this essay focuses on Kinghorn’s understanding of theological education, as expressed particularly in his three published sermons and private correspondence.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Joseph Kinghorn was born to David (1737–1822) and his second wife Elizabeth Jopling Kinghorn (1737/8–1810) on January 17, 1766 at Gateshead-on-Tyne, which is on the southern bank of the River Tyne opposite Newcastle-upon-Tyne. David came from a Scottish Presbyterian family, and Elizabeth an English Baptist

⁵See Norman S. Moon, *Education for Ministry: Bristol Baptist College 1679–1979* (Bristol: Bristol Baptist College, 1979); Michael A. G. Haykin, “‘With light, beauty, and power’: Educating English Baptists in the Long Eighteenth Century,” in *Challenge and Change: English Baptist Life in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Stephen L. Copson and Peter J. Morden (Didcot, Oxon: The Baptist Historical Society, 2017), 177–203; Anthony R. Cross, *Useful Learning: Neglected Means of Grace in the Reception of the Evangelical Revival Among English Particular Baptists* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017); Brackney, *Congregation and Campus*, 103–139; John H. Y. Briggs, *The English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century* (Didcot, Oxon: The Baptist Historical Society, 1994), 340–368.

⁶Samuel Davies, *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad: The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland, 1753–55*, edited by George William Pilcher (Urbana/Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 65, as quoted by Haykin in “‘With light, beauty, and power,’” 177. Another example of this early disinterest in formal theological education is Robert Parsons, a Baptist leader and stonemason in Bath. See Robert Parsons, *Abilities for the Ministry of the Gospel from God Alone. A Discourse on 2 Corinthians iii.6* (Bath, 1774). Also see Kerry J. Birch, *Waters of the Son: Baptists in Georgian Bath* ([s.l.] Kappa Beta, 2009).

⁷Haykin, “‘With light, beauty, and power,’” 202.

⁸R. Philip Roberts, *Continuity and Change: London Calvinistic Baptists and the Evangelical Revival 1760–1820* (Wheaton, IL: Richard Owen Roberts, 1989); Cross, *Useful Learning*; Keith S. Grant, *Andrew Fuller and the Evangelical Renewal of Pastoral Theology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013); Nigel David Wheeler, “Eminent Spirituality and Eminent Usefulness: Andrew Fuller’s (1754–1815) Pastoral Theology in his Ordination Sermons” (PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 2009).

⁹Anonymous, “Original Letter of Dr. Ryland,” *The Spirit of the Pilgrim* 2.6 (June 1829): 343.

family.¹⁰ Soon after they were married, David's study of the Bible led him to credobaptist convictions and he joined the Baptist chapel at Tuthill Stairs, Newcastle. Three months later, after Joseph was born, David Kinghorn preached his first sermon. After a period of convictional struggles, David affirmed his pastoral calling and became an assistant pastor at his church. In 1770, David received an invitation from the Baptist church in Bishop Burton, Yorkshire, "to preach there, with a view to the pastoral office."¹¹ From 1771 until 1799, David Kinghorn laboured as a Baptist village minister.

Joseph Kinghorn enjoyed his childhood in Bishop Burton, and was sent to school on March 6, 1775.¹² In December 1779, David Kinghorn was informed that a Mr. Cliffe at Hull, "a clock and watch-maker ... was willing to take Joseph, then nearly fourteen, as an apprentice."¹³ Though the apprenticeship did not last long, as Joseph later moved to work with Joseph Denton, another clock-maker in Hull, Joseph's removal from home was significant for his parents. No matter where Joseph was, either in Hull, Newcastle, or Norwich, David and Elizabeth expressed their concerns and love for their boy in letters. This two-decade-long practice of letter-writing is significant, as it provides contemporary readers with a glimpse of Dissenting family life in the eighteenth century.

Unlike many later evangelicals in the nineteenth century, Joseph Kinghorn did not have a dramatic experience of conversion. Growing up in a genuine Christian family, Joseph was deeply influenced by the teaching and examples of his parents.¹⁴ David baptized his son on Easter Sunday, April 20, 1783. A year later, Joseph was sent to Bristol to study with Caleb Evans (1737–1791), and it was there that Kinghorn met and developed friendships with Samuel Pearce (1766–1799), James Hinton (1761–1823) and Anthony Robinson (1762–1827). With financial support from the Baptist Education Fund, Joseph completed his

¹⁰On the importance of the Jopling family among the English Baptists, see David Douglas, *History of the Baptists in the North of England from 1648 to 1845* (London, 1846).

¹¹Terry Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn* (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 1995), I:16.

¹²Wilkin recorded an account of Elizabeth Kinghorn's journey to Bishop Burton in a letter written to one of her friends, "I like the place very well, and the people, and let me not forget to tell you that my husband had never such good health since I knew him, and is much fresher coloured of his face; Joseph [then 4 years old] thrives very well, and grows till you would scarce know him, he will be nothing but a farmer, he is so busy every day with loading corn, and one thing or another, till he goes as weary to bed as a little thresher, but whenever he meets with a little offence, he is for coming back to Newcastle again. Dear friend, we are very comfortably situated as to the world; my life was far happier than when I was at Newcastle, as the Lord is pleased to bless our family with health, which is the greatest blessing we can enjoy in this life: oh! may we walk worthy of this, and every other mercy we enjoy." Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, I:18–19.

¹³Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, I: 27. In this process, John Beatson (1743–1798), minister of the Baptist congregation at Salt-house Lane, Hull, was instrumental.

¹⁴As early as 1781, Joseph had expressed his Christian affections, which was possibly a consequence of his studying of the Bible. In his letter to David and Elizabeth on May 9, 1781, Joseph wrote "beautifully": "I have reason to thank God for protecting and preserving me from evil, he only can protect us and guide us in the right way. It is a great blessing when our hearts' desire is after the Lord, and then all sublunary things are felt to be in subjection to him; then we find most peace in our minds—real, not imaginary peace." (Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, I:31) Or in a letter on July 18, 1781 to his parents, Joseph wrote, "...happy are we, happy am I, when I find the light of God's countenance; he has never deceived me in withholding his blessing: no, nor ever will, so long as I can earnestly seek him, I hope I may truly say, I have found the above true. Who then, for the perishing joys of earth, would part with the eternal joys if heaven? I hope the Lord, of his great goodness, will keep me from doing this..." (Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, I:32) On evangelical conversion in general, see D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Miyon Chung, "Conversion and Sanctification," in *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology*, ed. Timothy Larsen and Daniel J. Treier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 109–24.

training in 1788 and immediately entered the ministry. From May 1788 to March 1789, Joseph preached regularly at Milton Street Baptist church at Fairford, Gloucestershire. However, due to theological differences (i.e. Antinomianism and Hyper-Calvinism), Joseph left the church. He received a call from St. Mary's Baptist Church at Norwich on March 28, 1789.¹⁵ On January 17, 1790, Kinghorn accepted the call, and he was received as a member on February 14, 1790. At Joseph's ordination which took place on May 20, 1790, his father delivered the pastoral charge from 1 Timothy 4:16.

Though the Norwich pastor was called twice to leave his pastorate for the principalship at the newly-founded Baptist academies—Northern (1804) and Stepney (1809)—Joseph turned them down with the conviction that his primary calling was that of a pastor.¹⁶ For forty-three years, Joseph Kinghorn faithfully laboured in the gospel ministry, particularly in preaching. As his hearers observed: “His sermons were the result primarily of his diligent and prayerful attention to the subject; and more remotely, of the immense amount of reading and study, to which he had devoted himself.”¹⁷

Contrary to his father, Joseph Kinghorn was remembered as both a pastor and a scholar. During his lifetime, he learned various languages, including Hebrew, Greek, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Latin, and German. With his linguistic abilities and rabbinic knowledge, Kinghorn edited and reprinted Scottish scholar Rev. Prof. James Robertson's (1714–1795) *Clavis Pentateuchi* (1770) in 1824.¹⁸ Kinghorn's dedication to learning earned him a reputation “in his own denomination ... inferior only to Dr. Gill in an intimate acquaintance with Rabbinical literature.”¹⁹

Supplementing his domestic ministry and studies, Kinghorn was also actively involved in the Baptist Missionary Society (including his two expeditions to Scotland on behalf of the BMS in 1818 and 1822), the London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews (two of his sermons at the Jewish chapel in London were printed), as well as in local church plantings. He was also a member of the Norwich Speculative Society, where he defended the Christian faith and presented the gospel to local intellectuals.

As an apologist, Kinghorn defended Christian orthodoxy—in particular, the doctrine of the Trinity and divinity of Christ—as well as Baptist ecclesiology. With conviction and love, Kinghorn “fit to live, was greatly fit to die!”²⁰

¹⁵The church originally wished to call Thomas Dunn (d. 1833), who was Kinghorn's classmate at Bristol. Dunn visited and supplied the pulpit at St. Mary's after Rees David's (1749–1788) sudden death until Lady Day, March 25, 1789. According to the church minute book, Dunn suggested to call Kinghorn instead. At the time, St. Mary's has 700–800 regular attendants and 120 members. The church minute book records that Kinghorn received an invitation to stay for six months on May 10, 1789. It was agreed that Kinghorn could visit Yorkshire from May 19 to July 17, during which time Dan Williams of London supplied the pulpit. The church then decided to invite Kinghorn for pastoral charge on December 3, 1789. Special note is indicated that at this occasion woman members were allowed to vote.

¹⁶See his correspondence with Joseph Gutteridge, which was transcribed and recorded by Edward Steane, in his *Memoir of the Life of Joseph Gutteridge, Esq. of Denmark Hill, Surrey* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1850), 78–107.

¹⁷Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, I:444.

¹⁸Noticeably, Robertson's book was originally written in Latin with Hebrew and Arabic, and Kinghorn was able to edit the work and published it with a preface written in Latin.

¹⁹Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, I:449.

²⁰Amelia Alderson Opie (1769–1853), “‘Lines’ on Hearing it said continually, that our late Reverend friend, J. Kinghorn, was ‘fit to die,’” in Cecilia Lucy Brightwell, *Memoir of Amelia Opie* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1855), 99; also see Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, I:457.

JOSEPH KINGHORN'S EDUCATIONAL VISION

Instead of examining Kinghorn's sermons to the students of Stepney (June 23, 1814), Bristol (August 3, 1814), and Horton (August 27, 1817) individually, we shall pay attention to the major elements that constructed his understanding of pastoral education.²¹ Like Andrew Fuller (1754–1815), who famously declared that “eminent spirituality in a minister is usually attended with eminent usefulness,” Kinghorn understood the quintessential connection between human learning, personal piety, and public ministry.²² As Kinghorn pointed out, students need to “cultivate that Christian character which was the first great reason why you were encouraged to turn your attention to the ministry.”²³ Thus, the goal of formal theological education is the cultivation of character. Regarding the relationship between learning and piety, Kinghorn explained that “piety will neither confer learning, nor powers of reasoning acutely; but other things being equal, that man is likely to discern the will of God with the most correctness, who imbibes the largest portion of the spirit of the gospel.”²⁴ Significantly, “the spirit of the gospel” or Scripture is critical for Kinghorn, as it distinguishes an evangelical Bible reader from a Socinian. As we shall see, Kinghorn's three educational sermons are also polemical in nature, as he defends the value of “useful learning.”

Scripture

In his Stepney sermon, Kinghorn emphasized that

Ministers should read the scriptures as *Christians*, that their own souls may be nourished by the word of life; and as the servants of the church of Christ, they should read them carefully and diligently, that they may learn the truth in its simplicity, and have it engraven on their hearts, in the words taught by the Holy Ghost. It is an important thing to have a taste for the language and representations of the Bible, so that the faith which we profess, may be the evident impression of the words of inspiration; and the track of our thought, be the same with that in the sacred volume.²⁵

Significantly, Kinghorn explicitly linked one's “usefulness” with his study and use of the Scriptures.

To reach this educational goal, students were to read the Scriptures “in their original language,” and in so doing to “depend on no man's learning and authority, but go to the fountain head of the stream, which

²¹Notice that in the following part, I liberally use “pastoral education” and “theological education” as synonymous.

