Editorial

The publishing of this issue marks forty years of the *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*. I encourage readers to view the first edition of the journal which is hosted on the website <https://biblicalstudies.org.uk> along with editions of the Bulletin ten years and older. The first edition, published in 1983, was forty-seven pages long and included seven articles and two book reviews! In the first and second years of the Bulletin a single number of the journal was published. The third volume in 1985 saw two numbers printed – Spring and Autumn – a pattern that has been followed in *SBET* ever since.

In the editorial to the first issue, editor Nigel M. de S. Cameron describes the background to the first edition of the Bulletin. The Scottish Evangelical Theology Society was formed from the Scottish Tyndale Fellowship which published the *Scottish Tyndale Bulletin*. A joint venture with Scottish Evangelical Research Trust (Rutherford House) led to the production of the *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*. Biblical studies and practical theology were emphases of the Scottish Tyndale Fellowship, while the Trust behind Rutherford House focussed upon dogmatic and historical theology. The Bulletin maintained an interest in publishing articles in each of these fields and it was under the editorial supervision of David F. Wright, who edited the journal after Cameron, that the opening paragraph of the Bulletin's inside cover first appeared, stating that, 'The scope of the *Bulletin* is broadly defined as theology, especially Scottish and Reformed, whether biblical, systematic-dogmatic, historical or practical, and Scottish church history.'

While editor of the Bulletin, Cameron was warden for Rutherford House. Later he became Associate Dean and then Professor of Theology and Culture at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois, USA. Wright was Senior Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History before becoming Professor of Patristic and Reformed Christianity at New College, University of Edinburgh. Readers may also be aware of Cameron and Wright's editorial work along with David C. Lachman and Donald E. Meek to produce one of the most important resources for the study of Scottish church and theology, the *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology* (T&T Clark / IVP, 1993). In the preface Cameron describes it as work that was 'conceived in the mid-1980s' (p. vii). *SBET* itself was of course in its early years. Undoubtedly *DSCHT* was produced as a fruit of connections made between evangelicals in Scotland at that time. It is an indispensable volume for students of Scottish theology and church but

disappointingly has lacked a reprint and is seldomly found for purchase except for excessively priced second-hand copies.

Returning to the present issue of the Bulletin, this number includes the second part of Bruce McCormack's article on the non-negotiable aspects of reformed theology. It is the last paper of a collection we have published in association with the Rutherford Centre for Reformed Theology (formerly Rutherford House) from the 2017 Edinburgh Dogmatics Conference. I am grateful to Andrew McGowan for procuring these articles for the Bulletin, stretching back to volume 38, and trust they have proved valuable for Bulletin readers.

Angus Morrison offers his reflections on the 2021 COP26 conference held in Glasgow. Readers in Scotland will especially remember the huge amount of publicity surrounding this conference. Morrison examines Augustine's views on the environment and reflects on what Augustine might have said in response to developments at the conference, had he been with us today.

Thorsten Prill contributes to this edition with a paper relating to historical Christian missions in Africa. He appropriately addresses an imbalance of criticism relating to past missions by examining the input offered by African missionaries.

In the final article of this edition, M. Gavin Smith has provided valuable research in his paper on the developments in Geneva relating to dividing of the Scripture text into verses, the production of the Geneva Bible and metrical Psalms. He offers insight into developments that are often overlooked though integral to Christian use of Scripture today. Any who have referred to the Geneva Bible, made use of the metrical Psalms in worship, or wondered where verse numbers in the Bible came from, will surely find this article of keen interest.

Together the papers and reviews included in this edition of *SBET* add to and complete forty years of producing theological writings in service to the church for readers at home and abroad.

In the concluding paragraph to his preface in the first volume, Cameron wrote that the Bulletin, 'consists largely of material presented at the 1982 SETS conference […]. It is hoped that future issues will publish other papers as well'. For forty years that wish has been fulfilled. In closing he made a call to readers for material to be included in the next edition of the Bulletin. That call remains open today for future issues of the Bulletin. I have depended on voluntary contributions for the article section during my time as editor and know that our review editors also welcome enquiries.

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS NUMBER

Professor Bruce L. McCormack is Charles Hodge Professor of Systematic Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary in Princeton, New Jersey, USA.

The Very Revd Dr Angus Morrison is retired minister of the Church of Scotland and a former moderator of General Assembly.

Revd Dr Thorsten Prill is a minister of the Rhenish Church in Namibia serving as Vice Principal at Edinburgh Bible College (EBC).

Revd M. Gavin Smith is now retired following missionary service in Thailand and pastoral ministry in Scotland and Australia.

Professor McCormack's article was originally delivered at the Rutherford House 17th Edinburgh Dogmatics Conference, hosted by Palmerston Place Church, 29th–31st August 2017. The conference theme was 'Reformation Theology: Maintenance or Revision?' The first part of his paper appeared in the previous edition of SBET.

What is Non-Negotiable in any Theology that wishes to be 'Reformed'? (Part 2)

Bruce L. McCormack

II. CHRISTOLOGY AND THE LORD'S SUPPER

A. Christology

Christology became a controversial topic in the sixteenth century as a consequence of debates over the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper. Zwingli's insistence that the body of Christ, once ascended into heaven, was 'locally' present there alone led to Luther's attempt to defend a local physical presence of Christ's body in the elements of bread and wine by means of a Christological novelty — the so-called 'ubiquity' of Christ's body. The further development of the Lutheran idea of 'ubiquity' — its modification in the direction of a presence of the body only where Christ *wills* (the forerunner of later kenotic theories) — need not detain us here. What is important for our purposes is only to comprehend the distinctive features of the 'Reformed' Christology produced by these debates.

Once again, it is Calvin who decisively impacted the Reformed confession in the area of Christology. The decisions made in this area of doctrine fit well with the emphasis placed in his doctrine of justification on the acquired *human* righteousness of Christ. To insist, as Calvin would against the Lutherans, that the two natures of Christ which came together in the hypostatic union remained unimpaired in their original integrity was, at one and the same time, to take the Christological ground out from beneath the Lutheran idea of a real participation in divine attributes on the part of the human Jesus *and* to create the ontic space needed to allow the human Jesus to act in every moment *humanly*. And so, for example, Calvin can insist that the flesh of Christ is real flesh, 'subject to hunger, thirst, cold, and other infirmities of our nature.'[1] Presumably, Jesus could and did experience illnesses. The sheer frankness of these observations occasions some surprise, since for a good many theologians in the centuries preceding, disease, like, death is the effect of the fall. How could one that is without corruption ever become ill, if that were the case? I am not sure how much Calvin thought about such questions. What is clear is that he understood the 'kenosis' of the Son of God to consist in the wholly voluntary act of concealing His divinity (and the 'glory' proper to it) in a 'veil

[1] Calvin, *Institutes*, II.xiii.1, p. 475.

of flesh.' The Son 'gave up his right'[2] to be recognized and acknowledged as God through this act of Self-concealment. He could have 'set forth His glory directly to the world'[3] but did not. As was the case with Augustine, this was a kenosis by addition, not by subtraction. Nothing proper to deity is left behind in that the Son becomes incarnate; on the contrary, what happens is that a human nature is added. That and that alone was His 'self-emptying.' What is clear in all of this is the 'flesh' has its own integrity which is in no way compromised or set aside through union with the eternal Word. There could be no *real* concealment, were the flesh of Jesus to have been in any way 'divinized' through its union with the Word.

Calvin makes expansive use of the definition of the 'person' of the Mediator found in the post-Chalcedonian orthodoxy of Leontius of Byzantium, Maximus Confessor, and John of Damascus — i.e. the 'composite person' or, we might say, the 'whole Christ' comprised of both natures. This definition of the 'person' of Christ constituted, when first devised, an addition to the originating equation of the 'person' of the union at Chalcedon with the eternal Logos as such. It was created by the post-Chalcedonians specifically for addressing the problems created for divine simplicity and impassibility by close attention to a *communicatio idiomatum* which, logically, would have required the communication of human predicates to the Logos (as the Chalcedonian 'person' of the union). The solution was to effect a change in the received definition of the 'person.' When treating the 'person' in the context of the *communicatio idiomatum*, the post-Chalcedonians defined the 'person' as the 'composite' Christ — so that a realistic-sounding ascription of human predicates could be made to the 'person' — even though they and all of their readers knew full well that what was meant by 'person' was 'the whole Christ *according to His human nature alone*.' By this device, what amounted to a purely figurative ascription could be treated as though it were realistic. But, of course, it wasn't; not on the side of the relation of the human nature to the 'person' at any rate.[4] John Calvin was completely at home in this sphere of thought, since he (more consistently than they) defined the 'person' of the union as the *consequence* of the uniting of the natures (not as its presupposition, as would be the case if the 'person' were the Logos as such).

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2 Calvin, *Institutes*, II.xiii.2, p. 476.

3 Ibid.

4 Of course, the 'post-Chalcedonians' still wanted, like their forebears at Chalcedon, to affirm a soteriology of divinization. In practice, that meant they employed the more traditional definition of the 'person' when thinking about soteriology and the 'new' definition when addressing the problem of the 'communication.'

> He who was the Son of God became the Son of man—not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person. For we affirm his divinity so joined and united with his humanity that each retains its distinctive nature unimpaired, and yet *these two natures constitute one Christ*.[5]

Had Calvin stopped with the phrase 'by the unity of person', one might have thought he was speaking of the Logos as such. One could, in other words, have read the original Chalcedonian equation of the Logos and the 'person' into this phrase were it a stand-alone phrase. But when Calvin went on to speak of the natures *constituting* one Christ — and when he describes this uniting elsewhere as a 'growing together'[6] of divinity and humanity — we know from such passages that he is working with the 'new' definition of the post-Chalcedonians *and with it alone*. And so: any rhetoric he may employ here and there which is redolent with the tones of early Church soteriology has to be qualified and strictly de-limited by the fact that, for Calvin, God remains God and the human remains human precisely in the hypostatic union.[7] More than that, he really does not want to say.

Throughout his reflections on Christology, Calvin never loses his focus on the attempt to overcome Lutheran sacramentology. His reflections here have a goal; that, namely, of rendering impossible the Lutheran understanding of a communication of the attributes of the divine majesty to the human Jesus. Against all such tendencies, Calvin says, 'Let this then be our key to right understanding: those things *which apply to the office* of the Mediator [the forgiving of sins, the judging of the world, etc.] are not spoken simply of either the divine nature or of the human'[8] but of the whole Christ. And all instances of things proper only to the human

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5 Calvin, *Institutes*, II.xiv.1, p. 482 (emphasis mine).

6 Calvin, *Institutes*, II.xii.1, p. 464.

7 An example of such rhetoric is the following. 'Who could have done this had not the self-same Son of God become the Son of Man, and had not so taken what was ours as to impart what was his to us, and to make what was his by nature ours by grace?' Calvin, *Institutes*, II.xii.2, p. 465. We have already seen that the Son of God 'takes what is ours' by imputation. He goes on in this very passage to describe giving 'what was his by nature' to us as occurring through 'adoption' (a legal metaphor with familial consequences — i.e. a metaphor which retains the distinction of natures but assigns to the adopted the 'rights' of the natural born).

8 Calvin, *Institutes*, II.xiv.3, p. 485 (emphasis mine).

nature being ascribed to the divine or things proper to the divine nature being ascribed to the human are, he says, figures of speech.[9]

When we turn to Reformed confessions, we find the theological 'values' upheld by Calvin's Christology to be strongly affirmed. Those values are: 1) the rejection of a realistic communication of divine predicates to the human nature (which would mean a real sharing by Jesus in those predicates), 2) a careful preservation of the ontological distinction of God and the human in their union in Christ and 3) a willingness to rest content with an understanding of the Christological 'person' as 'composite' — without exploring its implications. The Reformed confessions uphold the first two values with great zeal. The French Confession's Article XV is worth citing in whole, since it sets forth Calvin's own view in confessional form, thereby telling us what is most important to him.