²²Andrew Fuller, *The Qualifications and Encouragement of a Faithful Minister Illustrated by the Character and Success of Barnabas*, in *The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller: With a Memoir of His Life*, by Andrew Gunton Fuller, edited by Joseph Belcher (Reprint, Harrisonburg, VA: Sprinkle, 1988), I: 143.

²³Joseph Kinghorn, *Practical Cautions to Students and Young Ministers. The Substance of a Sermon Preached at Bradford, in the County of York; At the Annual Meeting of the Northern Baptist Education Society, August 27, 1817* (Norwich, 1817), 8–9.

²⁴Joseph Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers. Two Sermons, Addressed Principally to the Students of the Two Baptist Academies, at Stepney and at Bristol. The First Preached June 23, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Rippon's Meeting, Carter-lane, Southwark; The Second, August 3, 1814, at the Rev. Dr. Ryland's. Broad Mead, Bristol* (Norwich, 1814), 38.

²⁵Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 8–9.

makes glad the city of our God.”²⁶ In his Bristol sermon, Kinghorn referred to this exercise as “scriptural criticism.”²⁷ By understanding the importance of language study for independent thought, Kinghorn urged students to begin their study early and persevere with diligence. Kinghorn provides reasons for such a labour, as reading the Scriptures in original languages can illuminate the mind, and it is an advantage to read “the displays of the glory of God as he himself made them known, and of beholding them without a veil.”²⁸ He continued, “we behold them stript of the garment in which modern expression [i.e., translations] has clothed them, and standing in that native simplicity, in which they were first exhibited by *holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*.”²⁹

In this address, Kinghorn is probably dealing with the objection raised by many Particular Baptists. Since the seventeenth century, many cited 1 John 2:27, and other similar texts, to argue that since the apostle stated “you have no need that anyone should teach you,” “any attempt to produce an educational ministry as fundamentally dishonouring to the Holy Spirit; for ... it implied that the ministerial gifts of the Spirit were not sufficient for the task.”³⁰ Such a charismatic view was further developed as a reaction against the perceived association between education and heterodoxy. Earlier responses, such as those generated by Hugh (1713–1781) and Caleb Evans (1712–1781), asserted that there was “no dichotomy between the devotional and the academic. Learning and personal faith go together.”³¹ Thus, “no education is a substitute for a living Christian faith.”³² Nevertheless, God the Spirit uses ordinary educational means in the post-apostolic age to equip ministers. To believe otherwise is to seek miraculous ministerial endowments that were given temporarily and exclusively to the apostles.³³

Kinghorn thus built upon Evans’ premises (or the Bristol Tradition) and specifically understood Scripture as a means of grace. When Christians come to the inspired text, the Holy Spirit teaches and illuminates them through their careful reading, study, and the meditation of the biblical texts.³⁴ Biblical criticism and exegesis enable readers to be further exposed to the meaning of the texts in their contexts, which modern translations cannot facilitate.

²⁶Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 10.

²⁷Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 28. A similar term, “biblical criticism” was also used in Kinghorn, *Practical Cautions to Students and Young Ministers*, 16.

²⁸Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 10.

²⁹Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 10.

³⁰Michael A. G. Haykin, “John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825) and Theological Education,” *NAKG/DRCH* 70 (1990): 174. In the seventeenth century, William Kiffin (1616–1710) was the major advocate for an educated ministry, see Michael A. G. Haykin, *Kiffin, Knollys and Keach: Rediscovering Our English Baptist Heritage* (Leeds: Reformation Today Trust, 1996), 43, 111 n8.

³¹Norman S. Moon, “Caleb Evans, Founder of the Bristol Education Society,” *BQ* 24 no. 4 (1971): 182.

³²Moon, “Caleb Evans, Founder of the Bristol Education Society,” 182. In an ordination charge to Thomas Dunscombe, Caleb Evans addresses the minister to be a preacher of the word, of which requires him to “study to show yourself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.” (Caleb Evans, *A Charge and Sermon, Delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Thomas Dunscombe, at Coate, Oxon, August 4th, 1773* [Bristol, 1773], 5). As it was demonstrated in Caleb Evans’ *Advice to Students Having in View Christian Ministry*, theological education for Evans is “a time of deep spiritual growth where learning plays significant role,” of which is a matter of both mind and heart (Kody Gibson, “Caleb Evans’ Spirituality of Theological Education,” *Andrew Fuller Center Review* 4 [2012]: 17, 18).

³³Bristol Education Society, “The Care for An Educated Ministry (1770),” cited by Moon, *Education for Ministry*, 130; Haykin, “John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825) and Theological Education,” 175.

³⁴Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 11.

Therefore, Kinghorn urged students to remember: “Patient diligence will do much towards the attainment of the end,” to obtain “a familiar acquaintance with the Bible in its original languages ... in less time than you would suppose.”³⁵ Understanding the difficulty of linguistic learning, Kinghorn suggested: “if only you daily and steadily persevere, you may, with the assistance of very few books, acquire a highly respectable knowledge of the languages in which the bible was written, and of the style peculiar to the sacred writers.”³⁶ Such suggestions came from Kinghorn’s own experience. Since his arrival in Norwich, Kinghorn disciplined himself to read the scriptures in Hebrew and Greek daily. Such determined exercises drew his father’s concern. In May 1795, David Kinghorn wrote to his son and told him about his potential labour in the garden. He said,

Perhaps you’ll say, I shall be no partaker with you in your pleasure, as I shall neither see nor enjoy any of the fruits of your labour this season. No, you’ll stay at home cracking your brain with heaps of Latin books, till every philament [*sic*] and fibre is steached [*sic*] to the state of a fiddle strong, and sounds Latin, Latin at every touch.³⁷

In response to his father’s ridicule, Kinghorn wrote, “tho[ugh] I cannot have a share either in the labor nor probably in the fruit of your labor in cultivating your Garden I can wish you much pleasure & success which I may garden a little in a different way by planting & watering Hebrew Roots.”³⁸

Anthony Cross points out that the Bible’s central role in theological education is one of the trademarks of the Bristol Tradition.³⁹ As an alumnus of Bristol, Kinghorn inherited such a tradition, which is “summed up in the preparation of ‘able and evangelical ministers,’ but the form of this most remembered is ‘able, evangelical, lively, zealous ministers of the gospel,’ first coined ... by Caleb Evans in 1781 in his funeral sermon for his father.”⁴⁰ “Biblical criticism,” as Kinghorn called it, is a skill that makes one an able and effective minister. However, by the early nineteenth century, such a tradition began to lose its place in the new academies. Deryck W. Lovegrove indicates that

Theologically grounded in moderate, evangelical Calvinism and in consequence displaying a strongly practical bias, the new seminaries (the term itself indicates their divergence from the earlier pattern) afforded regular opportunities for practice in evangelistic preaching and encouraged the growth of personal devotion. Their early development was marked by a fairly relaxed attitude towards intellectual attainment.⁴¹

³⁵Kinghorn, *Practical Cautions to Students and Young Ministers*, 15.

³⁶Kinghorn, *Practical Cautions to Students and Young Ministers*, 15–16.

³⁷D/KIN 2/1795 no. 832, DK to JK, May 2, 1795, Kinghorn Papers (Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, Oxford), 1.

³⁸D/KIN 2/1795 no. 833, JK to DK, May 19, 1795, Kinghorn Papers (Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, Oxford), 3. In Wilkin’s biography, the author omitted “watering” in Kinghorn’s letter (see Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, I: 250).

³⁹Cross, *Useful Learning*, 96–99.

⁴⁰Cross, *Useful Learning*, 102.

⁴¹Deryck W. Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People: Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 68.

Consequentially, “students at the new academies were put to work as evangelists and church planters, making the college not just a place of training but an immediate ministerial resource effective in the life of the churches.”⁴² Furthermore, as Briggs understands it, “part of the problem was constituency demand, still suspicious of the intellectualism of the old academies and its associated heterodoxy, and still opposed to the concept of ‘man-made’ ministers.”⁴³

Within such contexts, Kinghorn reminded students the source of their effectiveness. As ministers are called to be good workmen, they, therefore, need “to make such improvement of God’s gift as [it] will enable us to apply it to the best purpose, we must study with all that sedulous care which is included in the apostle’s precept, *meditate upon these things*.”⁴⁴

Theological Subjects

Beside the Scriptures, Kinghorn also pointed out the need of studying “systematic divinity,” “the History of the Church,” and “our own denomination.”⁴⁵ Reasons are provided:

The gospel is formed on a grand and beautiful theory: its doctrines demand your attention: they are the pillars of God’s revealed truth: they are supported by the strongest evidence, and if we properly understand them, we shall clearly see their practical tendency. In a well constructed machine, not a single lever or wheel is useless; all are needed in their places, and the defect would instantly be perceived were any one of them taken away. So in the system of the gospel, not a single part is redundant: each has its peculiar and important use: the whole, therefore, should be studied that it may be *understood* and *familiarized* to the mind; and God grant that it may also be *felt*.⁴⁶

Furthermore, as “the doctrines of the gospel are facts,” it is

necessary that we should know the nature, evidence, and bearings of these facts, both in relation to each other, and as they are all united in the grand scheme, which secures the happiness of man and the glory of God.⁴⁷

Kinghorn understood the necessity of keeping a scripture-based confessional faith. A clearer statement can be found in a letter to his father in 1781. After thanking his father for sharing Robert Hall, Sr.’s (1728–1791) circular letter, “The Doctrine of Repentance” (1780), Kinghorn commented,

I think the arguments in it are strongly founded indeed[,] tho that Doctrine is one of the Vitals in Religion[,] yet it is a tender point & ought to be treated[,] with great caution[,] lest we therein err to the

⁴²Briggs, *The English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century*, 76.

⁴³Briggs, *The English Baptists of the Nineteenth Century*, 75.

⁴⁴Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 14.

⁴⁵Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 30, 31.

⁴⁶Kinghorn, *Practical Cautions to Students and Young Ministers*, 16.

⁴⁷Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 11, 12.

hurt of our souls[.] the best way is to take & believe the thing just as it[']s revealed in Scripture & just let it rest there without applying our reason to it at all.⁴⁸

The last sentence places Kinghorn in clear contrast to Socinians like Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) and Isaac Perry (1777–1837). Just a year before his addresses to students at Stepney and Bristol, Kinghorn found himself amid a controversy with the Socinians (or Unitarians). In response to Thomas Belsham (1750–1829), Kinghorn published his *Scripture Arguments for the Divinity of Christ* (1813).⁴⁹ By applying the above-mentioned principle, taking the text as it was revealed, Kinghorn exposed Belsham’s hermeneutical weaknesses. Kinghorn then disparaged the Socinians’ attempt to justify their system by editing their own version of the Bible. He concluded that the fault of Socinianism was their attempt to “strip Christianity of many sentiments.”⁵⁰ If gospel doctrines are revealed in the scriptures as interwoven facts, biblical criticism by itself is not enough. Ministers need to read the scriptures in relation to systematic divinity (or sentiments of Christianity), and examine doctrines by Scripture, not human reason.

Furthermore, Kinghorn also understood the significance of church history in pastoral education. He explains that,

by this means you will be led to mark the providence of God... you will see what was the faith and practice of good men in different periods. You will thus be able to trace back the common sentiment and feeling of those who most eminently served God. You will observe their mode of reasoning, and the source of their mistakes. You will, in some instance, be charmed with their sincerity and ardour of mind;—and you will, in others, be surprized at their flexibility to the prevailing fashion of the day. You will be led to mark both the weakness and the strength of the human mind in different circumstances. You will learn to estimate the wright of the testimonies which antiquity affords, both to the doctrine and practice of the apostles; and you will thus, by historical deduction, revert with increasing satisfaction and confidence, to the pure records of the faith once delivered to the saints.⁵¹

For Kinghorn, church history is valuable for pastoral formation, as it provides both positive and negative examples. More importantly, church history details a mega-narrative, in which Christians can claim existential affirmation, “satisfaction and confidence.”