> We believe that in one person, that is Jesus Christ, the two natures are actually and inseparably joined and united, and yet each remains in its proper character: so that in this union the divine nature, retaining its attributes, remained uncreated, infinite, and all-pervading; and the human nature remained finite, having its form, measure, and attributes; and although Jesus Christ, in rising from the dead, bestowed immortality upon his body, yet he did not take from it the truth of its nature, and we so consider him in his divinity that we do not despoil him of his humanity.[10]

The last phrase could well serve as a motto for 'Reformed' Christology! But notice also that the French Confession equates the 'person' of the union with 'Jesus Christ,' not with the Logos as such. That too, is testimony to a doctrinal distinctive; the third of those mentioned above — which would become increasingly important in the 17th century. The first two values are also upheld in the first two clauses, albeit in the reverse order to that in which I presented them.

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9 Examples of figurative expressions can be in the New Testament, according to Calvin, when Paul says 'God purchased the church with His blood' [Acts 20:28] and 'the Lord of glory was crucified' [1 Cor. 2:8] and 'the Word of life was handled' [1 Jn. 1:1]. An example of the human being spoken of as if divine can be found, he says, in John 3:13. 'No one has ascended into heaven but the Son of man who was in heaven.' Calvin, *Institutes*, II.xiv.2, p. 484. In each of the cases, what is proper to one nature alone is said of the other nature — which for Calvin shows clearly that they are figures of speech. Calvin, *Institutes*, II.xiv.1, p. 483.

10 *French Confession*, Article XV, Cochrane, pp. 149-50.

The Belgic Confession affirms that the human 'nature' assumed by the 'eternal Son' was 'true human nature, with all its infirmities, sin excepted'.[11] What comes next upholds the emphases of Calvin.

> We believe that by this conception the person of the Son is inseparably united and connected with the human nature; […] [not] two persons, but two natures united in one single person; yet each nature retains its own distinct properties. As then the divine nature hath always remained uncreated, without beginning of days or end of life, filling heaven and earth, so also hath the human nature not lost its properties, but remained a creature.[12]

Thus far, a re-iteration of the values described above. But then the Belgic gives to them a pointedness lacking to other statements. 'And though he hath by his resurrection given immortality to the same, nevertheless he hath not changed the reality of the human nature'.[13] The bestowal of immortality spoken of here is quite close to the Eastern Orthodox position, since the latter does not entail the bestowal of divine attributes as such. That is what made the Lutheran Christology to be a *novum* — the fact that it was not only immortality that was shared with the human nature but essential attributes of God.

The Second Helvetic Confession is brief but the emphases the same.

> We therefore acknowledge two natures or substances, the divine and the human in one and the same Jesus Christ our Lord (Heb. 2). And we say that these are bound and united with one another in such a way that they are not absorbed or confused, or mixed, but are united or joined together in one person — the properties of the natures being unimpaired and permanent.[14]

The confession is noticeably more alert to the dangers posed by mixture and confusion than by separation or division — though all of the documents we have considered join in condemning Nestorianism. This too is a function of the polemical situation.

Because 'Reformed' Christology was constructed in opposition to the Lutheran Christology, its emphases have a negative character. But it is precisely that feature which allows for further development. The one thing that cannot be done without setting aside the theological values already mentioned is to try to find a foundation here for a more Eastern soteriology of 'divinisation.' Where that occurs, we just have to be honest

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11 *Belgic Confession*, Article XVIII, Cochrane, p. 200.
12 *Belgic Confession*, Article XIX, Cochrane, p. 201.
13 *Belgic Confession*, Article XIX, pp. 201-202.
14 *Second Helvetic Confession*, Chapter XI, Cochrane, pp. 243-44.

and say: 'not Reformed' — however much we may respect the seriousness of the alternative offered.

B. The Lord's Supper

There is certain breadth in the writings of the early Reformed when it comes to the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper. But the confessions are more uniform, reflecting the emergence of a unified perspective, without there having been a competition for supremacy or even, perhaps, an awareness that differences had once existed. That in itself is a testimony to how small the differences were internally and how united the Reformed must have appeared to real opponents like the Catholics and the Lutherans. And that is a point all too easily forgotten or ignored.

In a now classic essay, Brian Gerrish sought to summarize the differences internal to the Reformed in terms of three options which he named: symbolic memorialism, symbolic parallelism and symbolic instrumentalism.[15] The common element in all of these descriptors is denoted by the word 'symbolic', obviously. And it is made necessary by the shared claim that the risen and ascended body of Christ is 'locally' present in heaven and cannot, as a result, be 'locally' present in the elements of bread and wine at the same time. Gerrish understood such symbolization of the elements to take three distinct forms: 'memorialism' (in which the communicant is drawn by the symbols to remember Christ's sacrifice); 'parallelism' (in which the spiritual act of 'feeding by faith' on the body and blood of Christ takes place alongside and at the same time as oral communication but is independent of the latter); and 'instrumentalism' (in which the Spirit so joins body and blood to bread and wine that the elements are made the instruments of the feeding by faith spoken of in the 'parallelism' account). The first view is associated with the name of Zwingli, the second with Bullinger and the third with Calvin.

The problem with Gerrish's typology is that there is no substantive difference at the end of the day between the second and third models. Where the Holy Spirit is made to be the 'bond of participation' who joins together 'things separated in space,'[16] the 'things' in question (the body and blood of Christ) remain where they are ('locally') in the joining. They are still 'separated in space.' So when Calvin speaks of a 'joining', he is speaking, at most, of an act of mediation on the part of the Holy Spirit — which allows the 'things' joined to remain 'separate.' And that has to be

[15] B. A. Gerrish, 'The Lord's Supper in the Reformed Confessions', *Theology Today* 23 (1966-1967), 224-43.

[16] Calvin, *Institutes*, IV.xvii.10, p. 1370.

kept in mind when we consider some of the more flowery things said in the Reformed Confessions.

The truth is that the authors of the Reformed Confessions always found themselves between a rock and a hard place. Most did not want to be associated with Zwingli's (alleged) 'memorialism.' And so they worked very hard not *to be seen by others* as rendering the sacramental signs 'empty' or 'bare.' The Scots Confession made the point quite forcefully. 'If anyone slanders us by saying that we affirm or believe the sacraments to be symbols and nothing more, they are libelous and speak against the plain facts'.[17]

The problem is that such protestations do nothing to set aside the truly decisive fact that the body of Christ remains in heaven, separated from us 'in space.' A spiritual 'joining' even of 'reality' to 'signs' (which is what Gerrish's third model requires) might rightly be said to be 'real' but it does not result in the *kind* of 'substantial' presence of Christ's body which would enable Catholics and Lutherans to see here anything other than bare and empty signs. And the truth is that most Reformed (including Calvin in some moments) thought of the 'joining' as not to the 'signs' but to the communicant. And they thought of it metaphorically — as giving vivid expression to the fact that faith lays hold of Christ 'clothed in His benefits.'

But there is more. The Belgic Confession says that there is no joining of the body and blood to the signs (or to the communicant) for those who communicate without faith. This, too, is a Reformed distinctive. For the Reformed, 'unworthy communication' is not a communication in Christ (as it would have to be if there were a conversion of the 'substance' of the elements into the 'substance' of Christ's body and blood) but a communication only in the outward elements. It is the absence of faith which, according to 1 Corinthians 11:27ff., leads to condemnation according to the Reformed, not an improper participation in Christ's body and blood. Indeed, an improper (faithless) participation in Christ's body is impossible to conceive. 'Though the Sacraments are connected with the thing signified, nevertheless both are not received by all men [and women]: the ungodly indeed receives the Sacrament to his [or her] condemnation, but he [or she] doth not receive the truth of the Sacrament'.[18] The same point is made by Bullinger in the Second Helvetic.[19]

What all of this adds up to is this: when the Reformed Confessions speak of a spiritual feeding on the 'substance' of Christ's body in the

[17] *Scots Confession*, Article XXI, Cochrane, p. 180.

[18] *Belgic Confession*, Article XXXV, Cochrane, p. 216.

[19] *Second Helvetic Confession*, Article XXI, Cochrane, p. 286.

Supper — as many do after Calvin — the term 'spiritual' is meant to refer to the twofold fact that it is the Holy Spirit who awakens in the communicant the faith by which she lays hold of Christ and His benefits — and the term 'substance' is not a metaphysical term as it is for the Catholics. It is rather shorthand for that which is essential for the sake of our salvation as accomplished in the human obedience of Christ.

The Supper is therefore understood as a visible word. The French Confession puts it this way.

> We believe that the sacraments were added to the Word for more ample confirmation, that they may be to us pledges and seals of the grace of God, and by this means aid and comfort our faith, because of the infirmity which is in us, and that they are outward signs through which God operates by his Spirit, so that he may not signify any thing to us in vain. Yet we hold that their substance and truth is in Jesus Christ, and that of themselves they are only smoke and shadow.[20]

The sacraments provide 'more ample confirmation' of the gospel truths presented to us in the Word written and proclaimed. In putting the matter this way, the French is also relativizing the distinction between that 'feeding by faith' which occurs always and everywhere in the Christian life and the 'feeding by faith' which takes place in the Supper. The two are but relatively differing exemplars of the class 'spiritual feeding.' Faith lays hold of the 'substance and truth' set forth by the signs not only in the Supper but whenever the promises of Christ are believed.

So when we encounter flowerly passages in the confessions which speak of the signs 'setting forth' what they represent or of mystical union, etc., we must not read more into them than the overall theological context will allow. The French Confession can indeed say things like the following: 'we believe that by the secret and incomprehensible work of his Spirit, he feeds and strengthens us with the substance of his body and of his blood. He does this *spiritually*'.[21] And: 'in the Lord's Supper, as well as in baptism, God gives us really and in fact that which he there sets forth to us; and […] consequently with these signs is given the true possession and enjoyment of that which they present to us'[22] But such statements stand in a dialectical tension with all other statements which make sacramental communication solely a matter of faith in the 'substance and truth' of the gospel. As the Second Helvetic Confession puts it: 'this spiritual eating and drinking also occurs apart from the Supper of the Lord, and as often

[20] *French Confession*, Article XXXIV, Cochrane, p. 156.

[21] *French Confession*, Article XXXVI, Cochrane, p. 157, emphasis mine.

[22] *French Confession*, Article XXXVII, Cochrane, p. 157.

and wherever a man [or woman] believes in Christ'.[23] To 'eat' is, in the words of the Heidelberg Catechism, to 'embrace with a trusting heart the whole passion and death of Christ, and by it to receive the forgiveness of sins'.[24] 'Eating' is believing — and believing is 'eating.'

What is non-negotiable in all of this, above all, is the affirmation of the 'distance' which 'separates' Christ's body and blood in heaven from communicants on earth. Non-negotiable as well is the substitution of a wholly spiritual eating by faith for every metaphysical explanation of 'sacramental union.' These are the basic commitments that cannot be abandoned without detriment to one's standing as 'Reformed.' What is negotiable is whether one chooses to continue to make use of the metaphorical speech touching upon the relation of sign and reality or to dispense with it altogether.

CONCLUSION

It remains to be seen whether any confessional tradition can survive in an age dominated by a highly generic ('one size fits all') evangelical Catholicism. The 'victory' of the latter — if that is what we are witnessing — has come at a price. Questions ignored have a way of re-emerging at some point to unsettle and disturb. And there are any number of significant questions produced by the Reformation which are for now effectively ignored — not least the question of why those who have chosen to create a new theological option to the received wisdom of their forebears did not first try to defend, explicate and correct their own traditions on their own terms. What I have tried to suggest in this paper is that there is nothing wrong with 'Reformed' theology which cannot be fixed with the help of already existing resources found in the received form of that theology. Nothing so drastic as an attempt to get behind the Reformation, to relativize its significance in the light of more highly prized ancient orthodoxies, and finally to engage in a revisionary reading of it so as to bring it completely into line with the ancients (if not simply to declare it 'over') — none of this was ever necessary. The 'need' for such drastic measures was an invention of the theologians who carried it out.

I will close with this thought. The 'Reformed' have not represented themselves well in ecumenical conversations in quite some time. A greater tendency to capitulation, adaptation and assimilation for the sake of a humanly achievable unity exists among us than in other ecclesial traditions. Years ago now, I asked Robert Jenson with whom he would rather

[23] *Second Helvetic Confession*, Chapter XXI, Cochrane, p. 286.
[24] *Heidelberg Catechism*, Q.76, Cochrane, p. 318.

first achieve 'full communion' — the 'Reformed' (through the Leuenberg Concord) or the Anglicans (through COCU as it was then). His answer was: 'oh, the Anglicans. We can always get the Reformed to agree later. They will agree to anything.' Sadly, that has been my observation too in the years since that conversation took place.

Augustine, Creation and COP26

Angus Morrison

The recent UN Climate Change Conference in Glasgow, in November 2021, has served to focus international attention on major environmental concerns of our time. Under the rubric of 'Together for Our Planet', the ambitious, though worthy, goals of COP26 were stated as being: 1) to secure global net-zero by mid-century and keep 1.5 degrees [Celsius] within reach; 2) to adapt to protect communities and natural habitats; 3) to mobilize finance; 4) to work together to deliver.

'To work together to deliver' in this important field is no mean challenge, and will require the use of every available resource. In a spirit of openness and friendly solidarity, reflections from the perspectives of diverse world views should be welcomed to the conversation. In this connection, there remains a need for the further development, at both theoretical and practical levels, of a Christian environmental ethic. Since the 1970s, many Christian theologians have become more attentive to environmental issues. Much work remains to be done.

For some scientists, perspectives offered by faith communities are largely irrelevant in the context of current debates. Faith and science are held to be irreconcilable enemies. Other scientists warmly welcome and value the fruits of theological reflection. Arguably, it has never been more important than now to be 'together for our planet', and to be open to all thoughtful perspectives.

In his deeply insightful book, *Morality and the Environmental Crisis*,[1] Roger Gottlieb provides a long list of sobering environmental facts. The following five may be taken as representative:

- 2017 was the twenty-first consecutive warmer-than-average-year since 1997. During the fall of 2016, the Arctic recorded temperatures 30 degrees [Fahrenheit] higher than normal.

- In a 2004 St. Louis study of newborn children, the average baby was found with 187 toxic substances in their blood.

- The World Health Organization recently estimated that three to six million deaths per year are attributable in whole or part to air pollution.

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1 Roger S. Gottlieb, *Morality and the Environmental Crisis* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019).

- A precipitous drop in insect populations, estimated to be as high as 75 percent, indicates potentially catastrophic effects on human agriculture in particular and plant species life in general.

- Somewhere between 700 million and a billion people live in densely packed urban slums that are part of the megacities resulting from global urbanization […]. Examples [in Latin America, Africa and Asia] are shanty towns literally built on or immediately next to gargantuan toxic facilities, so little sanitation that excrement is an immediate presence of daily life […] there is an immediate and overwhelming level of human-generated pollution in the daily lives of somewhere between 10 and 20 percent of the human race [2]

Gottlieb suggests that since these facts are so anxiety-generating, his readers might wish at this point to reach for a calming drink of water. That too, however, turns out to be problematic. If, for example, we take it from a plastic bottle, the bottle may contain BPA, 'a carcinogen that leeches into the water from the plastic'. He offers other similarly concerning examples and comments, 'These facts tell us that the world is neither stable nor safe.'[3]

The environmental crisis is plain enough for all to see. But how are we to address it – to slow down the dangerous trends, and in time, hopefully, even to reverse them? There is a major problem here – one that brings us fairly directly into the realm of religion and faith.

Gottlieb points out that human destructiveness towards the environment is ages old. What is new in our time is the level of destructive power that we have acquired. Tellingly, he reminds us of the way in which 'God put Job in his place by asking some obviously rhetorical questions: "Can you pull in Leviathan with a fishhook or tie down its tongue with a rope? […] Can you fill its hide with harpoons and its head with fishing spears? […]"' (Job 41:1-9)

Today, however, 'humans can not only catch whales, but also hunt them to near extinction, implant radio transmitters to track them, teach them tricks in theme parks, and catalogue their DNA'.[4]

In Gottlieb's view, the sheer destructive scope of what we modern humans have done to our environment, 'calls into question the ultimate rationality of modernity'. In the case of religion and philosophy, he argues that, with some exceptions, they have generally 'taught us […] to frame nature's significance in human terms'. While religious environmentalism

[2] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[3] Ibid., pp. 3-5.
[4] Ibid., p. 7.

is now 'a global movement', Gottlieb invites us to reflect on 'how few and far between were the religious and philosophical voices in opposing the last century's juggernaut of technological development and environmental degradation.' He quotes from Professor Steven C. Rockefeller:

> The social and moral traditions that have been dominant in the West […] have not involved the idea that animals, trees, or the land in their own right, as distinct from their owners or their Creator, have moral standing. Only a few saints and reformers have taught that people have direct moral responsibilities to nonhuman creatures.

Gottlieb finds it striking 'when environmental philosophy did emerge in the 1970s, how little of the "canon" of Western philosophy could be used as a resource'. While religion and philosophy are 'two of our critical cultural resources', they represent 'an impoverished tool kit, a kit itself in need of repair'.[5]

Gottlieb argues for an approach to the current crisis in terms of the recovery of 'spiritual virtue', in which the illusion that 'success measured in possessions, fame, or power will lead to happiness' is replaced by *gratitude* for what we have, as a gift, together with a relationship of *love* and *compassion* to other people and the world around us.[6] He points, in this regard, to valuable resources within the monotheistic religions by bringing in the concept of creation and the attribution of 'nature's existence to an intelligent, caring Force that brought the universe into being and has a deep love for human beings'. When nature is seen as a divine gift, this inevitably 'confers value on it and a corresponding sense of horror at what has been done. […] For the serious theist everything on earth derives its most essential reality through its relationship to God.'[7]

This paper aims to pursue Gottlieb's thought and its potential to help foster the radical moral transformation required in order to make meaningful, practical progress in addressing one of the greatest challenges of our time. Part of the task of 'repairing our toolkit' will involve a fresh look at the rich theological resources of the Christian tradition and a consideration of their potential bearing on current environmental concerns.

The paper's focus is on the theology of creation found in the work of Augustine of Hippo (354-430), arguably the most influential theologian-philosopher of the Christian West. While Augustine's theological legacy is in some respects problematic, the paper seeks to highlight some of the (frequently overlooked) ways in which his reflections on creation can pro-

5 Ibid., pp. 9-11.
6 Ibid., p. 134.
7 Ibid., p. 50.

vide helpful perspectives on ecological and environmental concerns. In particular, might Augustine's mature theological reflections yield insights to help counter the lack of moral motivation, highlighted by Gottlieb and others, in addressing the environmental challenges before us?

It is important at the outset to acknowledge the ways in which the Christian tradition has come short in exemplifying and inculcating right attitudes and actions in regard to the environment in which we live. This failure was exposed in an influential critique, in which the medieval historian Lynn White laid the blame for the developing ecological crisis squarely at the door of the Christian world-view, with its Judaic roots.[8] White's thesis has received widespread scholarly acceptance.[9] Christianity, he argued, replaced an earlier understanding of the 'sacredness' of nature, with an anthropocentric view of humanity as created uniquely in the 'image of God' and with the right of 'dominion', or control, over all other creatures, as described in Genesis 1: 26-30. This encouraged an arrogance towards, and an aggressive exploitation of, the natural world, seen in these terms to exist solely for the benefit and purposes of humankind. White held that '[Western] Christianity is the most anthropocentric religion the world has ever seen'. The dominance of this world-view in the West, he concludes, has helped to undergird the modern technological conquest of nature that has led to our current environmental crisis. In this respect, 'Christianity bears a huge burden of guilt.'[10]

Augustine himself has often been held to account for the unhelpful consequences of his alleged disparagement of the material world and privileging of the realm of the spirit. This, it is argued, has contributed significantly to those negative attitudes to the natural world and the neglect of environmental concerns which have been only too apparent in the history of the church.

In the medieval period, the effect of such dualism with an associated focus on the individual, was a radical separation between the doctrines of creation and redemption. Creation became a mere preamble to the central concerns of Scripture which were entirely soteriological. Thought, preaching and action about salvation came to be centred on the rescue of individual souls from damnation in hell. Although this worked out in somewhat different ways in Catholicism and in post-Reformation Prot-

8 Lynn White, 'The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis', *Science* 155 (1967), pp. 1203-7.

9 David Fergusson, however, remarks that 'The very similar ecological problems faced by countries in Asia today may problematize this thesis, however.' Fergusson, *Creation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), p. 13, fn. 17.

10 White, 'Historical Roots', pp. 1203-7.

estantism, the result was similar – the loss of the biblical vision of creation and of redemption in its height, breadth and depth, as embracing the entire expanse of the created order. As we shall see, both the critique of Christianity by White and others and this narrowing of vision within the church reflected a distortion of, and departure from, important strands of early Christian thought.

In critiques of Christian failure in respect of ecological and environmental issues, Augustine is often held to be largely responsible for the western church's unfortunate theological trajectory. It is unquestionable that the bishop of Hippo's influence on the western theological tradition has been constant, pervasive and complex. It continues unabated in the 21st century.

It is not clear, however, that in critiques of Augustine's attitude to the natural world, adequate attention has been given to his sustained and serious work on the doctrine of creation. Far from being of marginal or negative interest to him, Augustine's lifelong engagement with this doctrine verged on the obsessive. His persistent and intense wrestling with the creation narrative in Genesis began at the time of his conversion in late August 386, and continued unabated to the end of his life. This was, in fact, a doctrine he viewed as absolutely fundamental to all his other theological work, to his ministry, and to the whole of human life.

In suggesting that Augustine should be recognized as an important conversation partner in current creational and ecological discussions, the paper, firstly, surveys Augustine's developing engagement with the doctrine of creation. This requires us to attend, in particular, to his successive attempts to grapple with the early chapters of Genesis, culminating in his most mature endeavour, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*. A few themes will then be drawn out from Augustine's work, which will highlight the value of his thought as a resource in respect of the concerns of COP26.

UNDERSTANDING GENESIS – AN UNENDING PROJECT

I. On Genesis: A Refutation of the Manichees

Strikingly, Augustine's first attempt at interpreting the Genesis creation narrative occurred prior to his ordination, in the period immediately following his conversion in 386.

Earlier, as a teenager, Augustine had become disillusioned by his reading of the Scriptures, particularly those of the Old Testament. The attacks of the Manichees on the creation account of Genesis resonated strongly with him.[11] Rebelling against the religion of his mother Monica, Augus-

[11] See *Confessions*, 3.5 – 6.9-10.

tine joined the Manichees, 'a dualistic, Gnostic sect which claimed to represent authentic Christianity, purged of the faulty metaphysics, theology, and exegesis of Catholic Christianity, and to be able therefore to explain truly the nature of good and evil.'[12]

For Manichees, the world came into existence as the result of a cosmic struggle between the forces of good and evil, light and dark powers. Faith in a single Creator was, therefore, ruled out *ab initio*, and with it the credibility of Christian orthodoxy and of the church. Augustine, remarkably, was a devotee of this sect for a period of nine years. During this time, he believed 'nothing could be answered to the Manichees' arguments.'[13]

There is some irony in the fact that it was, at least partially, on the recommendation of some Manichees that Augustine secured a professorship of rhetoric in Milan. For it was there, under the preaching of Ambrose, whose rhetorical skills first attracted Augustine to his ministry, he was led 'to the general insight that the Bible need not be interpreted exclusively according to the literal[istic] sense, as the Manichees demanded and followed in practice,' and that allegorical exegesis had a proper place.[14]

It is therefore not surprising, following his conversion at Milan in 386, that Augustine's earliest attempt to interpret the first chapters of Genesis should have had a polemical, anti-Manichaean slant. One might say that if Augustine owed one lasting debt to the Manichees, it was the (unintended) impetus they gave to his early and lasting recognition of the foundational nature of creation for Christian theology.[15]

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12 Carol Harrison, *Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology. An Argument for Continuity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 75.

13 *Confessions*, 5.14.

14 Michael Fiedrowicz, in *Saint Augustine on Genesis*, ed. by John E. Rotelle, O.S.A. (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2002), p. 26. The Neoplatonists had a significant input to the development of Augustine's thought. As Harrison states, 'it was the Neoplatonists who revolutionized Augustine's thought with their understanding of spiritual reality, thereby making it possible for him to break with materialism as well as Manichean dualism […] The key to the solution, however, he locates, not so much with the Neoplatonists, but in the doctrine of creation: "I had not yet come to see that the hinge of this great subject lies in your creative act, almighty one: you alone do marvellous things. My mind moved within the confines of corporeal forms."' Harrison, *Rethinking*, p. 85. See *Confessions*, 4.15.24.