Kinghorn does reveal a proclivity for some historical eras over others. For Kinghorn, the church fathers of “the first three centuries after the birth of Christ” are helpful and refreshing.⁵² From his library catalogue, we know Kinghorn possessed works by Justin Martyr (c. 100–165), Tertullian (c. 155–c. 240), Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215), Origen (c. 184–c. 253), Cyprian (c. 200/210–258), Lactantius (c.

⁴⁸D/KIN 2/1781 no. 172, JK to DK, November 7, 1781, Kinghorn Papers (Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, Oxford), 1.

⁴⁹Thomas Belsham, *A Calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine Concerning the Person of Christ; Including a Brief Review of the Controversy Between Dr. Horsley and Dr. Priestley, and a Summary of the Various Opinions Entertained by Christians upon this Subject* (London, 1811).

⁵⁰Joseph Kinghorn, *Scriptural Arguments for the Divinity of Christ, Addressed to the Serious Professors of Christianity* (Norwich, 1811), 24.

⁵¹Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 29.

⁵²Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 29.

250–c. 325), Eusebius (260/265–339/340), Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–373), Epiphanius of Salamis (c.310/320–403), Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 313–386), and Augustine (354–430).⁵³ The time he dedicated to this task was noticed by others. Martin Hood Wilkin recalled that Kinghorn read “a ponderous tome” written by the Greek and Latin Fathers, “from end to end.”⁵⁴

When being asked the benefits of reading the fathers, Kinghorn pointed out that it was “merely because Dr. Priestley takes a good deal of notice of it, and says, amidst all, there are several traces of the opinions of the ancient Christians.”⁵⁵ By engaging with the fathers directly, Kinghorn found that “it is like meeting with an honest man in bad company, where one is ready to suppose all are rogues alike.”⁵⁶ We can observe that Kinghorn’s hermeneutic was consistent, as he was not satisfied with interpretations; instead, he sought to engage with the texts directly and to read them in the languages they were written.

Bypassing the Middle Ages without mention, Kinghorn told students to pay close attention to the Reformation, where the Dissenters found their origin.⁵⁷ For Kinghorn, the Reformation was a spiritual movement and needed to be chronicled by its effects. Thus, Puritanism was regarded as part of the Reformation. Historically, since the Great Ejection of 1662, the religious situation in England was divided by ecclesial politics—the Church of England and the Dissenting Body existed as two hostile religious entities. The Act of Toleration granted only limited religious freedom since the Test Act of 1678 was not repealed until 1828. This left Dissenters subject to restrictions on their civil liberties.⁵⁸ Politically, the Tory party stood with the established church; thus even in 1811, Henry Addington (1757–1844), then Lord President of the Council, presented the Protestant Dissenting Ministers Bill to the House of Lords.⁵⁹ In

⁵³*Catalogue of the Entire Library of the Late Rev. Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich; Comprising a Very Valuable Collection of English and Foreign Theology and Biblical Criticism, Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature, Fathers of the Church, and Ecclesiastical History, Now Selling for Ready Money Only. At the Prices Affixed to Each Article, by Wilken & Fletcher, Booksellers, Upper Haymarket, Norwich* (Norwich, 1833).

⁵⁴Wilkin, *Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich*, 450.

⁵⁵D/KIN 2/1791 no. 694, JK to DK, November 15, 1791, Kinghorn Papers (Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, Oxford), 2.

⁵⁶D/KIN 2/1791 no. 694, JK to DK, November 15, 1791, Kinghorn Papers (Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, Oxford), 2.

⁵⁷Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 30.

⁵⁸For a summary of legal acts relate to the Dissenters, see Joseph Beldam, *A Summary of the Laws Peculiarly Affecting Protestant Dissenters. An Appendix, Containing Acts of Parliaments, Trust Deeds, and Legal Forms* (London: Joseph Butterworth and Son, 1827).

The Act of Toleration was published on Mary 24, 1689 by the Parliament, which abandoned the idea of a “comprehensive” Church of England, and it “allowed Nonconformists their own places of worship and their own teachers and preachers, subject to acceptance of certain oaths of allegiance. Social and political disabilities remained, however, and Nonconformists were still denied political office” (Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Toleration Act,” Encyclopædia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Toleration-Act-Great-Britain-1689>).

The Test Act was a law that “made a person’s eligibility for public office depend upon his profession of the established religion...The form that the test took in England was to make the receiving of Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England a condition precedent to the acceptance of office. It was first embodied in legislation in 1661 as a requisite for membership of a town corporation and was extended to cover all public offices by the Test Act of 1673” (Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Test Act,” Encyclopædia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/test-act>).

⁵⁹A copy of the bill is made available to access by UK Parliament, and it was summarized as “the bill was an attempt to provide exemption from military service only to dissenting ministers who were able to be vouched for by six householders, which meant that ministers were unable to speak for their own status” (UK Parliament, “Copy of Lord Sidmouth’s Bill Relating to Protestant Dissenting Ministers,” HL Deb 09 May 1811 vol 19 cc1133–40, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1811/may/09/copy-of-lord-sidmouths-bill-relating-to> [accessed

response, ministers including Kinghorn brought petitions to protest against it.⁶⁰ On the social scale, mobs insulted and attacked dissenting ministers for their Whiggism and attitudes toward the Revolutions.⁶¹ Even among the Dissenters, questions were raised regarding their relationship with the Puritans, and as Baptist minister Richard Hutchings (d. 1804) pointed out, the rational Dissenters were from an illegitimate line as they abandoned “their traditional Calvinism, both as a set of doctrines and as an ascetic moral code.”⁶² Existentially, as “communities of memory,” one’s “continuing loyalty to Dissent was a commitment to a founding historical moment—a commitment that needed renewing.”⁶³ Young ministers at Kinghorn’s time needed to commit to their theological and spiritual heritage.

In a similar manner, Kinghorn also urged students to study Baptist history and theology. They are reminded that:

We have a ground of our own, distinct from that of other dissenters. Our views of Christian baptism, not only present a subject of discussion with our brethren all around, but have a most intimate relation to the question of our separation from the establishment. If, as we firmly believe, we are right, and if our opponents cannot prove that the one principle on which we must separate from the establishment is decided; and the *nature* and *dimensions* of the Christian church are determined at once.⁶⁴

Kinghorn understood the urgency for the new generation of ministers to learn and maintain their unique denominational heritage. When the Evangelical Revival led by George Whitefield (1714–1770), John Wesley (1703–1791), and Howell Harris (1714–1773) occurred in the early 1700s, “the British movement and its

on February 12, 2019]). Also see Anonymous, *Remarks on the Failure of Lord Sidmouth’s Bill, Relating to Protestant Dissenters* (London, 1811); Charles F. Mullett, “The Legal Position of the English Protestant Dissenters, 1767–1812,” *Virginia Law Review* 25.6 (1939): 671–697; Peter Walker, “‘A Free and Protestant People’? The Campaign for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1786–1828” (Master’s thesis, Oxford University, 2010); Michael A. Rutz, “The Problem of Church and State: Dissenting Politics and the London Missionary Society in 1830s Britain,” *Journal of Church and State* 48.2 (2006): 379–398; James E. Bradeley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Non-conformity in Eighteenth-Century Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: Volume II The Expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 347–452. Also see Antonia Fraser, *The King and the Catholics: England, Ireland, and the Fight for Religious Freedom, 1780–1829* (New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 2018).

⁶⁰See Wolever, ed., *The Life and Works of Joseph Kinghorn*, I: 339–341.

⁶¹The most infamous attack was the Priestley Riots or the Birmingham Riots of 1791 (July 14 to 17, 1791). As the mob attacked Joseph Priestley and burned down his church and house, the famous Socinian Dissenter migrated to the United States. Other instances include the Woodstock Riot (1794), in which Baptist minister James Hinton was attacked (see Michael A. G. Haykin, “Accounted Worthy to Bear in My Body the Marks of the Lord Jesus”: James Hinton, the Persecution of English Dissent, and the Woodstock Riot [Louisville, KY: The Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies, 2018]; on the account of the riot, see Haykin, “Accounted Worthy to Bear in My Body the Marks of the Lord Jesus”, 25 n61); and the Aylsham riot (1808), in which on a Sunday evening local mobs “behaved in a very disorderly manner in the chapel, and carried off the minister by force to the Dog Inn” (Charles Mackie, *Norfolk Annals: A Chronological Record of Remarkable Events in the Nineteenth Century 1801–1805* [Norwich: Office of the Norfolk Chronicle, 1901], I:74).

⁶²John Seed, *Dissenting Histories: Religious Division and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 131. See Richard Hutchings, *Gospel Truths Displayed, and Gospel Ministers Duty, in a Day of Great Defection Proved, in a Sermon Preached Before the Society of Protestant Dissenters, Meeting at the New-York Coffee-House: Occasioned by the Rejection of the Dissenters Bill. Delivered at the Rev. Mr. Dowars’ Meeting-House, in Little Ayliffe-Street, Goodman’s-Fields, April 13, 1773. With an Address to the Orthodox Party Who Joined in the Late Application* (London, 1773).

⁶³Seed, *Dissenting Histories*, 132.

⁶⁴Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 31.

expression in England, *ab initio*, mainly occurred outside the ranks of Dissent.”⁶⁵ Congregationalists like Isaac Watts (1674–1748) and Philip Doddridge (1702–1751) were the first among the Dissenters to welcome the revival.⁶⁶ Baptists, in general, were not impacted by the revival until the 1770s and 1780s, despite attributing their later participation in this phenomena to the influence of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) upon their change.⁶⁷ Since Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) defined the word “evangelical” as “Agreeable to gospel; consonant to the Christian law revealed in the holy gospel; contained in the gospel,” W. R. Ward (1925–2010) pointed out that the word was used synonymously to mean “renewal and improvement.”⁶⁸ Thus, the Evangelical Revival diminished (or at least weakened) the Conformity-vs-Nonconformity division. Instead, it drew lines between “evangelical” (or ardent) and nominal Christians. Consequently, evangelical-piety-based catholicity can be achieved in a divided religious world.⁶⁹ Baptists once again found themselves in a crisis, as debates over the sacraments and church membership were rekindled. At the core, questions were raised over the Baptist identity and their relationship with broader evangelicals, who were Paedobaptists.

This denominational concern was escalated to a full-blown controversy as Kinghorn entered the decade-long debate with his friend and fellow Baptist minister Robert Hall, Jr. over the term of communion which had been in place since 1816. The doctrinal differences were not solved, even though the majority of English Baptists favoured Hall’s position by the 1830s. Less than ten years later, different positions over the term of communion directly caused the collapse of the Canada Baptist College in Montreal.⁷⁰

CONCLUSION

Having examined the major elements in Kinghorn’s addresses to the students at Stepney, Bristol, and Horton, the Norwich pastor’s stance on theological education reaffirms the necessity of “an educated ministry.” Kinghorn’s reason was pastoral, as he stated, “we do need men whose plain but impressive

⁶⁵R. Philip Roberts, *Continuity and Change: London Calvinistic Baptists and the Evangelical Revival 1760–1820* (Wheaton, IL: Richard Owen Roberts, 1989), 46. W. R. Ward traced the trans-Atlantic movement to its continental origin, see Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁶⁶On Watts and evangelicalism, see Graham Beynon, *Isaac Watts: Reason, Passion and the Revival of Religion* (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2016); On Doddridge and evangelicalism, Robert Strivens, *Philip Doddridge and the Shaping of Evangelical Dissent* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016).

⁶⁷On how London Baptists welcomed the Evangelical Revival, see Roberts, *Continuity and Change*, 87–162. Also see Anthony Cross, *Useful Learning: Neglected Means of Grace in the Reception of the Evangelical Revival among English Particular Baptists* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2017). Also see Michael A. G. Haykin, “Great Admirers of the Transatlantic Divinity: Some Chapters in the Story of Baptist Edwardsianism,” in *After Jonathan Edwards: The Courses of the New England Theology*, edited by Oliver D. Crisp and Douglas A. Sweeney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 197–207; Peter J. Morden, *Offering Christ to the World: Andrew Fuller (1754–1815) and the Revival of Eighteenth Century Particular Baptist Life* (Bletchley, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2003).

⁶⁸Samuel Johnson, “Evangelical,” in *A Dictionary of the English Language: In Which the Words are Deduced from Their Originals, and Illustrated in Their Different Significations by Examples from the Best Writers. To Which are Prefixed, a History of the Language and an English Grammar* (London, 1832), I: 646–647. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 345.

⁶⁹See Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian Britain, 1795–1830* (Metuchen, NJ; London: Scarecrow, 1983).

⁷⁰See Campbell, “Canada Baptist College,” 70–101; Gibson, *Robert Alexander Fyfe*, 72, 182, 187.

statements, may be above the contempt of the world, while they are suited for the edification of the church.”⁷¹

Standing within the Bristol Tradition, Kinghorn’s educational vision is piety-based, bible-centric, and future-directed. Furthermore, as Kinghorn’s teaching on biblical criticism serves as a response to certain degrees of Baptist anti-intellectualism, his understanding of the theological subjects is equally polemic. To abandon formal education in the name of orthodoxy is ineffective. Instead, education and spirituality go hand in hand in the pastor’s character formation.

Furthermore, Kinghorn denied the position of *solo* Scripture, which many Socinians affirmed. By affirming the value of “systematic divinity,” church history, and Baptist theology, Kinghorn provided a twofold model for his audience. On the one hand, confessional fences regulate orthodoxy; on the other hand, students need to understand and improve their theological framework, by which they can become

entirely dependent ... on the rich grace of God, in the gospel...and strongly feeling your own need of this salvation by grace;—viewing the ability of the Redeemer to save;—and trusting in him alone for yourselves; your hearts will expand with holy fervour; and this will give you the real eloquence, which will most affect the hearts of your hearers.⁷²

Through its connections, Canada Baptist College participated in the Bristol Tradition.

⁷¹Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 24.

⁷²Kinghorn, *Advice and Encouragement to Young Ministers*, 39.

THE DEVOTIONAL HYMN AND TUNE BOOK (1864): THE FIRST “OFFICIAL” AMERICAN BAPTIST HYMNAL WITH MUSIC

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Hymns and songs are one of the important ways in which Christian congregations express their praise to and love of God, witness to the unconverted, teach doctrine, minister to one another, and express their fellowship with other believers. Hymns have been particularly important to Baptists. Since Baptists do not have prescribed liturgies, prayer books, or creedal statements, hymns have long served them as liturgical elements, means of connecting with God and other believers, and expressions of faith and trust. The books in which they are contained provide a record of the beliefs of Baptist people and also help shape them as believers.¹

While the words of hymns are of critical significance, the music to which they are sung is also important, for music either enhances or detracts from the message of the text. Recognition of this vital linkage during the late nineteenth century led to the publication of Baptist hymnals that included not only words but also tunes to which they could be sung. The first of these, *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*, set a pattern that was followed by most Baptist denominational hymnals for the next hundred years. This essay examines the origin and contents of that hymnal for the light it can shed on the congregational singing of Baptists during the immediate post-Civil War era and its establishment of a format for similar books that were published by the denomination.

EARLY “OFFICIAL” AMERICAN BAPTIST HYMNALS

The story of American Baptist hymnals during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is largely one of individuals or private printing firms taking the initiative to supply what they believed was suitable material for the churches to sing.² In these circumstances, the compiler of the hymnal or the company that issued the book took all the financial risk and reaped all of whatever profit (or took whatever loss) was generated. Churches, of course, were free to choose any hymnal they wished to use (or none at all), and during much of this period, the concept of an “official” hymnal published or adopted by the denomination was largely a foreign one. It was not until the 1840s that a hymnal received national recognition by an American Baptist entity, and it was to be another twenty years after that before a book with tunes was formally sanctioned.

¹ In recent years, the hymnal as a compendium of worship song has declined in popularity in favor of words printed in worship leaflets or projected on screens. Throughout most of Baptist history, however, churches have relied upon hymnals of one sort or another, even if only in the hands of the leader.

² In this essay, the term “American Baptists” refers principally to the churches in the northern United States that formed the Northern Baptist Convention in 1907, renamed the American Baptist Convention in 1950, and the American Baptist Churches USA in 1972. Prior to 1907, American Baptists worked on the “society” model of organization.

The first hymnal to be published under the auspices of an American Baptist denominational body was Samuel Jones and Burgiss Allison's words-only *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns* (1790), compiled at the request of the Philadelphia Baptist Association. This pioneering effort reached a fourth edition in 1819 but was probably used mainly within the bounds of the association itself. Furthermore, its success did not deter independent compilers from continuing to publish hymnals for the denomination.

The formation of the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions (the Triennial Convention) in 1814 gave Baptists their first national organization, and the founding of the Baptist General Tract Society (subsequently the American Baptist Publication Society [ABPS]) ten years later provided them with a denominational publishing house. At its seventeenth annual meeting in 1841, the Publication Society began to consider the prospect of issuing a hymn book for the use of the denomination. Discussions about the proposed hymnal continued until 1843 when the Society decided instead to give its imprimatur to a collection that was already in preparation by two Northern Baptist pastors, Baron Stow and S. F. Smith's *The Psalmist*. The Society came to this decision in part because of the "well-known ability" of the compilers and partly in order "to avoid the unnecessary multiplication of Hymn Books."³ This decision proved to be a wise one, for *The Psalmist* "was received with general approbation as the standard Baptist Hymn Book" and was widely used in Northern U. S. churches and in some Southern congregations as well.⁴

As was customary with church hymnals of the time, *The Psalmist* contained words only. At least three compilers created collections of tunes to accompany *The Psalmist*: N. D. Gould, *Companion for The Psalmist* (1844); J. R. Scott, *The Congregational Psalmist* (1855); and B. F. Edmands, *The Psalmist with Music* (1859). These were among the first music books that were intended to provide tunes for a specific Baptist hymnal.⁵

However, unlike the text-only version of *The Psalmist*, none of these collections received the direct endorsement of the American Baptist Missionary Union or publication by the American Baptist Publication Society. Each was an individual effort on the part of its compiler, and none of them seems to have received widespread use.

Five years after publication of *The Psalmist*, its compilers issued *The Social Psalmist*, a collection of hymns "for conference meetings and family worship" (title page), but the ABPS evidently had no part in this book, which was published by the Boston firm of Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln that had brought out Stow and Smith's earlier volume. Apparently feeling the need for a similar collection, in 1849 the ABPS printed *The Baptist Harp*, another words-only hymnal.

An important development in American congregational singing took place in 1855 with the publication of the *Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes* by the Brooklyn, New York, Congregationalist pastor Henry Ward Beecher. Previously, the full texts of hymns were available only in hymnals, while the music to

³ "Prefatory Note," in Baron Stow and S. F. Smith, *The Psalmist* (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1843).

⁴ J. Newton Brown, *History of the American Baptist Publication Society, From its Origin in 1824, to its Thirty-Second Anniversary in 1856* (Philadelphia: American Baptist [sic] Publication Society, [1856]), 145; see also pp. 124, 128, and 130. To increase acceptance in the South a "Southern supplement" by Richard Fuller and J. B. Jeter was added in 1847.

⁵ For further information about these volumes see David W. Music and Paul A. Richardson, *"I Will Sing the Wondrous Story": A History of Baptist Hymnody in North America* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2008), 263–67.

which they were to be sung could be found only in tune books. The *Plymouth Collection* was the first significant American book to bring the full texts and music together under a single cover.⁶ The basic design of the *Plymouth Collection* was ultimately to become the standard format for hymnal publication in the United States, though tune books continued to be published until near the end of the nineteenth century and words-only collections for some time after that.

American Baptists were not slow to pick up on this innovation. Nine years after the publication of Beecher's ground-breaking volume, the ABPS issued its first book in this format, *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*.⁷

THE DEVOTIONAL HYMN AND TUNE BOOK

Plans for publishing *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* appear to have begun in 1863, when a committee was appointed at the annual meeting of the American Baptist Publication Society to study the feasibility of issuing "a new Hymn-Book for Social Meetings and the Conference Room," as well as one for Sunday schools.⁸ In its report, the committee suggested that if such a project were to be pursued it should omit "such hymns and tunes as are tame and trite, as also those which may be offensive to a correct musical taste, or are indifferently well-suited to increase and elevate the spirit of devotion." The committee also warned that the need to obtain copyrighted material and other complications might make such a volume expensive to produce and draw the Society's resources away from other projects.⁹

The concern about the economic situation was certainly justified since at that time the country was in the throes of the Civil War. In regard to the Sunday school collection, it was felt that there was already a plethora of such books on the market. Despite these rather negative findings, the Board noted that it "has been repeatedly and earnestly called to the necessity of making two new Hymn Books—one for SOCIAL and PUBLIC MEETINGS, the other for SUNDAY-SCHOOLS," and thus a committee of pastors was appointed to compile a new hymn book.¹⁰

⁶ Beecher's volume had been preceded by several revival and other special occasion songbooks that contained both words and music, as well as by Darius E. Jones's *Temple Melodies* (1851), but Beecher's was the first hymnal that was both intended for the stated worship services of the church and widely used.

⁷ *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book for Social and Public Worship. The Music Arranged and Adapted by Wm. B. Bradbury. With a Supplement* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1864). The book was also published in New York by U. D. Ward—perhaps as a "trade edition" that could be used by other denominations—but the copyright was that of the ABPS. The ABPS had previously (1860) published another hymn-and-tune-book, Basil Manly Jr. and Asa B. Everett's *Baptist Chorals*, but this was merely a reprint of an 1859 collection originally issued by a Virginia publisher and not a new compilation. Other hymnic materials published by the Society before 1864 included the Sunday school song books *The Children's Choir* (1860, by John M. Evans), an "improved edition" of Lowell Mason's *The Sabbath-School Harp* (1854), and collections for non-English speaking groups—*The Pilgrim Harp* (German, compiled by Konrad A. Fleischman and Augustus Rauschenbusch, 1855) and *Cherokee Hymn Book* (1850, ed. S. A. Worcester).

⁸ *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Baptist Publication Society, Presented in Cleveland, Ohio. 1863* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1863), 11, 19.

⁹ *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report*, 20.

¹⁰ *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report*, 40. No specific actions authorizing the publication of the hymnal or the names of the pastors to whom the project was entrusted have been located. The information about the committee of pastors is

During the nineteenth century, the term “social meeting” was used to refer to services other than the regular worship times of the church. Typically, these “social” functions were less formal than the regular services and could include revival meetings, prayer meetings, fellowship times, small group gatherings, family devotions, and the like. The hymnic repertory of public worship and social meetings overlapped somewhat (often considerably), but that of the social meeting tended toward greater simplicity and intimacy.

The work of the committee came to fruition in 1864 with the issuing of one book in two formats, a words-only version called *The Devotional Hymn Book* and one with music titled *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*.¹¹ The words-only edition was evidently published first, with the music edition coming out later that year.¹² The two volumes were cross-referenced with each other to facilitate simultaneous use by a choir, instrumentalist(s), and congregation. The prefaces to the books—both dated “September 1, 1864”—are nearly identical but contain slight variations because of their differing natures. The one to the hymn-and-tune version explains that “The compilers of this book have endeavored to group together the choicest Hymns and Tunes in the language; embracing the old and familiar Songs of Zion, and the many precious gems that have been more recently added to the treasury of sacred song.”

Many copies of *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* include a supplement “consisting of old and familiar tunes and choruses” that were “inserted by request.” Exactly when this supplement was appended is not known, but it was probably added soon after the publication of the main part of the book or perhaps at the same time as the hymnal proper as a result of prepublication input. In either case, it is evident that the supplement was not part of the original scheme of the book and was incorporated because of popular demand. The printing with the supplement forms the basis for the remainder of this article.

The Texts

The compiler(s) of the texts for *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* are not mentioned anywhere in the book and are not known from other sources.¹³ The body of the hymnal contains 602 numbered texts, plus several unnumbered doxologies scattered throughout the book.¹⁴ The supplement contains a further thirty texts.

from the 1865 report of the Board; see *Forty-First Annual Report of the American Baptist Publication Society, Presented in St. Louis, Mo., 1865* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1865), 23.