15 On the enduring foundational importance of creation for Augustine's theology, see Harrison, *Rethinking*, chapter 4. 'Creation from nothing is the point at which he naturally begins, but it is also that which determines the way in which he subsequently expounds his entire understanding of the faith.' Ibid., p. 114. Harrison has shown that the key elements in Augustine's mature theology were already in place from around 386. Correcting an influential

This first serious exegetical endeavour was undertaken within a year of Augustine's return from Italy in 388 to his home town of Thagaste in North Africa. The speed and urgency of its production most likely reflects the recent convert's concern to protect a largely uneducated Christian public from what he now saw as a dualistic and dangerous heresy. We are introduced in this work to the two literary genres favoured by Augustine in much of his subsequent theological writing – the anti-heretical treatise and the exegetical commentary. Influenced by the allegorism and Neoplatonic spirit of Ambrose, whose sermons on the Hexaemeron (the six days of creation in Genesis one) he may well have heard preached in Milan during Holy Week, 386, Augustine adopted in this early work a largely allegorical approach to the interpretation of Genesis.

At the same time, many of the themes which appear in his later efforts make their first appearance here. These include God's freedom and immutability and the goodness of his activity. Using both the Catholic creed and exegesis of the text, Augustine seeks to refute the core dilemma posed by the Manichaean dualist system, namely, that 'one must accept the existence of an eternal principle that is parallel but opposed to God, or else one is caught up in a host of aporias and absurdities'. In summary, '[h]e set the one creator God over against the dualism of two principles, and over against the idea of an emanation he set the creative action of an all-powerful God who freely created the world out of nothing.[16]

II. Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis

Augustine was ordained a priest in Hippo in 391. His biographer Possidius tells of Manichean activity in Hippo at this time, particularly that of a presbyter named Fortunatus, and of the impression their teaching had made on a number of Christians.[17] This led to a concentrated response from Augustine, both in his writing and preaching, and the production of a second commentary on Genesis, most likely between 393 and 395.[18]

As one of Augustine's first attempts at a literal interpretation of Genesis, this work marks a significant stage in Augustine's exegetical and theological development. Unfinished (it came to an end at Genesis 1:26,

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stream of Augustinian scholarship, she states, 'Augustine's early thought was not only fully Christian; it was fully Augustinian.' Ibid., p. 286.

16 Fiedrowicz, Saint Augustine, p. 33. Cf. *On Genesis: A Refutation of the Manichees*, 1.2.4; 1.6.10 – 7.11.

17 'The plague of the Manichaeans has infected and permeated very many.' Possidius, *Life of Augustine*. 6.1.

18 'And so, with God's help, the Catholic Church in Africa, began to lift its head, having for a long time lain prostrate, seduced, oppressed and overpowered.' Possidius, *Life of Augustine*, 7.

although he had originally intended it to cover all six days of creation) and hitherto unpublished, he tells in the later *Revisions* how he rediscovered it in the course of writing this later work.[19] He makes clear that his aim had been to deal specifically with the historical and literal sense of the text (although he mentions the four ways of interpreting scripture handed down by earlier exegetes, as history, as allegory, as analogy, and as etiology).[20] Whatever his reason for abandoning the project,[21] he decided at the time to keep the work 'as an indication – in my opinion not a useless one – of my first attempts to explain and study the works of God.'[22]

Rather strangely, the Manichees are not mentioned by name in the *Unfinished Literal Commentary*. Augustine, however, clearly has them in view.[23] He was well aware that a literal approach to interpreting Genesis was the only one acceptable to Fortunatus and his colleagues. He seems therefore to have moved deliberately onto their methodological turf, with a view to showing that 'the biblical account of creation was acceptable even when taken literally, and could measure up to scientific and literary standards.'[24]

In a programmatic introduction, Augustine issues a series of introductory principles which govern his approach throughout. The opening sentence is significant:

> The obscure mysteries of the natural order, which we perceive to have been made by God the almighty craftsman, should rather be discussed by asking questions than by making affirmations (*non affirmando, sed quaerendo*).

Scientific humility before the book of nature should be matched by exegetical humility, in exploring 'the books which have been entrusted to us by divine authority.' This spirit is made essential by human fallenness

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19 *Revisions* 1.18.

20 Augustine, *Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis*, 2.5.

21 In reference to Augustine, Roland Teske SJ suggests that in light of the 'highly spiritualized view of human beings before the fall that he presented in his earlier *De Genesi adversus Manichaeos*, it seems plausible that the problem of giving a literal interpretation of the differentiation of the sexes in this passage brought the work to a halt.' Teske, in *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Allan D. Fitzgerald, O.S.A. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), p. 377.

22 See Teske, in *Augustine through the Ages*, p. 377. In *Revisions*, Augustine advises people to assess the unfinished *Commentary* in light of their reading of the later twelve books of his *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*. *Revisions*, 1:18.

23 See, e.g., *Unfinished Literal Commentary*, 5.23-4.

24 Fiedrowicz, *St Augustine*, p. 107.

and the limitations of creaturely finitude. He cautions, however, that 'the doubts and hesitations implied by asking questions must not exceed the bounds of Catholic faith'. This is important because heretics 'have been in the habit of twisting their exposition of the divine scriptures to fit their way of thinking, which is quite at odds with the faith learned by Catholics.'[25] The rule of faith (*regula fidei*) is thus introduced for the first time by Augustine as a hermeneutical criterion, providing the framework within which his engagement with the text will proceed.

Augustine proceeds by way of questioning the text, suggesting, for example, alternative possible interpretations of a phrase. He rejects any superficial understanding of the meaning of 'literal', and recognizes the way in which scripture language and expression are accommodated to the human capacity of understanding. Relentless questioning of the text in order to get at its true meaning, within the context of the 'rule of faith', finds repeated emphasis throughout.[26] The heretical tendency, he affirms on the other hand, is to impose a prior subjective meaning on the text.[27] He warns against making ill-considered claims[28] and is happy to propose for discussion numerous possible interpretations of a passage. He only insists that the interpreter should 'avoid asserting anything rashly, and something you don't know as if you did; and remember that you are just a human being investigating the works to the extent that you are permitted to do so.'[29]

Before turning to Augustine's major work on the Genesis creation narrative, brief note should be taken of two other contexts in which his constant fascination and preoccupation with the creation story found expression.

III. Confessions

At the end of the *Confessions*, Augustine, probably around 400, wrote three chapters (books 11 – 13) on creation which effectively offer another commentary on the first two chapters of Genesis. Given the autobiographical nature of the first nine books, the final four, with their apparently radical change of content, seem to have little connection with what precedes. This has often been taken as indicative of the overall lack of thematic and structural unity in this Augustine's most famous work. Why would Augustine conclude his *Confessions* in this way?

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25 Augustine, *Unfinished*, 1.1.

26 Ibid., 2.5; 3.6-8, 10; 5. 19, 21, 24; 6. 26, 27; 9.30; 14.44.

27 Ibid., 1.2-4.

28 Ibid., 3.10.

29 Ibid., 9.30. cf. 8.29.

Pointing out the 'numerous subtle cross-references' between its two parts, Henry Chadwick suggests that the 'last four books make explicit what is only hinted at in the autobiographical parts, namely that the story of the soul wandering away from God and then in torment and tears finding its way home through conversion is also the story of the entire created order. It is a favourite Neoplatonic theme, but also, as Romans 8 shows, not absent from the New Testament.'[30]

More recently, Jared Ortiz has argued that creation, understood not as 'a static set of dogmatic teachings' but rather 'an encounter of the awake mind with the truth about reality', is the 'primary hermeneutical tool' for reading *Confessions* with understanding. [31] Approached in this way, it quickly becomes apparent that in the Confessions, 'Augustine lives, speaks and thinks in terms of creation', and the unity of the whole can be appreciated.

In the closing chapters it is 'a prime task for Augustine to show that the Manichee dismissal of the authority of the book of Genesis is utterly mistaken, since no book is richer in Christian mystery when properly interpreted. The narrative of the creation interpreted in books XII and XIII sets the context for the total account of the nature and destiny of the soul.'[32] It is significant that Augustine's best known sentence, in the first paragraph of book 1, should have creation at its core.[33] For Augustine, the deepest longings of the human soul make sense only in the context of creation.

In this context, reference should also be made to Augustine's massive *City of God*, books 11-12, written about 412, in which once again he tackles early Genesis. In particular he discusses the six days of creation, generally following the treatment they are given in *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*.

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30 Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, translated with an introduction and notes by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. xxiv. 'The creation, made out of nothing, is involved in the perpetual change and flux of time […]. Because it comes from God, it knows itself to be in need of returning to the source whence it came. So Augustine's personal quest and pilgrimage are the individual's experience in microcosm of what is true, on the grand scale, of the whole creation.' Ibid., p. xxiv.

31 Jared Ortiz, *"You made us for Yourself": Creation in St. Augustine's Confessions* (Minneapolis, MI: Fortress Press, 2016).

32 Chadwick, in Augustine, *Confessions*, p. xxv.

33 'You stir man to take pleasure in praising you, because you have made us for yourself, and our heart is restless until it rests in you.' *Confessions*, 1.1.

IV. The Literal Meaning of Genesis and City of God

In this context, passing reference should also be made to Augustine's massive *City of God*, books 11-12, written about 412, in which once again he tackles early Genesis. In particular he discusses the six days of creation, generally following the treatment they are given in *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*.

Augustine was not to be deterred from his decades-long aim to complete a 'literal' commentary on the Genesis narrative. Sometime after commencing *On the Trinity* (probably in 399), he tells us, he began *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*. It ranks with *On the Trinity* and *City of God* as one of Augustine's crowning theological and literary achievements, although far less well-known. Remarkably, 'during the last several years of its composition (Augustine) had all three works under way.'[34]

Written in twelve books, it is divided into three parts. Firstly, in books 1-5, he engages with the creation narrative up to Genesis 2:6. He includes the following in his treatment: a Trinitarian framework of creation, a proposed relationship between the two creation narratives, a discussion of God's providential government and rest, and a detailed explanation of causal reasons by which creation unfolds in its historical development.

Secondly, in books 6-11, he deals with the creation of humanity, original sin, the origin of the soul, the relationship between men and women, especially in marriage, and the relationship between spiritual bodies and natural bodies.

Finally, in book 12, added after he had completed the original commentary, he considers the visions of paradise of which Paul writes in 2 Corinthians 12: 2-4.

Caution and humility before the text continue to mark Augustine's exegetical approach in this his most mature interpretation of Genesis. He would later state, 'In that work more questions are asked than answers are found, and of the answers found only a few are established with certainty. The rest have been proposed as still needing further study.'[35]

One of Augustine's abiding concerns was the threat to the church's witness from an irresponsible use of Scripture which operated on the superficially pious principle (in the words of a familiar slogan): 'The Bible says it; I believe it; that settles it.' In words that still speak searchingly, Augustine writes, 'It is impossible to say what trouble and grief such rash, self-assured know-alls cause the more cautious and experienced brothers and sisters.'[36]

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34 Teske, in *Augustine through the Ages*, p. 376.

35 *Revisions*, 2.24.

36 *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 1.19.39.

In the field of science he recognises that people of no faith who study 'the earth […], the sky […], the magnitude and distance of the constellations […], the cycles of years and seasons […], the nature of animals, fruit, stones and everything else of this kind', are able to attain true knowledge which 'they can substantiate with scientific arguments or experiments.' In a passage of enduring resonance, he writes:

> Whenever […] they [non-Christians] catch out some members of the Christian community making mistakes on a subject which they know inside out, and defending their hollow opinions on the authority of our books, on what grounds are they going to trust those books on the resurrection of the dead and the hope of eternal life and the kingdom of heaven, when they suppose they include any number of mistakes and fallacies on matter which they themselves have been able to master either by experiment or by the surest of calculations.[37]

For Augustine, 'the Bible was not a manual on the natural sciences. He interpreted the account of creation in such a way that even when the biblical text raised questions proper to the natural sciences, he always focused his answers on theological aspects of the matter.'[38] On several occasions he acknowledged the possibility that better interpretations of a particular passage than the one he was offering might be found: 'I myself may quite possibly come to a different interpretation that corresponds even better with the words of the holy scriptures. I am certainly not insisting on this one in such a way as to contend that nothing else preferable can be found.'[39]

Recognizing that Genesis did not provide a straightforward historical account of origins enabled Augustine to establish a theological framework which would prove able to accommodate later scientific developments. This can be seen in his positing of two 'aspects' in God's creative activity, corresponding to the two creation accounts in Genesis.[40] On the one hand, God created all things, including time and space, in an instant from nothing (*ex nihilo*). The order God had created, however, was essentially dynamic, divinely endowed with the capacity to develop over time. Augustine uses the image of a seed growing, through a long process, into a tree.[41] God's creative action continues beyond the initial act of origination. In Augustine's more technical language, at the outset God embed-

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37 Ibid.