¹¹ *The Devotional Hymn Book. A New Collection of Hymns for Social and Public Worship* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1864).

¹² This is the implication of a full-page advertisement on the title page verso of the *Forty-First Annual Report* (1865), which noted that “An edition of the DEVOTIONAL HYMN BOOK, without the music, is now ready,” while “the new HYMN AND TUNE BOOK for Social and Public Worship will be ready about the 20th of August next.” Though appearing in the proceedings for 1865, the advertisement is probably a reprint of one that appeared in 1864; the report of the Board, read at the annual meeting on May 22, 1865, stated that the book had been in print for seven months, that is, since at least October or November of 1864 (p. 23).

¹³ In Music and Richardson, “*I Will Sing the Wondrous Story*,” 378, it is stated that A. J. Rowland “had been one of the compilers of *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*.” However, the reference should have been to *The Baptist Hymn and Tune Book* (1871) rather than to *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*.

¹⁴ The doxologies appear on pp. 8, 14, 48, 94, 103, 122, 123, 140, 187, 189, and 219; they do not appear in the indexes to the volume. The words-only version grouped together ten doxologies at the end of the main body of hymns with separate numbering (pp. 417–18). The doxologies in the hymn-and-tune version do not correspond with those in the words-only volume except for “To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost” (p. 219), which is the same as the third doxology in the latter.

However, all but two of the lyrics in the supplement also appear in the main part of the book. Thus the main purpose of the supplement was apparently to provide alternate tunes for some of the texts.¹⁵

While it might be assumed that the textual content of the hymn-and-tune version would be identical to that of the words-only version that is not quite the case. In three instances, the hymn-and-tune book substitutes a text for one in the words-only collection.¹⁶ The reasons for these changes are not immediately apparent. The hymn-and-tune version also includes one more lyric than the words-only volume; the added piece is “He leadeth me! Oh! blessed thought” (no. 599).

Another difference between the words-only and hymn-and-tune printings is in the organization of the material. The words-only version grouped the hymns into several broad categories in the following order: Revivals, The Church, The Lord’s Day, Praise to God, Praise to Christ, Praise to the Holy Spirit, Christian Life, Spread of the Gospel, Special Occasions, The Future State, Parting Hymns, and Doxologies. In contrast, the hymn-and-tune version has no discernible thematic arrangement. For example, the first item in the hymn-and-tune book is “Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,” which does not appear until no. 309 in the words-only volume (under “Praise to the Holy Spirit”). The lack of thematic organization in the hymn-and-tune book probably resulted from using a single tune as a setting for two or more texts on different subjects or other requirements relating to the music.

A comparison of the texts in *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* with those of *The Psalmist* reveals that 382 are in common between the two books, plus one more in the supplement.¹⁷ Similarly, 282 hymns are found in both *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* and *The Baptist Harp*, including nearly 100 that were not in *The Psalmist*. This does not necessarily mean that the hymns in *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* were taken directly from the earlier collections since the texts sometimes appeared in slightly different versions.¹⁸ However, it does indicate that these books probably served as the starting point for the selection of lyrics in the 1864 publication and perhaps gives some idea of the repertory that Baptists were singing at the time.

The author found most often in the book is Isaac Watts, to whom 114 hymns are attributed, with another five being traceable to him, representing nearly twenty per cent of the total number of texts.¹⁹ Other writers that are drawn upon heavily include John Newton (34), Anne Steele (31), Charles Wesley (29), Philip Doddridge (28), Benjamin Beddome (18), James Montgomery (15), and William Cowper (9). Works by these eight authors make up nearly fifty per cent of the hymnic content. All of these writers were British, and each did their work in the eighteenth century, except Montgomery. Steele and Beddome were Baptists. The large

¹⁵ The two texts that appeared only in the supplement were “Come, let us anew” and “Ye soldiers of the cross.” Another lyric, “Hail! thou blest morn, when the great mediator,” was a different version of “Brightest and best of the sons of the morning” by Reginald Heber.

¹⁶ The three substitutions were “See the ransomed millions stand” (no. 210) for “Lord, deliver; thou canst save” (no. 499 in the words-only version); “Great Shepherd of thine Israel” (no. 345) for “O Holy Father! just and true” (no. 500); and “Go labor on; your hands are weak” (no. 409) for “O Lord! our eyes have waited long” (no. 501). It will be noted that the three hymns in the words-only book were in consecutive order.

¹⁷ The remainder of this article deals only with *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* and not with *The Devotional Hymn Book*.

¹⁸ To cite but two examples, *The Psalmist* gives the first line of two hymns as “Come, weary sinner, in whose breast” and “From all who dwell below the skies”; in *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* these are “Come, trembling sinner, in whose breast” and “From all that dwell below the skies.”

¹⁹ The figures in this paragraph do not include duplications of texts in the supplement.

number of eighteenth-century British hymns is not surprising since that era is widely recognized as the “golden age” of English hymnody because of the large number of writers who were working, the impressive number of hymns they wrote, and the high quality of their texts.

However, *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* did not neglect the work of both earlier and contemporary Americans, including Thomas Hastings (7 texts); Timothy Dwight and Lydia H. Sigourney (3 each); Lewis Hartsough, Fanny Crosby, and Mary Dana Shindler (2 each); and Ray Palmer (“My faith looks up to thee,” plus the translation of “Jesus, thou joy of loving hearts”). Several living or recently-deceased American Baptist authors were represented, including Samuel F. Smith (9 texts), S. D. Phelps (3), John M. Evans (2), and J. R. Scott (1). Of particular interest are a text by Adoniram Judson (“Come, Holy Spirit, dove divine”) and one by Krishna Pal, the first convert of William Carey’s India mission (“O, thou, my soul, forget no more”).

The Music Editor

In contrast to the anonymity of the persons who compiled the texts, the musical arrangement and adaptation for *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* is credited to William Batchelder Bradbury, whose name is featured prominently on the title page and in advertisements for the collection. Bradbury was born in York, Maine, on October 6, 1816. In 1830, he moved with his family to Boston, where he studied with Sumner Hill, Lowell Mason, and George J. Webb. After teaching stints in Machias, Maine; St. Johns, New Brunswick; and Boston, he became music director at the First Baptist Church of Brooklyn, New York (1840). In the following year, he moved to the Baptist Tabernacle in New York City, where he also founded a singing class for young people and published his first music book, *The Young Choir* (1841, with Charles W. Sanders).

Bradbury went to Europe for further study in 1847–1849. From 1850 to 1854, he served as music director at the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City. In the latter year, he, his brother Edward, and F. C. Lighte formed the Bradbury Piano Company, and he began teaching music normal schools with Lowell Mason, Thomas Hastings, and George F. Root. In 1861, Bradbury founded his own music publishing firm, the William B. Bradbury Company. He passed away on January 7, 1868.

Bradbury was a prolific composer and compiler of tune books. He was known particularly for his Sunday school songs and collections, including the tune for “Jesus loves me, this I know” and books with such appealing titles as *The Golden Chain* (1861) and *Fresh Laurels* (1867). However, he also published adult cantatas (*Esther, the Beautiful Queen*, 1856) and tune books (*The Jubilee*, 1857), several of the latter in conjunction with Thomas Hastings (*The Psalmist*, 1844). A number of his hymn tunes have continued in use into the twenty-first century, including the music for “Just as I am, without one plea” (“Woodworth”) “Sweet hour of prayer” (“Sweet Hour of Prayer”), “Savior, like a shepherd lead us” (“Savior, like a Shepherd Lead Us”), and “He leadeth me! Oh! blessed thought” (“He Leadeth Me”).

As a life-long Baptist and one of the best known American church musicians of his time, Bradbury was a natural choice to select and edit the music of *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*. How much specific

guidance he might have received from the committee of pastors or the staff of the ABPS in the choice of tunes is not known, but it is likely that he was given considerable leeway in the selection.

The Music

The format of *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* follows the general approach of Beecher's *Plymouth Collection* in printing a tune across the top of a page with one interlined stanza and additional texts to which it can be sung given below and occasionally also on the facing page. In some instances, a tune in another part of the book is specified for a particular text.

The volume contains 190 tunes, with two of them appearing twice in different parts of the book ("Brown," "Naomi"), plus another twenty-eight in the supplement.²⁰ The tunes all appear in closed score with four-part harmony and the melody in the top (soprano) part.²¹

The music is drawn from a variety of sources, including traditional European psalm and hymn tunes from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, such as "Old Hundred," "Amsterdam," "Nuremburg," and "St. Thomas" (the last-named misattributed to "Handel"). Early American composers such as Lewis Edson ("Lenox"), Oliver Holden ("Coronation"), Timothy Swan ("China"), and Daniel Read ("Windham") make an appearance, as do popular folk hymns of the era ("Bartimeus," "Dunlap's Creek," "The Garden Hymn"); pieces in the latter idiom are particularly prominent in the supplement, suggesting that in the minds of some potential users the basic form of the book did not include enough material of this sort.

One of the largest sources for the music was the work of Bradbury's contemporaries, friends, and collaborators. Twenty-five tunes and several arrangements were composed by his former and fellow teacher Lowell Mason, including "Bethany" ("Nearer, my God, to thee"), "Olivet" ("My faith looks up to thee"), and the arrangement "Hamburg" ("When I survey the wondrous cross"). Thomas Hastings provided five tunes, and two other composers—George Kingsley and Robert Lowry—four tunes each. At least thirteen other living or recently deceased composers provided one or two tunes to the book.²² Altogether, these composers furnished about one-fourth of the melodies in the hymnal.

Approximately another quarter of the tunes were the work of Bradbury himself. Forty-seven melodies are attributed directly to the compiler, and at least two others that were not credited are certainly by him.²³

²⁰ One text, "Come, ye disconsolate, where'er ye languish" (no. 296) is indicated to be sung to the tune "Come Ye Disconsolate" but this melody does not appear in the book.

²¹ Closed score means that the four voices are printed on two musical staves.

²² The composers included J. W. Dadmun, E. W. Dunbar, John M. Evans, Nathaniel D. Gould, Elam Ives Jr., Simeon B. Marsh (whose tune "Martyr" was unattributed in the book), Edwin H. Nevin, Henry K. Oliver, George F. Root, Silas J. Vail, George J. Webb, Isaac B. Woodbury, and John Zundel.

²³ The two unattributed melodies are "He Leadeth Me" and "La Mira." "He Leadeth Me" often appeared in Bradbury's tune books without attribution but it was credited to him in Theodore F. Seward's *The Temple Choir* (1867), in which Seward was "assisted by Dr. Lowell Mason and Wm. B. Bradbury." "La Mira" is marked simply with an asterisk but had been published in Bradbury's *The Golden Chain* (1861) attributed to "W.B.B." Two other tunes in *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*, "Doyle" and "Forever With the Lord," are also marked with asterisks, and these are probably also by Bradbury, along with several items that are credited to collections Bradbury had previously published, in which they appeared without attribution.

The Bradbury items include some of his most lasting tunes, including “Aletta;” “He Leadeth Me;” “Olive’s Brow;” “Saviour;” “Like a Shepherd Lead Us;” “The Solid Rock;” “Sweet Hour of Prayer;” “The Sweetest Name;” and “Woodworth.”

One unusual feature of the book is the presence of several fugging tunes from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including Lewis Edson’s “Lenox” and Jeremiah Ingalls’s “Northfield.” In a fugging tune, one phrase was set with the voices entering one at a time, causing overlapping of the text. Some nineteenth-century hymnals that included these tunes revised them to eliminate the imitation but this feature was retained in *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*. Both “Lenox” and “Northfield” were very popular tunes in the singing school tradition, but it is hard to imagine their being sung at a revival meeting or other social occasion, or even by a congregation rather than a choir.

The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book represents an interesting juxtaposition of the folk hymn and the emerging gospel song style. Folk hymns had long been the popular musical expression for religious people in the United States. About the time of the Civil War, gospel hymnody began to take over this role. *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* was published during this transitional period; though it relied heavily upon folk hymnody (particularly in the supplement), it also contained early examples of pieces using the still developing gospel song idiom, such as Horace L. Hastings’s text “Shall we meet beyond the river” with Bradbury’s tune of the same name.²⁴

Several of the text-tune pairings in the hymnal strike us today as unusual, given their subsequent history. The book contains both Charlotte Elliott’s text “Just as I am, without one plea” and Bradbury’s tune “Woodworth”—but not together. Instead, “Just as I am” is used with another tune by Bradbury (titled “Just As I Am”) and “Woodworth” is set to Joseph Grigg’s “Behold, a stranger’s at the door” and two other texts. “Amazing grace, how sweet the sound” appears in both the body of the book and the supplement, but neither time to the folk hymn melody to which it is usually sung today, “New Britain.”²⁵ “Nearer, my God, to thee” and “Jesus, I my cross have taken” appeared in the main part of the book set to tunes other than “Bethany” and “Ellesdie,” a situation that was “corrected” in the appendix.

Several other texts that have been widely sung to tunes by Bradbury are not found in *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*, so his melodies are used with other lyrics. For instance, Bradbury’s tunes “Aletta” and “Olive’s Brow” are usually set to “Holy Bible, book divine” and “’Tis midnight, and on Olive’s brow.” Neither of these texts appeared in the hymnal, and the tunes were employed with other words. In this regard, it must be remembered that hymnody was in a period of change from the frequent use of “common” tunes (tunes that could be sung to any of a variety of texts) to “proper” tunes (ones that were usually linked with a specific text).²⁶

²⁴ “Shall we meet beyond the river,” which was first published in 1858, should not be confused with Robert Lowry’s later “Shall we gather at the river,” though there are some similarities between the two songs.

²⁵ It should be noted, however, that this text-tune pairing dates only from 1835 and that the combination did not become particularly popular until well into the twentieth century.

²⁶ Common tunes are, of course, still widely used in the twenty-first century, but not nearly as much as they were until about the middle of the nineteenth century. The growing use of proper tunes paralleled the increasing publication of hymnals with music such as the *Phymouth Collection* and *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*.

RECEPTION AND IMPACT OF *THE DEVOTIONAL HYMN AND TUNE BOOK*

The new hymnal appears to have been immediately successful, selling approximately 23,000 copies in its first seven months and receiving commendations “from pastors and churches in nearly all the loyal [i.e., Northern] States.”²⁷ Three years later, the Board observed that of its 923 publications “there is not one that the Board look upon with greater satisfaction than the Devotional Hymn and Tune Book”; it was reported that seventy thousand copies had been sold by that point, with demand steadily increasing.²⁸ A catalogue of “Publications of the Bible and Publication Society” issued ten years later still listed both the words-only and hymn-and-tune versions.²⁹ How much longer the book remained in print after that is not known.³⁰

Despite its evident usefulness, *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* was limited in its intent to “social worship.” Even while the book was in preparation, there had been calls from the churches for the publishing house to prepare a hymnal designed for use in public worship. Accordingly, the ABPS appointed a seven-person committee to compile a new collection and a nine-person committee to review their work. The result was *The Baptist Hymn and Tune Book for Public Worship* (1871), with the music edited by John M. Evans, who had contributed two texts and a tune to the 1864 collection.³¹

The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book does not appear to have contained any first printings that have become part of the common stock of congregational song, though several of the items it contained were quite new when the book was published. Two of Bradbury’s tunes, “He Leadeth Me” (“He leadeth me! Oh! blessed thought”) and “The Solid Rock” (“My hope is built on nothing less”), had been printed earlier in the year that *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* was published in the composer’s Sunday school collection *The Golden Censer*.³² By incorporating these pieces in *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book*, Bradbury moved them from the realm of Sunday school song into the mainstream of hymnody, where they have remained ever since. *The Golden Censer* and *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* were also among the first collections to

²⁷ *Forty-First Annual Report* (1865), 23. Whether this figure referred to sales of the words-only edition, the hymn-and-tune edition, or both is not clear.

²⁸ *Forty-Third Annual Report of the American Baptist Publication Society, Presented in Chicago, Ill. 1867* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1867), 47.

²⁹ “Publications of the Bible and Publication Society,” 36. The catalog was appended to the *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Bible and Publication Society. Presented in Washington, D. C., May 22d, 1874* (Philadelphia: Bible and Publication Society [i.e., ABPS], 1874).

³⁰ In 1924, Lemuel Call Barnes indicated that *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* was still being issued but he evidently had this book confused with *The Baptist Hymn and Tune Book for Public Worship* (see below), since he gave the date 1870 for the publication of the earlier volume and did not mention *The Baptist Hymn and Tune Book*. See Lemuel Call Barnes, Mary Clark Barnes, and Edward M. Stephenson, *Pioneers of Light: the First Century of the American Baptist Publication Society 1824–1924* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, [1924]), 42.

³¹ *Forty-Third Annual Report* (1867), 48. *The Baptist Hymn and Tune Book for Public Worship. Music Adapted and Arranged by John M. Evans* (Philadelphia: Bible and Publication Society, 1871). Like the 1864 hymnal, this book was published in both words-only and hymn-and-tune format. The publication of two other public worship hymnals for Baptists by independent publishers in the same year (1871) touched off a “hymnbook war” that was widely reported in the press; for details see Music and Richardson, “I Will Sing the Wondrous Story,” 371–75.

³² The priority of publication of *The Golden Censer* is evident from the fact that several items in *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* are attributed to that collection (see “Our Fathers Long Ago,” “The Sinner’s Friend,” and “We Are Coming, Blessed Saviour”).

include sacred texts and/or tunes by Fanny Crosby and Bradbury's fellow Baptist Robert Lowry, thus helping introduce these writers to the denomination.

While *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* does not appear to have been a ground-breaking volume in the larger world of hymnody, it certainly was one for American Baptists as the first hymn-and-tune collection authorized or published by a denominational agency. The music was collected and edited by one of the most experienced and best known Baptist composers and tune book compilers of the nineteenth century. The book undoubtedly served effectively to introduce Baptists to many tunes that subsequently became part of their standard hymnic repertory, as well as providing a convenient resource for others that they already knew and loved. Finally, it set the pattern for Baptist hymnals as hymn-and-tune books for the next hundred years. At every level, then, *The Devotional Hymn and Tune Book* must be accounted a success.

REVIEWS

Michael Allen. *Grounded in Heaven: Recentering Christian Hope and Life on God.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2018. (176 pp.) ISBN: 9780802874535

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Michael Allen, John Dyer Trimble Professor of Systematic Theology and academic dean at Reformed Theological Seminary in Orlando, in *Grounded in Heaven*, provides a helpful and needed challenge to prevailing ideas of the Christian's hope of life after death. Allen's work is one of recovering and retrieval of eschatological and ethical theologies found throughout the Christian tradition. Yet, Allen's work is not a mere description of voices past and present. Rather, Allen models a way of doing theology as he moves on from simply retrieving and recovering to reforming and renewing our understanding of Christian hope.

Retrieval and recovery is important because modern eschatological theologies tend toward an anthropocentric and naturalistic view of hope that lead to "the eclipse of heaven" (the title of Allen's introduction). This eclipse is found in the works of the Neo-Calvinist theologians and in those scholars such as N. T. Wright and J. Richard Middleton greatly influenced by this movement. Neo-Calvinist eschatology rightly wants to present a view of the Christian life that is not segmented or gnostic—one that takes both body and soul seriously. Allen appreciates many of the emphasis of those who promote a renewed earth (the New Heaven and Earth) that Jesus brings down from heaven to earth, but believes that an "eschatological naturalism" has turned toward the earth, but away from God. And this eschatological turn influences ethics as well because "hope for what God has promised tomorrow shapes life today" (p. 12).

Allen takes us back into the past of the tradition, but also to beginning of creation. Much modern theology says that eschatology precedes protology, but Allen cautions us to slow down and notices that the culmination of creation is not "production" or progress, but God's "presence" with his people (p. 34). Theology must begin with God before it moves on to consider what is not God. This is what so much modern theology misses. The vision of the New Heaven and Earth at the end of Scripture also focuses on God's presence with his people. The world is renewed, but not without God himself at the centre. This should inform how we formulate our eschatological hope. Eschatology must be theocentric rather than anthropocentric or geocentric. Allen is not suggesting the creation is not important or that Christians should not care for God's good world. Nor is Allen promoting a gnostic version of eschatology by which we escape the evil world and float off to heaven when we die. His argument is much more nuanced. Rather, Allen wants to counter the subtle eschatological shift that makes God a means to an end (i.e. a new world) instead of the end itself.

To counter this shift, Allen retrieves beatific vision, but he also reforms it in a Reformed, Christ-centred way. The eschatological turn in theology leads to the beatific vision dropping out of most modern

Protestant theologies (p. 63). In response, Allen retrieves and constructs an enriching and hopeful understanding of the beatific vision building upon G. C. Berkouwer, one of the few Protestant theologians who thoroughly covers the beatific vision in his own work, though Berkouwer sees the roots the doctrine more in Greek philosophy than Christian theology. In this important section, Allen discusses theological issues related to the beatific vision such as God's presence, God's invisibility, the Trinitarian shape of the beatific vision, and, finally, Allen's own understanding of a Christ-centred beatific vision. Working through the tradition and Scripture, Allen argues that the invisible God is made visible in Christ. This Christ-centred way of understanding the beatific vision is not saying that Christians will see the essence of God and, therefore, experience some kind of *theosis* or divinization. Rather, the focus is on the person of Christ who makes God known. This is the same person who is presented at the centre of the New Heavens and Earth as the Christian vision and hope.

This retrieval and reforming of eschatology is the basis for a reformed ethic. Allen here puts his finger on something that is very common in certain parts of the Reformed tradition (especially in the USA). Often, when the Neo-Calvinist eschatology is the dominant position, the Christian life becomes one of enjoying God's good creation. While this is indeed a biblical understanding, something is missing. And what is missing is the call that the Christian disciple is to take up their cross and follow Christ. In the second part of the book, Allen shows the connection between eschatology and ethics arguing that to be heavenly minded is to be the most earthly good. Allen here interacts with the Puritan John Owen who has much to say about heavenly mindedness. Again, Allen in no way argues for any kind of escapism. Rather, he shows from Scripture that, just as focusing on earth before God, if we focus on our present life and not the hope of life eternal with God, then we get this life wrong too. The beatific vision reorients the way we view and love the world in which we live. Allen finishes the book with a chapter in which he reforms asceticism.

Grounded in Heaven is challenging to those of us schooled in Neo-Calvinism. Allen here gives us an intellectually stimulating and well researched book that is as persuasive as it is challenging. In addition, *Grounded in Heaven* is a model of how to do theology. Retrieval is not simply descriptive historical theology. Rather, retrieval is going back to let the Christian tradition help us do theology today. And yet, the true value of the book is its pastoral wisdom and help. Eschatological naturalism too often leads to a piety focused on enjoying and celebrating God's gifts and our comfortable lives, but often God is left out. Pastorally speaking, such an eschatological will work only until genuine trials come. When life gets hard, we need an understanding of the hope that lies beyond this world. And it is that hope that allows us to make sense of this life. All too often the hope of eschatological naturalism is a hope that is simply for this world but somewhat improved. Allen's retrieval and reformation of the beatific vision gives us a hope that leads through the trials of life. It reminds us that just as Christ was humbled and suffered before his exaltation, the Christian life too is one of cross bearing before glory. The glory awaits is not upper middleclass life minus sin. The hope that awaits is God himself revealed in the person of his Son. We will live with him forever in the New Jerusalem.