38 Fiedrowicz, *Saint Augustine*, p. 156.

39 *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 4.28.45. See also, for example, 1.18.37; 12.1.1.

40 Books 1-3 deal with the first phase and books 4-11 with the second.

41 *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 5.23.45.

ded in the world 'seminal reasons' (*rationes seminales*) out of which all things take their shape in time and space, under the sovereign guidance of the Creator, whose activity in creation is necessarily unceasing. As McGrath puts it, 'The blueprint for that evolution is not arbitrary, but is programmed into the very fabric of creation. God's providence superintends the continuing unfolding of the created order.'[42]

Addressing the challenging requirement of exegeting passages whose lack of clarity makes possible a number of differing interpretations, Augustine 'lists three criteria of interpretation in such cases: the intention of the biblical writers, the context, and finally the rule of faith.'[43] As already noted, Augustine was also convinced that where scientific positions had been established by sound arguments, 'in this case the exegete must include scientific results in his quest of an interpretation and respect them in the name of reason.'[44]

What Augustine learned from his repeated encounters with Genesis was profound and far reaching. It is clear his handling of the doctrine of creation in general and of the text of Genesis in particular was far richer than his detractors have often allowed. Far from being merely preliminary to his wider theological interests, creation was in fact determinative of his treatment of the whole. This carries important ecological implications.

AUGUSTINE AT COP26

Had it been possible for Augustine to attend the COP26 gathering in Glasgow – having received in 5th century North Africa an unexpected invitation together with a time-machine! – what wisdom might he have offered to the international gathering? In light of his engagement with Genesis and creation, it seems likely that he would have developed some of the fol-

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42 Alister McGrath, *Mere Theology* (London: SPCK, 2010), p. 115. Cf. David Fergusson, 'To see God simply as a placeholder for a supernatural act of origination is to miss most of what Genesis has to say about the character of the world in its relationship to the Creator. To concentrate merely on origination is to miss many of the motifs of the creation story. These are subsequently developed by Genesis with respect to human responsibility and disobedience, land, blessing, covenant, and much else.' Fergusson, in *Genesis and Christian Theology*, ed. by Nathan MacDonald, Mark W. Elliott and Grant Macaskill (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), p. 156.

43 Fiedrowicz, *Saint Augustine*, p. 161. See *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 1.21.41.

44 Fiedrowicz, *Saint Augustine*, p. 161. As David Fergusson points out, 'The encounter of exegesis with modern science is not exclusively a modern preoccupation.' Fergusson, in *Genesis*, p. 155.

lowing points, doubtless among many others. They are, of course, those of a distinctively Christian worldview. Among other perspectives, however, the urgent need for wisdom from any and every quarter in addressing the current ecological crisis, should have secured for him a sympathetic and careful hearing.

Celebrating its diversity, Augustine recognizes in the universe a unified, good and beautiful whole.[45] The goodness of the created order derives from and is grounded in the goodness of its Creator who nevertheless remains ontologically distinct from, while pervasively present to, all of time and space. The dynamic nature and depth of the interrelatedness of creatures comes from the fact that all creation, in its goodness, is drawn to move towards the God of ultimate goodness who is its source.

Despite the fall and the effects of sin in the world, creation is good, inasmuch as it reflects the order intended for it by its transcendent Creator God. The divine transcendence has a levelling effect on all parts of the creation.[46]

Since God is the goal as well as the source of the created order, the movement of creatures, possessing an 'equality of being', through space in time, is 'toward their source of existence in God through the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the Word of God.'[47] Such 'unity in diversity'

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[45] 'And all things are very good, whether they abide close to you or, in the graded hierarchy of being, stand further away from you in time and space, in beautiful modifications which they either actively cause or passively receive.' Augustine, *Confessions*, 12.28. Cf., 'All things are beautiful because you made them, but you who made everything are inexpressibly more beautiful' Ibid., 13.28. See also Augustine, *City of God*, 12.22: '"God saw that it was good." This statement, applied to all his works, can only signify the approval of work done with the true artist's skill, which here is the Wisdom of God. It is not that God *discovered* that it was good, after it had been made […] he is not discovering that fact, but communicating it.'

[46] While the Reformed tradition, which owes so much to Augustine, has too frequently succumbed to the lure of dualism by devaluing the material realm and viewing creation only as the prelude to the more important issue of the salvation of the 'soul', its spirituality has nevertheless yielded important material on the appreciation of a world shot through with the glory of God. This is particularly so in theologians like John Calvin and Jonathan Edwards. See Belden C. Lane, *Ravished by Beauty: The Surprising Legacy of Reformed Spirituality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[47] Scott A. Dunham, *The Trinity and Creation in Augustine. An Ecological Analysis*, Suny Series on Religion and the Environment (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2008), p. 126. An analogy might be that of a sunflower which fulfils its nature by turning to face the sun. If the sunflower possessed free will and chose rather to find its place in a dark, damp cupboard, it would

under God gives moral undergirding to the ecological sensitivity widely called for today in recognizing how 'human decisions cause reverberations throughout an ecosystem'.[48]

This important point requires to be weighed in relation to the problematic issue of hierarchy. It is clear that Augustine believed that creation was shaped by some form of hierarchy. He observed that 'creatures are ordered in relation to one another in various ways'. Ecological ethics have tended to see hierarchy as a problem – one of 'valuing the spiritual over the physical, the human over the nonhuman, the male over the female, and the eternal over the finite.'[49] This 'divinely-established' arrangement is seen to justify the domination and exploitation by humans of their environment.

Some clarifications, however, are required. For Augustine, hierarchy must always be understood in terms of an appreciation of the created order as divine gift. He speaks of the order and beauty of the world as an order of love (*ordo amoris*).[50]

It was Jesus' two great commandments to love God and to love one's neighbour as oneself 'that gave Augustine a mandate and a way to orient all life, loves, and thus ethics.'[51]

The hierarchy discerned in Scripture by Augustine is one in which the anthropocentricism excoriated by many eco-theologians requires to be radically reappraised. It is a hierarchy intimately related to the order of love and intended to reflect that order, as the divine will. Within it humans are called to reject every path of domination.

Arguably, the key to Augustine's understanding of the proper relationship of human beings to the rest of creation lies in his well-known distinction between human 'enjoyment' (*frui*) and 'use' (*uti*) of all else in the world.[52] Here, too, misunderstanding has been rife.

In book one of *On Christian Teaching*, Augustine defines his use of these terms: 'To enjoy is to cling to something lovingly for its own sake; to use, however, is to refer what has come your way to what love aims to obtain, provided that it deserves to be loved.'[53]

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wilt and shrivel and fail to fulfil the purpose of its existence. This, for Augustine, was humanity's essential problem in a nutshell.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 'Neoplatonism and its vision of unity with the One certainly focussed Augustine's quest for an ordered love (conf. 7: 9-11, 17; 10. 29, 40).' Fitzgerald, *Augustine through the Ages*, p. 322.

51 Ibid.

52 Augustine's major discussion of this is in *On Christian Teaching*, Bk. 1.

53 Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, 1.4.4.

In a helpful article, Andrew McGowan has spelled out the implications of Augustine's understanding.[54] As McGowan expresses it, 'Love is the purpose with which God creates, and the order to which God calls. When power or order serves its own ends and not those of God, it is perverse.'[55] Such will to power (*libido dominandi*), in place of the will to love, 'appears solely as the correlate to freedom' and is 'the desire to act as though we are gods, ends or goods in ourselves rather than solely in our relationship to God and God's will to love.' This defines our fall as humans and determines 'the set of ways in which we exploit, rather than steward, what God has given.'[56] As McGowan says, 'It is not hard to see how environmental degradation is a result of this "will to power" on the part of humanity.' While 'the historical reality of human existence reflects the distorted attempt that human beings have made to dominate one another and the earth, (the) Judeo-Christian tradition inescapably bestows on humans a pre-eminence which is intended to reflect and foster the order of love which is God's will.'[57]

When all persons and things are understood in relation to God within the 'order of love', it follows that 'only proper use, use for the right end, constitutes "use" in this sense rather than abuse. That proper use is not merely conformity to rules, but the celebratory engagement with the other that arises from shared participation in the *ordo amoris*. The things thus used are neither inconsequential and hence to be exploited, nor ultimate ends and therefore to be worshipped, but must be approached in relation to their and our highest end, who is of course also their and our source - God.'[58]

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54 Andrew McGowan, 'To Use and Enjoy: Augustine and Ecology' <https://anglican.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/To-Use-and-Enjoy-Augustine-and-Ecology-Andrew-McGowan.pdf> [accessed 8 October 2021].

55 Ibid., p. 9. He cites *City of God*, 12.5: 'All things are good, in that they exist and have their own way of being, their own appearance and in a sense their own peace.'

56 McGowan, 'To Use and Enjoy', p. 9.

57 McGowan argues that while 'ecotheology is justified in seeking to re-emphasize the theme of affinity between humans and other creatures […] that has a genuine and important place in Christian thought and practice […], the rejection even of a relative or modified anthropocentrism […] is problematic.' This is because it involves both the 'avoidance of the distinctive calling of humankind too far removed from biblical witness to be useful for Christian ethics, (and) also involves a collapse of subject and object whose implications for any sort of ethics are unhelpful.' Ibid.

58 Ibid., pp. 12-3. 'Use and enjoyment are therefore ways of acting within the God-world relationship.' Ibid., p. 13.

Contrary to widespread misunderstanding, Augustine rejects a hierarchy of power and develops a vision of a good world in which no creatures are devalued. Human activity is to be guided by an understanding of the cosmos as God's good creation. Love of God and other creatures must control all human thought and practice, including the manner in which we relate to our environment.

What would Augustine have made of the actual outcomes of COP26 which ended on Saturday 13th November 2021? I think he would have appreciated the generally friendly spirit in which the discussions of these important matters was conducted. I suspect he would have regretted, but not been entirely surprised by, the failure of the conference to deliver the action and commitments needed to reach the targets of the earlier Paris Agreement.[59] At the same time, he would surely have applauded the manner in which COP26 succeeded in raising global ambition on climate change, with 90% of the world's economy now committed to net-zero targets. The race to net-zero 2050 has begun, with a host of new initiatives and pledges. Augustine would have fully endorsed COP26's strong emphasis on the need to engage, and not ignore, the imperative of climate action in particular and care for our environment in general. Our participation in the divinely established order of love, requires of us no less. His is a message of deep spiritual and moral challenge, as well as of energizing hope, as we 'work together for our planet'.[60]

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[59] In a personal email, Professor David Fergusson wonders whether 'Augustine's realism in the *City of God* about the politics of the earthly city might introduce a more sombre note in relation to some of the aspirations of the COP26 participants'. In a wider context, John J. O'Keefe highlights the potentially positive contribution to current ecological debates of Augustinian realism about the status of the world in which we live, at a time when 'we want a world we don't have' in *Augustine and the Environment*, ed. by John Doody, Kim Paffenroth and Mark Smillie (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016), p. 106. Commenting on Augustinian realism, in a review of this book, Sean Hannan remarks, 'While some measure of ecological utopianism would be integral to any soundly environmentalist worldview, there remains something compelling about this reminder of the skewed state of a world sweltering in its own sin.' *Reading Religion. A Publication of the American Academy of Religion* <https://readingreligion.org/books/augustine-and-environment> [accessed 8 October 2021].

[60] Much of the work on this paper was undertaken during a period of study leave in the hospitable environment of Westminster College, Cambridge. I am grateful to Lindsay O'Riordan and the Church of Scotland study leave team for their invaluable support, and to Emma Brown and her colleagues at Westminster College for making my stay there such an enjoyable and comfortable experience.