J. Todd Billings. *Remembrance, Communion, and Hope: Rediscovering the Gospel at the Lord's Table*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2018. (215 pp.) ISBN: 9780802862334

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Remembrance, Communion, and Hope is J. Todd Billings' latest offering in pastoral theology, and it begins "with a wager: that a renewed theology and practice of the Lord's Supper can be an instrument for congregations to develop a deeper, more multifaceted sense of the gospel itself" (p. 1). The culmination of ten years' study, the book invites the church to the table where, nourished by the bread and the wine (the "instruments" of God's grace), believers experience and are transformed by their embodied union with Christ by the Spirit, participating in the life of God and in fellowship with one another. This is theology written in and for the church. As in previous publications like his *Rejoicing in Lament: Wrestling with Incurable Cancer and Life* (Brazos Press, 2015), Billings is bringing the best of biblical exegesis and the Reformed tradition to bear on the life of the church. The book is divided into three parts that lengthen incrementally: part one narrates functional theologies of the Lord's Supper as observed in typical worship services; part two articulates a confessionally Reformed and ecumenically-oriented account of the Lord's Supper; and part three, comprising half the book, develops a constructive vision of a renewed practice of the Lord's Supper in the church. Billings argues that the Lord's Supper, as an act of remembrance, communion, and hope, is where embodied union with Christ is nourished.

In part one, he highlights the functional theologies that currently frame our practice of the Lord's Supper, observing that for most churches, both evangelical and mainline, the primary meaning is a mental remembrance of the cross. This examination is primarily anecdotal, centred on narrated "snapshots" of Sunday morning services that show forth the ontological reality (or lack thereof) in our practices of the Supper (pp. 14-15). Billings' narration resonates at least for this reader, but the study would be well served by formal sociological investigation to thicken the observations (evidently there is a gap in the literature here). Believing cerebral penitence for sin to be a limited experience of the Supper, Billings invites us to reflect first on the nature of being human (ch. 2: "Embodied Perception and Delight in Christ"). Drawing on James K. A. Smith, he argues that humans are affective and habitual beings, perhaps even more than we are conscious thinkers. This leads him to an emphasis "embodiment" he sustains throughout the book: that our practice of the Lord's Supper ought to be sensorial, engaging the affections together with the mind. Billings upholds the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Scottish Reformed tradition of Holy Fairs as a prime example of embodied worship, which he contrasts with nineteenth- and twentieth-century forms of revivalism and rationalism. He argues that these latter movements served to displace embodied sacramental praxis for "an intellectualistic form of memorialism and a human-centered revivalism" (p. 56).

Having diagnosed these functional theologies, in part two Billings sifts his way through Reformed theologies of the Supper, expressing preference for a Genevan "strand" of the tradition (p. 68). His third chapter proposes a series of doctrinal theses to summarise Reformed confessions about the Lord's Supper,

while chapter four (the most abstract section of the book) discusses early Reformation theological engagement with philosophical debates about nominalism and univocalism along the lines of Aquinas and Scotus. Non-philosophically minded readers will struggle with the first half of this chapter. The discussion resolves in his turn to Calvin and the doctrine of union with Christ, whose articulation of this doctrine has long fuelled Billings' work (see for example his first book, *Calvin, Participation, and the Gift: The Activity of Believers in Union with Christ* (Oxford, 2007)). This doctrine is the ontological reality through which all relationships are framed, so that united to Christ, believers are drawn into fellowship with one another as his body, and into the life of the Trinity. Billings speaks of the Lord's Supper as the site of our being united to Christ. Calvin extends this to "the end of the gospel,' which is 'to render us eventually conformable to God, and, if we may so speak, to deify us'" (p. 98, quoting John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*). To this reader, this represents the high-point of the book's theological proposal for the Lord's Supper: that our partaking in the bread and the wine is, by the Spirit, in some sense an ontological partaking in the Son's communion with his Father, best described as deification. Yet it remains unclear whether Billings owns such language for himself: all reference to deification is restricted to quotes from Calvin, and though his constructive proposal in the book's final chapter comes close, he appears to distance himself from articulating deification as the fruit of our union, served by the Supper. Is Billings theosis-shy? And if so, why?

Part three makes a constructive proposal for how the Lord's Supper is God's instrument "for reshaping his adopted people into Christ's image by the power of the Spirit" (p. 107). Following the book's title, chapters five to seven explore the Supper in its connection with the past (remembrance), present (communion), and future (hope), each framed by union with Christ. These explorations are biblically rich, effortlessly integrating exegesis and dogmatics (his examinations of 1 Corinthians 5-6 and 10-11, and John 6 are especially nuanced). They are also oriented towards application, with a textured snapshot of a well-curated worship service, centred on the Supper, closing out each chapter. Billings weaves responses to important practical issues into the discussion, such as arguing for an open table to baptised Christians regardless of denomination (p. 151), coupled with the necessity of church discipline and "temporarily 'fencing' members from the table" (p. 152-53). He also discusses the implications of the Supper for multicultural congregations (p. 180). Other concerns could do with more engagement, such as the validity of private celebration of the Supper (what are the implications for weddings and hospital visits?), and the connection of the Supper with baptism. Billings argues communicants must "display age-appropriate faith" (p. 155), yet continues to affirm paedobaptism. With appreciation for Billings' Reformed convictions, this Baptist reader finds the connection left tenuous in his work: should it not be either paedobaptism and paedocommunion, or believer's baptism and believer's communion? (I further submit that locating the Supper in the sacrament of gathering would further renew the church's theology and practice of the Supper, but that would make for a Baptist contribution to the conversation).

Overall, Billings has succeeded in whetting the appetite for the nourishment the Spirit offers in body and blood of Christ. This book is grounded and inspiring and deserves to be embraced by those who serve at the table. On a personal note, this book so inspired me as a pastor that our next preaching series will be

on the Lord's Supper, leading towards a weekly celebration of the Supper: Billings has won his wager! I look forward to what he has next in his line of pastoral theology.

Andrew Root. *Exploding Stars, Dead Dinosaurs and Zombies: Youth Ministry in the Age of Science.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018. (xv + 292 pp.) ISBN: 9781506446745

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American theologian Andrew Root undertakes no small task in this work as he attempts to produce a resource that will equip youth pastors and others who minister to young people with the means to help those young people understand and interpret the findings of modern science theologically. Root's work on this subject was funded by a John Templeton Foundation grant, "Science for Youth Ministry," and he is an excellent choice of author for this subject given his previous works on youth ministry, the implications of secularism for the church, and his strong grasp of various themes in systematic theology.

One of Root's primary challenges in producing this work is the need for him to write it at an appropriate reading level. While his bibliography in this book is impressive, Root admits early on that much of what has been written about the relationship between religion and science falls prey to a common problem: "these conversations often begin at a philosophical altitude that makes the air too thin to breathe, scrambling our minds in confusion" (p. 5). Root wants to produce a work that equips ministers, whilst still referring to the best insights of contemporary authors on this subject.

One way that Root goes about doing this is by situating the key topics of this book within an unfolding narrative about a fictional youth pastor, "Jared," and some of the young people he is working with. Jared is pastor to three young people who pose difficult questions about the relationship between their Christian faith and the scientific. "Aly" is the first of these young people, and she wonders how faith can still be a viable option in the modern world, given the impressive accomplishments and substantial explanatory power that modern science possesses. This then creates space for Root to draw an important distinction between "scientific findings and theories," and "the comprehensive social practice of science" wherein "science" becomes a byword for an all-encompassing worldview that excludes any talk of God. Critiquing the latter of these, Root then goes on to discuss ways in which Christian faith and scientific findings and theories can interrelate. Finally, he returns to the narrative. Aly is experiencing a deep grief, having lost her sister to cancer, and returns to church to be ministered to by Jared and his family. Here Root neatly integrates his overall point, that "while faith and the scientific overlap in their epistemic goals ... Christian faith also seeks something different, something it appeared the scientific was unable or unwilling to search for.... Faith seeks the face, the deep and beautiful mind, of God and neighbour" (p. 112). Root, via his fictional account of Aly and Jared's experience, puts it to us that faith, rooted in the search for the "personal," can hold its own in the face of any overarching worldview that some might offer in the name of "science."

The book then turns to a second story, this time of Jared's interaction with "Sasha," a young woman who wonders how, given what is now known about the size and age of the universe, there can be any plausibility to the idea that there is a God who loves the people of earth. This, Root contends, puts both our theology of the incarnation at risk, ("if God comes to us in human form, what happens if intelligent life comes in many forms?") as well as the simpler question of if Earth and its inhabitants have any special significance, given the expanse of the cosmos. Here, Root uses Sasha's questions to create space to explore the story of Galileo, the Big Bang, and the fine-tuning of the universe and of Earth's place within it. When he returns to the narrative of Jared after this excursus, we see the youth pastor creating space at his weekly youth group for Sasha and her friends to hold a debate about these questions, a debate that Jared facilitates. Root also argues that it is possible to interpret the age and size of the universe theologically, "to see God's *kenotic* (self-emptying) act of loving and slowly molding the universe so it might produce ministers made in God's image who might love God and care for the universe as God does" (p. 196). Here Root does some sophisticated theological work in demonstrating how Sasha's questions need not be perceived as a threat to faith and can indeed fit within a Christian understanding of God's work in the world.

Finally, the narrative considers the concerns of "Martin," a young man who has questions about evolution and the potential (and, according to Martin, inevitable) end of humankind's existence on Earth. Root is able here to explore the story of Charles Darwin and his contemporaries, discuss some of the false assumptions he believes Young Earth Creationist and Intelligent Design thinkers to hold, and consider the question of how a theory of human evolution and the theology of the *imago dei* can possibly co-exist. Jared's response to these issues is to run a Bible study, specifically on the first few chapters of Genesis, and allow his young people the room to freely question and discuss the teaching there. Jared (and, by extension, the reader) by this point is well educated on ways to respond to some of the typical objections to the issues that may arise in such a discussion. Thus, the fictional discussion goes well, and in a touch of self-awareness, Root ends the book there, with the final word going to a fourth young person, "Tegan," who poses an unanswered question about cognitive science and faith. This is Root admitting that he has not provided all the answers in one volume and providing a creative means of suggesting one area where further work could be done.

Overall, this book succeeds in its task, of providing a discussion of the relationship between Christian faith and modern science in the context of youth ministry. However, despite his best intentions, at times Root's own "philosophical altitude" did seem to rise a bit above the level that one would expect this book to be pitched. As a former youth pastor, I wondered how easy it would have been to incorporate some of Root's arguments into my own practice, as I had to read it twice before I felt as though I understood what he was saying at various points. Busy ministers may look elsewhere for works that are more obviously applicable. The narrative woven throughout the book is a brilliant framework for Root's overall task, as it provides a useful exemplar of what a youth pastor *could* do with the various issues proposed, as well as giving the work a natural sense of momentum and flow that a more systematic volume may have lacked. Yet much is still required of the reader here, and while it is clearly not Root's task to be too prescriptive, a few more practical suggestions would not have been too many.

Scott MacDougall. *More Than Communion: Imagining an Eschatological Ecclesiology*. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015. (viii + 290 pp.) ISBN: 9780567659880

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In *More Than Communion* Scott MacDougall engages in constructive criticism of ecclesiologies of communion. His title highlights his key premise that there is more to communion eschatologically than the mores of communion ecclesiology state or suggest.

After a helpful introduction, MacDougall's detailed examination begins in the second chapter by engaging with ecclesiology in the Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican traditions, and the ecumenical dialogues connected to the World Council of Churches, respectively. MacDougall then engages briefly with the background critiques of communion ecclesiology before more comprehensively outlining its principal critiques: eschatologically; relationally; and practically (pp. 33–58). What is needed, MacDougall maintains, is an ecclesiology that engages with churches as they are as they await the “ideal perfection of community [which] ... can only occur eschatologically” (p. 60). Thus, the realised eschatologies of communion ecclesiologies and their attendant practical and relational problems require the counterbalance of an anticipatory eschatology.