Ignored but not Forgotten: The Contributions of African Pioneer Missionaries to God's Mission on their Home Continent

Thorsten Prill

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about the work of 19th and early 20th-century Protestant missionaries on the African continent in recent years, especially by authors who take a rather critical stance.[1] Many publications by Western scholars, and an increasing number of their African peers, focus on the mistakes and failures of the Protestant mission movement.[2] Interestingly, most of the critics exclusively comment on the work of Western missionaries, as if Christian mission in Africa was solely a Western enterprise. African missionaries get no or hardly any mention at all.[3] Others refer to indigenous mission workers, but they portray them as willing and powerless instruments of their Western masters, who supported the political and economic agenda of the colonisers.[4] Akena Adyanga, for example, writes that churches and missionary schools were a means of imple-

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1 See, for example, *Missions, States, and European Expansion in Africa*, ed. by C.J. Korieh and R.C. Njoku (New York: Routledge, 2007); N.N. Mhango, *How Africa Developed Europe: Deconstructing the History of Africa, Excavating Untold Truth and What Ought to be Done and Known* (Mankon, Bamenda: Langaa RPCID, 2018)

2 Cf. F.M. Givule, 'Missionary Paternalism Factor in Self Reliance of Congo Mennonite Brethren Church', *Mission Focus: Annual Review* 16 (2008), p. 12; T. Oduro, H. Pretorius, S. Nussbaum and B. Born, *Mission in an African Way: A Practical Introduction to African Instituted Churches and their Sense of Mission* (Wellington: Christian Literature Fund / Bible Media, 2008), p. 37; M.A. Oduyoye, *Hearing and Knowing: Theological Reflections on Christianity in Africa* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2009), pp. 42-43.

3 See, for example, J.H. Kane, *A Concise History of the Christian World Mission: A Panoramic View of Missions from Pentecost to the Present* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982), pp. 137-144; A. Mukaria, 'Western Colonialism: The Genesis of the Degradation of Nature', Academia Letters July (2021), pp. 1-9.

4 See, for example, R.W. Strayer, *The Making of Mission in East Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1978), p. 26.

menting cultural imperialism through training indigenous catechists to evangelise in their communities.[5] Both interpretations of the Protestant mission movement, however, are not very helpful, as they are in danger of presenting a distorted picture. They either ignore or undervalue both the motivation of African Christians and also the contributions they made to the growth of the African church. It seems that, in their attempt to critically evaluate the legacy of Protestant missionaries, some authors overlook the significant role African Christians played in spreading the Gospel on their home continent. Right from the beginning of Western Protestant mission work, African men and women who became followers of Christ not only actively shared their newly found faith with their fellow Africans but also avoided many of the mistakes of their Western counterparts.[6]

If we want to categorise African missionaries who were involved in the advancement of the Christian faith in the 19th and early 20th centuries, we can roughly distinguish between three groups. The first group consisted of African evangelists, catechists and Bible translators who worked closely together with European and North American missionaries and whose ministries were funded in one way or another by the latter. The second group was made up of independent indigenous missionaries, often former co-workers of Western missionaries, who operated outside the Western mission structures. A third group comprised black missionaries from Great Britain, North America and the Caribbean who came or returned to Africa as members of the *Back to Africa* movement.

AFRICAN EVANGELISTS, CATECHISTS AND BIBLE TRANSLATORS

In their book entitled *Indigenous Evangelists and Questions of Authority in the British Empire 1750-1940* Peggy Brock, Norman Etherington, Gareth Griffiths and Jacqueline Van Gent remind us that indigenous evangelism was at the heart of the strategies of Protestant mission societies.[7] They write: 'With some ups and downs the local evangelist occupied a central place in missionary operations until the era of decolonization when

5 A. Adyanga, 'The Dialectics of Western Christianity and African Spirituality', in *Spirituality, Education and Society: An Integrated Approach*, ed. by N.N. Wane, E.L. Manyimo and E.J. Ritskes (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2011), p. 111.

6 P. Brock, N. Etherington, G. Griffiths and J. Van Gent, *Indigenous Evangelists and Questions of Authority in the British Empire 1750-1940* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 1.

7 Ibid., p. 5.

most missions ceded ecclesiastical authority to nation-based churches.'[8] Western mission societies believed that local preachers, evangelists and catechists could be more effective messengers than European or North American missionaries as they spoke the local languages and were familiar with the socio-cultural contexts.[9] Lars Berge, for example, writes about the crucial role that Zulu co-workers played as cross-cultural bridgebuilders and messengers in South Africa: 'The importance of the evangelist as a forerunner and pioneer of Christianity can hardly be exaggerated. Without the evangelists, the missionaries would have been more or less alien to the life and thought patterns of those they sought to convert.'[10] Many of these African co-workers were much more than mere support workers of Western missionaries. They were, as Dorottya Nagy and Martha Frederiks state, 'cross-cultural missionaries in their own right'.[11]

At this point, it is important to note that many of these African missionaries did not imitate their Western employers and their style of evangelism but often developed their own ways of sharing the Christian message in a culturally relevant manner. As Brock puts it, they 'did not simply parrot a European message but communicated their own understanding of the Bible. They transmitted aspects of their own cultural heritage along with ideas received from foreign missions.'[12]

One of these indigenous missionaries was Bernard Mizeki (1861-1896) who was born in Portuguese East Africa (now Mozambique) and worked as an Anglican catechist in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in the 1890s.[13] Mizeki was a stern critic of dehumanising traditions and rituals practised by the Shona people. In particular, he challenged the work of the witchdoctors (*ngangas*). Mizeki had, as Mark Noll and Carolyn Nystrom write, 'a systematic plan to reform what he saw as the evil practices of

8 Ibid., p. 6.

9 Cf. J.J. Bonk, 'Mission and the Problem of Affluence', in *Toward the 21st Century in Christian Mission*, ed. by J.M. Phillips and R.T. Coote (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 296.

10 L. Berge, 'Divided Loyalties: An African Christian Community During the 1906 Uprising in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa', in *Themes in Modern African History and Culture: Festschrift for Tekeste Negash*, ed. by L. Berge and I. Taddia (Padova: Liberianumuniversitaria.it edizioni, 2013), p. 117.

11 D. Nagy and M. Frederiks, 'Introduction', in *Critical Readings in the History of Christian Mission*, volume 1, ed. by D. Nagy and M. Frederiks (Leiden: Brill, 2021), p. 18.

12 P. Brock, 'New Christians as Evangelists', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by N. Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 143.

13 J. Hodgson, 'Bernard Mizeki, c. 1861 to 1896, Anglican, Zimbabwe', *Journal of African Christian Biography* 2/4 (2017), p. 12.

the Shona, including the killing of twin babies, habitual drunkenness, the offering of sacrifices to spirits and the harsh treatment (or murder) of individuals named by the ngangas as sorcerers.'[14] At the same time, Meziki demonstrated great respect for other aspects of the Shona religion.[15] Thus, he believed that their monotheistic faith in Mwari, their supreme deity, was compatible with the Christian faith. Consequently, he had no scruples, as Emma Wild-Wood points out, to incorporate stories about Mwari into his Christian preaching.[16] Wild-Wood continues to comment: 'Mizeki's approach represents an African appropriation of Christianity which demanded significant rupture from traditional practices but maintained connections with previous theistic belief.'[17] There can be no doubt that Mizeki went a long way to contextualise not only the Christian message but also himself as a message bearer. In addition to Dutch, English, French and Portuguese he spoke eight indigenous languages.[18] He mastered the Shona language within a year of his arrival in Southern Rhodesia. Furthermore, Mizeki deliberately decided not to look for a future wife in Cape Town but married a young woman called Mutawa who was related to the local Shona chief.[19] Bernard Mizeki died as a Christian martyr during the Ndebele and Shona rebellion against the colonialists in 1896.[20]

Another key point to remember is that indigenous Christian workers played a crucial part in the translation of the Bible into local African languages. Wild-Wood notes, 'Evangelists were at the forefront of the first processes of inculturation inherent in the work of translation, in which the Bible meets local thought forms.'[21] In Namibia, for instance, the

14 M.A. Noll and C. Nystrom, *Clouds of Witnesses: Christian Voices from Africa and Asia* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2011), p. 27.

15 F. Quinn, 'Bernard Mizeki, Anglican, Zimbabwe', *Journal of African Christian Biography* 2/4 (2017), p. 13.

16 E. Wild-Wood, 'The Travels and Translations of Three African Anglican Missionaries, 1890-1930', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67/4 (2016), p. 787.

17 Ibid., p. 787.

18 Noll and Nystrom, *Clouds of Witnesses*, p. 25.

19 K. Ward, *A History of Global Anglicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 156.

20 T. Presler, *Horizons of Mission* (Cambridge: Cowley Publications, 2001), p. 60.

21 E. Wild-Wood, 'Evangelists: The Case of Kivebulaya', in *Communities of Faith in Africa and the African Diaspora: In Honor of Dr. Tite Tiénou with Additional Essays on World Christianity*, ed. by C.B. Essamuah and D.K. Ngaruiya (Eugene: Pickwick, 2013), p. 190.

work of Urieta Kazahendike (1836-1936),[22] a young Herero woman, was instrumental for both the codification of Otjiherero and the translation of biblical texts and Christian literature into her mother tongue.[23] After Kazahendike had become the first convert of the Rhenish missionary Carl Hugo Hahn in 1858, she continued to work with Hahn and his wife Emma and even accompanied them to Germany in 1860.[24] On her return journey to Africa in 1861, which she undertook on her own, she wrote a letter to Hahn, which gives an insight into the profoundness of her faith. Feeling apprehensive about the long and lonely journey, Kazahendike found great comfort and strength in her Christian faith. She wrote:

> I want to tell you something. The day after I left you, my heart was heavy when I lay down to sleep. I prayed and fell asleep. During the might I screamed loudly in my sleep and woke up; but it was a dream and I was glad it was only a dream. Then I fell asleep again and heard a voice which said to me: Don't cry, for behold you have prayed that you want to be comforted. Well, Jesus has given me strength, and not only today; He will always give it, if I just surrender myself to him. He is always nearby, He is my leader in death and life. He satisfies my hunger and thirst. Jesus, make me hunger and thirst for You and for Your word. Jesus, feed me and quench my thirst with Your wounds and Your death. Jesus Christ, in Your great mercy, take me and hold me. You who are the same yesterday and today, in eternity and splendour. May He hold you and me. Amen.[25]

These words are hardly 'sedate Christian platitudes' as Margie Orford claims,[26] but rather expressions of a deep-rooted trust in God. Neither is it plausible to consider Kazahendike as a victim of missionary colonialism, as Orford does.[27] On the contrary, Kazahendike seemed to have a

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22 Also known as Johanna Maria Kazahendike, Johanna Scheudeke, and Johanna Maria Gertze.

23 H. Becker, 'Kazahendike, Urieta', in *Dictionary of African Biography*, Vol. 1, ed. by E.K. Akyeampong and H.L. Gates (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 318.

24 Ibid., p. 138.

25 J. Scheudeke, 'Letter to Carl Hugo Hahn', translated by M. Miller, quoted by D. Hubbard, 'Urieta Kazahendike', in *Women Writing Africa: The Southern Region*, ed. by. M.J. Daymond, D. Driver and S. Meintjes (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2003), p. 97.

26 M. Orford, 'Gathering Scattered Archives', in *Writing Namibia: Literature in Transition*, ed. by. S. Krishnamurthy and H. Vale (Windhoek: University of Namibia Press, 2018), p. 47.

27 See Orford, 'Gathering Scattered Archives', pp. 45, 47.

great affection for the Hahn family and was very committed to her task.[28] Thus, she continued with her linguistic work on her long journey back to southern Africa.[29] Unfortunately, like many other African Christian workers, she never received wider recognition for it. Heike Becker comments on her ministry:

> Kazahendike was a woman of great linguistic ability who spoke Cape Dutch, German, English and Khokhoegowab (the Nama language) in addition to Otjiherero. Her work as a translator and editor was invaluable, though it remained unrecognized in Carl Hahn's efforts to publish nine books, including the Otjiherero grammar and dictionary for which he received an honorary doctorate in 1873 from the University of Leipzig in Germany.[30]

It is noteworthy that many indigenous Christian workers had an impact on their communities beyond the spiritual realm. African evangelists were often catalysts of cultural and socio-political change.[31] As agents of change, they worked not only towards the spiritual but also the social and political empowerment of their fellow Africans.[32]

Lastly, the importance of the role of native evangelists is also reflected by their numbers. David Killingray reports that in 1910 '[a]cross the sub-Saharan continent there were 7,650 'foreign missionaries', but 26,747 so-called 'native workers'.[33] In other words, the missionary movement on the African continent was already overwhelmingly African at the beginning of the 20th century.