The third and fourth chapters offer two representative cases of communion ecclesiology: firstly, an Orthodox perspective (Church Beyond the World: John Zizioulas) and, secondly, an Anglican, Radical Orthodox scholar (Church Over Against the World: John Milbank). In the former, MacDougall argues convincingly that Zizioulas' “theology of the future and the principal ecclesial practice [the eucharist] that flows from it are most accurately characterized as reflecting a realized eschatology” (p. 97). The eucharist for Zizioulas is *the* protological and eschatological practice which ‘humanises’ its participants bringing them into “communion with the Godhead”. The world's hostility towards the eucharistic reality of the church, accordingly, makes it one-step-removed from this communion and personhood. Consequently, Zizioulas' church is “a reality beyond the world” (p. 100). In the latter, MacDougall argues that, while Milbank is no ecclesiologist, his “ecclesiology is the very summit of his theology” (p. 117). Augustinian Neoplatonism leads to Milbank transposing the church-secular duality onto the *Civitas Dei* and *Civitas terrena* with each city ordered towards an ontology of peace or violence respectively (p. 113). This modern ‘Manichean’ framing of reality leads to the church being “over *against* the world” (pp. 101-40). The church, therefore, possesses a distinctive logic that is oriented towards truth and peace. It is only through participation in ecclesial communion that we can participate in God. MacDougall claims that the “church is the spatio-temporal site of ... multifaceted participation” because its “interlocking modes of bodily and spiritual participation—in being and receiving the body of Christ in the ontological, social, and eucharist senses—effect ecclesial communion” and, by extension, communion with God (p. 140). Full communion then leads back to Eden rather than to the launch of the New Jerusalem (p. 126). Therefore, MacDougall fairly faults Milbank's

eschatology with being “ecclesiocentric, somewhat Johannine, overly realized, and restorationist in its strong emphasis on re-creation and the re-establishment of the prelapsarian order” (p. 140).

In the next chapter, (Church in the World: An Eschatological Imagination for Christian Communities), MacDougall engages in more constructive work that improves on Milbank’s and Zizioulas’ communion ecclesiologies. He sketches out an “eschatological imagination that stresses the balance of and the tension between the eschatological already and not yet” with a wider conception of communion (p. 141). The theological role of this imagination is “making the absent present, discerning ultimate meaning, envisioning new life, and generating hope” (p. 149). MacDougall then references Brian D. Robinette’s *Grammars of Resurrection* to create seven “principles” to help “condition a coherent and responsible eschatological imagination” (p. 149). He delineates his communion theology through unpacking four paradoxical statements that outline the continuities and discontinuities of his eschatological imagination (pp. 149-59). The final section establishes two staples of such an imagination: a “commitment to a real future based on divine promise and an already-not yet structure” (p. 159). These statements keep in check churches’ triumphalism as they actively anticipate the fulfilment of communion eschatologically.

In chapter 6 (Church for the World (Part I): Re-Imagining Eschatological Ecclesiology) the argument moves to conceptualising how the church can be *for* the world. MacDougall rejects a conflation of church and kingdom, contending instead that the church’s vocation for the world is as “the anticipation of the *basileia*” (p. 182). The church is tasked with being both a minister to the world in its present pain and a prophet who points towards God’s promised future (p. 183). The church is for the world because God’s “promise is always a promise *for* the world.” (p. 182). Accordingly, there is “one promise ... and the one world ... is the field of its operation and appearance” (p. 182). God’s holistic reconciliation of *the world* brings about “an intersubjective relational excess”; a “four-fold communion ... between humanity and God, among human beings, within human beings, and between humanity and the rest of creation” (p. 177). In contrast to the eschatological imaginations of communion ecclesiologies whose “[conceptions] of communion [are], commonly, ... relatively abstract, somewhat Platonic, often ahistorical, a bit immaterial, essentially dualistic, limited to an elect, contemplative, and generally institutional, hierarchical, and liturgical, [MacDougall’s imagination of] the coming realization of the four-fold communion of reconciliation ... leads to an imagination of communion that is more concrete, historically contextualized, embodied, tensive, active, and cosmic” (p. 177). His communion ecclesiology is equipped with an eschatological imagination informed by “five qualitative ‘marks’: tensiveness, openness, risk, trust, and hope” (p. 186).

In the corresponding chapter, (Church for the World (Part II): Practicing Eschatological Ecclesiology), MacDougall integrates the conceptual and the practical. Ecclesial hope for him is a practice that is “both propositional and dispositional rather than emotional or conditional” (p. 213) *and* that is also a gift that “springs from a lived experience of the power of God at work in Christian community through the presence of the Holy Spirit in corporate worship and worldly service” (p. 214). The first point highlights that a theology of practice contains two insights: that theology is itself a practice and that, in practice, theology is informed by and informs Christians’ practices. In short, a theological imagination is both “practice-shaped and practice-shaping” (p. 216). MacDougall then reviews various practices surveyed by

practical theologians affiliated with the Bass-Dykstra ‘school’. Through probing these practices, he identifies an implicit eschatological imagination that leads him to conclude that worship offers a performative epistemology by which we simultaneously engage in meaningful worship and in meaning-making about worship (p. 224). These practices are performed through an eschatological imagination that *both* “maintains that the *basileia* is simultaneously present (as inaugurated) and coming (as anticipated)” *and* that communion within it includes “the whole world as the site and recipient of eschatological transformation” (p. 235). This expansive understanding of *basileia* results in not only “Christian practice [becoming] coextensive with discipleship” (p. 236) but also that “Christian discipleship cannot be limited to churchly practices” (p. 242). This paradox highlights that the practices Christians engage in range from the sacramental and sacrosanct to the quotidian and common. MacDougall innovates this idea through adopting from Benjamin Conner a missional ecclesiology that encompasses both *ad intra* and *ad extra* dimensions (p. 243). The church’s faithful presence while actively awaiting God’s eschatological promise requires, an imagination that rejects theological “closure [concerning] the form of an eschatological ecclesiology and practice”. Favouring the sketchy knowledge of “the *kind* of reality the *basileia* signifies” over a blueprint ecclesiology that “[grasps for] its ultimate *form*” (p. 249). Thus, “[c]ommunion is more than what most ecclesiologies of communion offer and what church is and does is more than what those ecclesiologies would have of it” (p. 253).

MacDougall is to be commended for his high calibre contribution to Bloomsbury T&T Clark’s *Ecclesiological Investigations* series. His monograph engages exhaustively and effortlessly with significant theologians such as Zizioulas, Milbank, Moltmann, and Pannenberg to consolidate and coordinate communion ecclesiology and eschatology. However, his work has a relative dearth of Christology, namely Christ’s session. This reticence may be because of MacDougall’s reservations towards the conceptions of lordship, kingdom, and reign (p. 12). I recognise that a resurrection grammar is core to his argument, as “[t]he foundational basis for the eschatological analogy has to be the bodily resurrection of Jesus Christ, the eschatological event *par excellence*” because “[t]he resurrection is the only solid basis for an analogy that allows us to advance a preliminary imaginative theological claim about the ultimate end of present reality” (pp. 146–47, italics original). He later adds that “[t]he resurrection stands as God’s pledge to fulfil the divine promise to be in communion with creation, and thereby to transform, reconcile, and preserve it in goodness eternally” (p. 165). MacDougall is clear that his four-fold communion theology is reliant on God becoming “all in all” (1 Cor 15:20–28) and God’s reconciliation of all things (Col 1:15–20). In spite of referencing these Christocentric passages, Christ is mentioned sparingly (pp. 157–58). Later, he claims that “[t]he hope of Christian people, individually and collectively, is instantiated in the practical life of discipleship, the acts of reconciliation and communion through which Jesus’ own *basileia* practice is announced and continued. ... It may not be too much to say that, imagined properly, the practice of being church—of gathering as disciples—is itself the richest expression of eschatological hope there is” (p. 246). This statement alongside comments about the church being “[compelled] to go deeper into the world to continue the mission of the reconciliation of all things that Jesus inaugurated” (p. 251) risks diminishing Christ’s ongoing mediatory work as creation’s ascended high priest whilst demanding the shortfall from the militant church. Therefore,

although MacDougall has admirably added more to communion, he appears to have neglected the eschatological ‘God-man’s’ person and work.

Scott W. Sunquist. *Explorations in Asian Christianity: History, Theology, and Mission*. (336 pp.) Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2017. (336 pp.) ISBN: 9780830851003

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Scott W. Sunquist currently serves as the president of Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary. He served previously as professor and dean at the School of Intercultural Studies at Fuller Theological Seminary and has numerous publications in Asian Christianity, missiology, and global Christianity. In the fifth volume of the *Missiological Engagements* series from InterVarsity Press sits Sunquist’s volume entitled *Explorations in Asian Christianity*. Sunquist’s book began as a series of lectures, book chapters, and journal articles. It is structured in four parts (Asia surveys, History, Missiology, Education) serving the overall goal in attempting to “better understand Asian Christianity” (p. 2).

In part one, entitled “Asia,” Sunquist seeks to give us a taste of Asian Christianity throughout history and of the particularly Asian flavor of global Christianity. As Christianity grew and developed in Asia through the rise of Islam, European and Asian colonialism, and the fall of the Japanese and European imperialism “it continues to be a minority religion” (p. 22). As Christianity developed in Asia, it was “less ordered and more diverse” than Christianity was in the Roman Empire (p. 35). In fact, many of the theologians exiled by the councils in the West found acceptance in the East where they held their own councils. Often “called to reorganize the church after persecution: little theological discussion ensued” (p. 36). The pragmatic character of Christianity in Asia permeated the earliest movements of ecumenism in Asia too as they “were more of a pragmatic than a theological commitment” (p. 41). This held true as the ecumenical movement developed from a desire to see a “greater organic and conciliar unity” evolve into “a movement to cooperate in the social, cultural, and political spheres” (p. 48). In the midst of all of this, Protestant Christianity found its foothold through British East India Company, Dutch United East India Company, and the Danish East India Company. While these companies had business motivations in mind they certainly opened the door for Protestant missionaries. This led to several early missionary movements in Asia which “set patterns and established values that have continued to be characteristic of Asian evangelicalism” (p. 53).

In part two, entitled “History,” Sunquist seeks to rethink “how we study history” and therefore “how we can or should view Christianity as a global movement” (p. 4). This section opens with a critique of recent Christian historiography arguing that research concerning historical Christianity has been defined by “confessional and geographic factors” (p. 94). He argues for an approach that focuses on the development of a movement in relation to the crucified Jesus rather than the growth of an institution. The record of historical Christianity is understood as the mission of God in relation to cruciformity which, he argues,

Christianity in Asia illustrates well. Chapters six to eight look at the historical reasons for the shift in historiography, the latter two focusing on the shift in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Sunquist believes that the writings of Christian history should never be separated from missiology arguing that the cross is the foundation of the trajectory of Christianity. Part three builds on the previous part by exploring different historical happenings in Asia through the lens of missions. Chapter nine seeks to make sense of the development of liberationist views concerning sociology and politics out of a more conservative, presbyterian church specifically in Korea. Chapter ten is a missiological experiment (which he says can be applied to other regions in Asia) arguing for a “missiology of place,” saying that the region of Shandong in China is highly influential for the spread of Christianity in China due to cultural, geographical, political, and religious reasons (180). Chapter 11 examines how the “three self principle” developed differently in China and Korea by examining four mission theorists. Chapter twelve focuses on the impact of migration on mission studies. In his words, “this essay is a type of primer for thinking about the history, theology and meaning of migration and Christian mission” (p. 6).

The final section of this book focuses on “one of the most important tools in the toolbox of missionary work: education” (6). The chapter is composed of three chapters united in one common goal, to answer the question “what is appropriate and effective Christian education in Asia” (p. 7). Chapter thirteen evaluates the work of three missionaries in three different countries over a period of 100 years. Sunquist points out the similarities in their work arguing that we should not seek to copy them but to learn that “with a little careful reading, a dash of cultural empathy, and some understanding of missionary motivation, we may begin to understand how Christian movements in Korea, Ethiopia, and China have developed through the many challenges of decolonization, communism, and globalization” (p. 262). Chapter fourteen is a historical analysis of the development of higher education in Asia. This book concludes with the fifteenth chapter which examines education in the earliest period of Asian Christianity mainly in Persia by looking at the influence of the West in both the 6th and 20th centuries.

Sunquist has done a marvellous job of exploring the development of Asian Christianity through the lens of missiology. This book is a helpful introduction to Christianity in Asia and a critique of how we understand its development. It would be a helpful text in a missiology/missiological theories course as a case study for how we can understand the organic development of Christianity in other countries. It also serves as both a helpful introduction to Christianity in Asia for anyone interested, and a useful guide to those ministering in an Asian context. This book was well written and easy to read. I commend Sunquist for his contribution to this series.