INDEPENDENT INDIGENOUS MISSIONARIES

While these figures are impressive, one must not make the mistake of seeing indigenous evangelism and mission work as the sole activities of native workers who were recruited and paid by Western missionaries. Indigenous outreach also took place outside the Protestant mission stations and the control of Western mission societies through self-appointed independent African evangelists, preachers and prophets, as well as ordi-

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28 In her letter to Hahn Kazahendike wrote: 'I thank you very much, my dear teacher, for your letter which made me very happy […] Farewell, very beloved in God […] Farewell again and stay very, very well.' Scheudeke, 'Letter to Carl Hugo Hahn', p. 98.

29 Becker, 'Kazahendike, Urieta', p. 318.

30 Ibid.

31 Wild-Wood, 'Evangelists: The Case of Kivebulaya', p. 183.

32 Ibid.

33 D. Kilingray, 'Passing on the Gospel: Indigenous Mission in Africa', *Transformation* 28/2 (2011), p. 95.

nary Christians who shared the Christian message with members of their families and tribes. Brock and her co-authors speak of 'enthusiasts who spread the word on their own initiative.'[34] In Namibia, for example, the contribution of lay Christians was pivotal for the growth of the church. Namibian church historians Gerhard Buys and Shekutaamba Nambala explain:

> Lay workers started to preach the Gospel to their friends, family and local community. They started Sunday Schools and built up local churches, waiting for visiting missionaries or pastors to administer the sacraments. Visiting missionaries or pastors were usually surprised to find groups of local people, who were already Christians, involved in Bible study and catechist classes. These first church planters and lay preachers were used by Jesus Christ to become leaders of the first local churches and therefore the whole body of Christ in Namibia.[35]

In other parts of southern Africa, mission work outside the official structures met with severe oppression. Self-appointed evangelists and prophets were considered a threat to colonial rule. The situation in Natal was particularly difficult for independent black missionaries. Norman Etherington writes:

> The government of Natal made the most concerted effort to stamp out African evangelism. Spies and secret police were assigned to report on their meetings. Laws were passed prohibiting any non-white preacher from occupying a station or preaching place without direct supervision by a white missionary. Itinerant black preachers were turned back at border crossings and American black missionaries – thought to be especially dangerous – were denied entry.[36]

In West and Central Africa, self-appointed prophets like William Wadé Harris and Simon Kimbangu spent many years in prison.[37] Harris, in particular, was a controversial figure. While in prison for his open support of a coup d'état in Liberia, Harris, an Anglican teacher and catechist, had a vision in which he was called by the Angel Gabriel to preach the gospel, abolish the use of fetishes, and baptise those who responded to his mes-

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34 Brock, Etherington, Griffiths and Van Gent, *Indigenous Evangelists and the Questions of Authority in the British Empire 1750-1940*, p. 2.

35 G.L. Buys and S.V.V. Nambala, *History of the Church in Namibia: An Introduction* (Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, 2003), p. 48.

36 N. Etherington, 'Christian Missions in Africa', in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to African Religions*, ed. by E.K. Bongmba (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 204.

37 Ibid.

sage of repentance.[38] Some people questioned his sanity and the genuineness of his Christian faith. Western missionaries held that his approval of polygamy was not only a rebellion against God but also put their own work at risk.[39] Having said that, his impact on the church was tremendous. After his release from prison in 1910, he first preached in Liberia for three years before he moved on to the adjacent French territories of the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast.[40] In his outward appearance, he differed significantly from the Western missionaries. Wearing a long white gown and a white turban, he carried four objects, i.e. a Bible usually covered in sheepskin, a small bowl filled with water, a calabash and a long staff with a cross at its top.[41] This is how David Shank describes Harris' ministry:

> Accompanied by two women disciples – excellent singers playing calabash rattles – he visited village after village, calling the coastal people to abandon and destroy their "fetishes", to turn to the one true and living God, to be baptized and forgiven by the Savior; he then taught them to follow the commandments of God, to live in peace, and organized them for prayer and worship of God in their own languages, music and dance, to await the "white man with the Book" and the new times that were to come.[42]

Harris' unusual but contextual approach bore great fruit. It is reckoned that in Ivory Coast, where eighty years of Western missionary work had resulted in only a few hundred believers, between 200,000 and 300,000 Africans were baptised within eighteen months.[43]

THE 'BACK TO AFRICA' MISSIONARIES

Finally, we must not ignore the role that black missionaries from North America, Great Britain and the Caribbean played in spreading the Christian gospel on the African continent. As part of the *Back to Africa* movement, black Christians settled in the British colony of Sierra Leone and the territory that was later named Liberia and which became an independent country in 1847.[44] In the United States, it was the American

38 D.A. Shank, *Prophet of Harris: The "Black Elijah" of West Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 3-4.

39 Shank, *Prophet Harris*, p. 22.

40 Ibid., p. 4.

41 Noll and Nystrom, *Clouds of Witnesses*, p. 74.

42 D.A. Shank, 'The Legacy of William Wadé Harris', *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 4 (1986), p. 170.

43 Noll and Nystrom, *Clouds of Witnesses*, p. 66.

44 A.S. Moreau, 'Liberia', in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. by A.S. Moreau (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000), p. 576.

Colonization Society that sponsored the migration of black ex-slaves to Africa, while the Sierra Leone Company took the lead in Britain.[45] These 'resettlement' projects were supported by various groups whose motivations and goals differed significantly. Among them were abolitionists who envisioned a better life for freed slaves in Africa. Although slavery was officially abolished in the Northern US states by the beginning of the 19th century, 'the end of slavery brought only limited freedom for blacks since they continued to be systematically denied the full rights and privileges of citizenship.'[46] Christian abolitionists also saw in the establishment of Christian settlements on the African continent a chance of undermining the slave trade and spreading the Gospel among adherents of African traditional religions and Islam. Jehu Hanciles notes:

> [T]he Sierra Leone Company and other evangelical promoters were fired by a vision of the settlement as a Christian centre, a strategic foothold for commercial undertakings (to counter the slave trade) as well as a spring board of Western civilization and Christianity in Africa.[47]

Other sponsors considered former slaves both as an economic burden and threat. They feared that poor ex-slaves would not only increase the public costs for poverty relief but would also become unwanted competitors in the labour market.[48] Some politicians, like Thomas Jefferson, believed that white and black people could not live together peacefully.[49] The migration of black Americans to Africa, he argued, would, therefore, benefit both groups.

LOTT CAREY AND COLIN TEAGUE

Among the first black American missionaries, Lott Carey and Colin Teague, arrived in Liberia in 1821, a year after the first group of black settlers.[50] Both were sponsored by the American Baptist Missionary Union.[51]

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45 Cf. B. Everill, *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 1-3.

46 A. Yarema, *The American Colonization Society: An Avenue to Freedom?* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2006), p. 2.

47 J. Hanciles, 'Back to Africa: White Abolitionists and Black Missionaries', in *African Christianity: An African Story*, ed. by O.U. Kalu (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007), p. 204.

48 Yarema, *The American Colonization Society*, p. 2.

49 Ibid., p. 5.

50 Moreau, 'Liberia', p. 576.

51 W. Seraile, 'Black American Missionaries in Africa: 1821-1925', in *African-American Experience in World Mission: A Call Beyond Community*, ed. by V.J.

They established a Baptist church in Monrovia which grew to 100 members by the time of Carey's death in 1826.[52] Under Teague's leadership, the church later reached a membership of 200. Carey's motivation for his work in Africa was twofold: to live and work in a society free of racial discrimination and to share his Christian faith with his fellow Africans. Before he departed for West Africa he declared the following: 'I am an African […] I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits – not by my complexion and I feel bound to labour for my suffering race.'[53] On another occasion, he said: 'I long to preach to the poor Africans the way of life and salvation.'[54]

DANIEL COKER AND JOHN KEZZEL

A year before Carey and Teague came to Liberia, Daniel Coker (1780 – 1846), an American missionary of mixed ethnicity left for West Africa.[55] Coker was a freed slave, a prominent critic of slavery and one of the founders of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.[56] When he arrived in Africa, he sent several letters to friends and supporters back home. In a letter dated 29th March 1820 he calls upon his American fellow believers to join the mission work on the African continent:

> Dear brethren! To all you who love the Lord Jesus Christ and his kingdom, I would with pleasure inform you that I, with about 90 of our American coloured brethren, have arrived safe in Africa. We find the land to be good, and the natives kind, only those, who, from inter-course with the slave traders, become otherwise. There is a great work here to do. Thousands, and thousands of souls here, to be converted from Paganism and Mahometanism to the religion of Jesus. Oh! brethren, who will come over to the help of the Lord?[57]

Walston and R.J. Stevens (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2002), p. 25.

52 Ibid., p. 26.

53 Quoted by Seraile, 'Black American Missionaries in Africa', p. 25.

54 Quoted by Seraile, ibid.

55 H.T. Maclin, 'Coker, Daniel', in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by G.H. Anderson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), p. 143.

56 M.F. Corey, 'Coker, Daniel', in *African American Lives*, ed. by H.L. Gates and E.B. Higginbotham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 117.

57 D. Coker, *Journal of Daniel Coker: A Descendant of Africa: From the Time of Leaving New York in the Ship Elizabeth, Capt. Sebor on a Voyage for Sherbro, in Africa in Company with Three Agents and About Ninety Persons of Colour* (Baltimore: Edward J. Coale, 1820), p. 42.

Coker continues to emphasise that any mission work in Africa needs to be both contextual and carried out in the spirit of Christian love and unity. Thus, churches planted among the indigenous population must not simply be copies of American churches but must be African in nature. Furthermore, any form of sectarianism or denominationalism needs to be avoided at all costs, as they put the missionary endeavour at risk. Coker writes:

> If you come as Baptists, come to establish an African baptist church, and not to encourage division. If you come as presbyterians, come to support an African presbyterian church, and not to make divisions. If you come as protestants, come to support an African protestant church, and not to make divisions. If you come as Methodists, come to support an African Methodist church. We wish to know nothing of *Bethel* and of *Sharp-street* in Africa – leave all these divisions in America. Before these heathens, all should be sweetly united; and if darkness is driven from this land, it must be by a united effort among christians […] Those who come will come in love, to do good, and spread the gospel – come in the name of God, come! Otherwise, they had better stay away; for nothing but love and union will do good among these heathens. God grant that many will come over to help with this great work.[58]

Coker worked in Sierra Leone for 25 years. He preached in local churches, served as a justice of the peace, and acted as a mediator between black settlers and white agents.[59] After seceding from the African Methodist Episcopal Church he became the founder and superintendent of the West African Methodist Church.[60]

Daniel Coker, however, was not the first black missionary who came to Sierra Leone. In his journal, he mentions a man by the name of John Kezzel who was very supportive when Coker and his party first arrived.[61] Kezzel was a freed slave from America who had returned to his African country of birth.[62] These are Cooker's first impressions of Kezzel:

> I find John Kezzel to be a short, dark man; African born; reads and speaks English well; a man of information; I believe that he has more than we brought with us. I think he is able to give us counsel. I conversed with him to-day on christian experience, and found that he professed that he had been converted. I was much edified by our conversation. Few coloured men that I have met with can excel him in quoting Scripture. He is considered by the natives a

58 Ibid., pp. 42-43.
59 Corey, 'Coker, Daniel', p. 178.
60 Maclin, 'Coker, Daniel', p. 143.
61 Coker, *Journal of Daniel Coker*, p. 33.
62 Ibid., p. 48.

> head-man, and his influence is great. He has built a small meeting house in his town, and preaches in it himself, to his little society. He is no friend to division among us.[63]

SAMUEL AJAYI CROWTHER

Sierra Leone, where Kezzel and Coker served, soon became the base for missionary outreach into other parts of West Africa.[64] A key figure was Samuel Ajayi Crowther (1807-1891), a Nigerian-born former slave who had been freed by a British Navy commando in 1822.[65] Three years later he became a Christian and was baptised by an Anglican minister serving with the Church Missionary Society (CMS).[66] He received part of his schooling and higher education in the British colony, but also spent some time training at an Anglican theological college in England, where he was ordained as a Church of England priest by the Bishop of London in 1844.[67] In 1864 he was called once more to Europe to be consecrated the first African bishop of the Anglican Church and be awarded an honorary doctorate in divinity from the University of Oxford.[68] While Stephen Neill seems to be quite sceptical of the effectiveness of Crowther's ministry,[69] Andrew Walls' evaluation is much more positive. Walls notes:

> Already a veteran of the Niger Expeditions of 1841 and 1854, and a seasoned pillar of the CMS Yoruba mission, he was in 1857 appointed to head the mission in the Niger territories, becoming bishop there in 1864. His mission staff was entirely African; most of them had, like himself, been either born or brought up in Sierra Leone.

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63 Ibid., p. 34.

64 A.F. Walls, *The Cross-cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2002), p. 161.

65 Ibid., pp. 155-156.

66 Ibid., p. 157.

67 I.O. Olofinjana, 'Introduction: Towards African Theology in Britain', in *African Voices: Towards African British Theologies*, ed. by I.O. Olofinjana (Carlisle: Langham Global Library, 2017), p. 4.

68 C.I. Nnaocha, 'Crowther, Samuel Ajayi', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of African Thought, Volume 1: Abolitionism-Imperialism*, ed. by F.A. Irele and B. Jeyifo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 257.

69 Cf. S. Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 377.

The fact that Crowther and his co-workers were Africans was without doubt to their advantage. It helped them to connect with local people in ways that Western missionaries found difficult and thus opened doors that otherwise might have remained closed. In his report on a mission trip, which took place in Niger from November 1871 to February 1872, Crowther shares the following about an encounter with a local chief (bale):

> My European friends could not understand what all these could mean, as we were still on horseback, impatient to dismount and rest; the only explanation I could give them was that it was a sign of our kind reception by their Chief. After a considerable delay – the Chief having dressed himself ready to receive us – we were requested to dismount and come to the entrance of the palace, where we had an interview with some of the elders, and thence were invited into the spacious compound within, where we were received by the Chief himself […] At first we stood at a great distance, while the Ogbomosho messenger was going through the process of the ceremony of salutation by prostration […] After this the Chief invited us nearer, and me foremost, as the spokesman of the party. After a long repetition of salutation, he asked a variety of questions, which I answered in the name of the party. He was very inquisitive to know which was my town in the Yoruba country? That being told him, I named my grandfather on my mother's side, who was Alawo, of the royal family, and the eldest councillor of the Chief of my home town Oshógùn. "Well, well," said he, "that is enough, you are one of us; I knew not that there was such a person among the party, or else you should not have been kept so long waiting." It was not long before the Bale opened his mind to us […].[70]

According to Walls, Crowther was a gifted linguist.[71] He not only produced the *Yoruba Vocabulary* but was also the main contributor to the *Yoruba Bible*. He studied other West African languages, wrote the first book on the Igbo language, and encouraged J.F. Schön, a German missionary, to finish his Hausa dictionary.[72] Additionally, Crowther developed an evangelisation strategy for his work among Muslims which was respectful and culturally sensitive and relied on the testimony and power of the Bible. Walls writes:

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70 S.A. Crowther, *Niger Mission: Bishop Crowther's Report of the Overland Journey from Lokoja to Bida, on the River Niger, and thence to Lagos, on the Sea Coast, from November 10th, to February 8th, 1872* (London: Church Missionary House, 1872), p. 23.

71 Walls, *The Cross-cultural Process in Christian History*, pp. 159-160.

72 Ibid., p. 161.

> Christians should of course defend Trinitarian doctrine, but let them do so mindful of the horror-stricken cry of the Qur'an, "Is it possible Thou dost teach that Thou and Thy Mother are two Gods?" In other words, Christians must show that the things Muslims fear as blasphemous are not part of Christian doctrine […] Crowther, though no great scholar or Arabist, developed an approach to Islam in its African setting that reflected the patience and the readiness to listen that marked his entire missionary method. Avoiding denunciation and allegations of false prophecy, it worked by acceptance of what the Qur'an says of Christ, and an effective knowledge of the Bible.[73]

Crowther's influence on the development of a genuinely African Christianity cannot be stressed enough. With his translation work, he was one of the first Africans who contributed to the process of decolonising the African mind.[74] When African Christians, for instance, were given the chance to read the New Testament baptismal accounts in their own languages they began to realise that there was no need for converts to exchange their birth names for European names. With his consecration as the first African bishop and his emphasis on the importance of education Crowther also galvanised a whole generation of African believers.[75] Even when the CMS leadership later opposed Henry Venn's Native Pastorate policy and some young and inexperienced CMS missionaries criticised Crowther's ministry, dismissed his African staff, declared the Niger Mission a failure, and insisted on the appointment of a European bishop as his successor, Crowther's legacy prevailed.[76] In response to the measures taken by CMS, Crowther's son, Dandeson Crowther, organised parts of the Niger Mission into an Anglican church body without CMS involvement in 1892.[77] Sunday Jide Komolafe speaks of 'a palpable triumph of African initiative to stifle European doubts about African administrative and organizational abilities.'[78] However, the real 'triumph', if one wants to use that phrase, is surely the fact that out of the so-called Niger Delta Pastorate the Niger Delta Diocese emerged in 1952. This diocese was instrumental in the formation of many other dioceses and provinces which ultimately joined in the Church of Nigeria, one of the largest and fastest-growing

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73 Ibid., p. 162.

74 Olofinjana, 'Introduction: Towards African Theology in Britain', p. 7.

75 Ibid.

76 Cf. Walls, *The Cross-cultural Process in Christian History*, pp. 163-164; L. Sanneh, *Abolitionists Abroad: American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 175.

77 Walls, *The Cross-cultural Process in Christian History*, p. 164.

78 S.J. Komolafe, *The Transformation of African Christianity: Development and Change in the Nigerian Church* (Carlisle: Langham Monographs, 2013), p. 69.

provinces in the Anglican Communion.[79] Other African staff members and supporters of Crowther's work decided to leave the Anglican church (and other denominations dominated by Western missionaries) to form their own churches.[80] Among those new bodies were the United Native African Church, founded in 1891, and the Bethel African Church established ten years later.[81]

EDWARD WALKER AND OTHER CARIBBEAN MISSIONARIES

Another group of black missionaries who played a significant role in taking the gospel to the peoples of West Africa were Christians who came from Caribbean islands, such as Antigua, Barbados and Jamaica.[82] In the early 1840s, missionaries of the Basel Mission were challenged by a local king in the Gold Coast; that if they could present to him some black people who were able to read the Bible his people would turn to the God of the Bible.[83] The king did not believe, as Gareth Griffiths writes, 'that Christianity as a religion was suitable for his people.'[84] Moved by this challenge and the high mortality rate among the Western missionaries – the Gold Coast was known as 'the Whiteman's grave' – the Basel Mission began to recruit former slaves from the Caribbean islands for missionary service.[85] The first 25 Jamaicans arrived in Africa in spring 1843.[86] Among them was Edward Walker who had given a speech shortly before his departure which gives some insight into his motivation and self-identity. Walker said:

> I would like to do something good for my Lord with my hands. If the Lord helps me to be an example for the poor people over there. If I leave you, I do not go to a foreign country. Africa is our country. Our fathers and grandfathers have been brought here by force and we are strangers in this land. But Africa is our proper home. I therefore ask my brothers and sisters to pray for Africa and for us, when we go there: to pray that the Lord may help us and

79 Cf. J.H. Enemugwem, 'A History of the Niger Delta Diocese, 1952-2012', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 25 (2016), p. 139.

80 Olofinjana, 'Introduction: Towards African Theology in Britain', p. 7.

81 Ibid., pp. 7-8.

82 A.N.O. Kwakye, 'Returning African Christians in Mission to the Gold Coast', *Studies in World Christianity* 24/1 (2018), p. 26.

83 Ibid., p. 27.

84 G. Griffiths, 'The Reverend Joseph Jackson Fuller: A 'Native' Evangelist and 'Black' Identity in the Cameroons', in *African Literatures and Beyond: A Florilegium*, ed. by B. Lindfors and G.V. Davis (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), p. 70.

85 Kwakye, 'Returning African Christians in Mission to the Gold Coast', p. 27.

86 Ibid., p. 28.

> bless us. We do not trust in ourselves, therefore we are not afraid to go to Africa since He will guard us and help us.[87]

Abraham Nana Opare Kwakye points out that Caribbean missionaries like Walker served as school teachers, evangelists and pastors in the Gold Coast.[88] Some of them returned to the Caribbean after a while, but others stayed on and greatly contributed with their exemplary Christian lifestyles to the growth of the church in that part of Africa. Kwakye summarises their impact as follows:

> Those who stayed served with distinction as God's servants at the forefront of the evangelisation of southern Ghana. They were Africans who returned to Africa as missionaries, looking for opportunity to set an example of a Christian lifestyle for the people of the Gold Coast. Whether as missionary-teachers, missionary-craftsmen, missionary-agriculturalists or missionary-preachers and eventually church leaders, they demonstrated a clear sense of mission right from the beginning. They played a significant role in the development of the Gold Coast.[89]

While Kwakye stresses the Christian lifestyles of the Caribbean missionaries as a key factor of their success, Griffiths points us to two other possible reasons, i.e. 'a shared identity based on colour', and the ability 'to sympathize with their fellow blacks in ways that white missionaries did far less frequently.'[90]

Surely, the work of black missionaries from both outside Africa and also indigenous missionaries, most of them liberated slaves, would not have been possible without the vision of evangelical abolitionists. Hanciles comments:

> In the divine providence the abolition movement stimulated one of the most compelling missionary movements in history. Critical to that story is the black element, so much overlooked or marginalized in popular accounts. The European dimension was hugely significant, but black missionaries, predominantly ex-African slaves, were key agents in the establishment and spread of Christianity in the African context. In truth, the "back to Africa" movements rested in mixed motives and never quite fulfilled expectations […] But numerical evaluation is an inadequate tool for measuring intangibles

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87 Quoted in Kwakye, 'Returning African Christians in Mission to the Gold Coast', p. 31.

88 Cf. Kwakye, 'Returning African Christians in Mission to the Gold Coast', pp. 38-40.

89 Ibid., p. 42.

90 Griffiths, 'The Reverend Joseph Jackson Fuller', pp. 70-71.

like ideological influence and transfer of consciousness […] Crucially, white abolitionists were among the first to recognize that African initiatives and African empowerment were indispensable for the fulfilment of the Scriptural promise that "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God."[91]

CONCLUSION

The fruitful ministries of African missionaries like Daniel Coker, Lott Carey, Johanna Kazahendike, Bernhard Mizeki, William Wadé Harris, Samuel Crowther and many others surely challenge the popular claim that Christianity was the white man's religion, which 'imposed a hegemonic structure on indigenous people, enforced by the use of literacy and ecclesiastical structures, with the latter replacing traditional charismatic activity and mysticism with modern bureaucratic rationalism.'[92] The growth of the African Church in the 19th and early 20th century was not only the result of the work of European and North American missionaries but also of many African mission workers who devoted their lives to spreading the Christian message. These pioneers served as co-workers of Western missionaries or independently. Most of them received the missionary call in Africa, others were called overseas and returned to the continent of their ancestors. Their approach to mission was usually characterised by cultural sensitivity and the ability to contextualise themselves and their message. Whatever their circumstances and backgrounds they are a lasting reminder of the huge contributions that many sons and daughters of Africa made to God's mission on their home continent.

[91] Hanciles, 'Back to Africa: White Abolitionists and Black Missionaries', pp. 215-216.

[92] Wild-Wood, 'Evangelists: The Case of Kivebulaya', p. 183.

The Interconnected Ministry of Refugees in Geneva c. 1550-1560

M. Gavin Smith

The reformation of religion, as it spread throughout 16th century Europe, brought conflict. One aspect of that was seen in the situation faced by those who had embraced the Gospel message but found themselves in states which had retained or returned to an allegiance to Roman Catholicism. Some of these Protestant believers were forced, or chose, to go into exile. They found themselves in communities, described in the words of one of them, as 'exiled from countries everywhere for having upheld the honour of God and His Gospel'.[1]

These religious refugees found a welcome in different places throughout Europe, and Geneva was just one of these. However, it was in that city that three strands of service interconnected in a notable way. The result was an accepted scheme for versifying Scripture; a new, and notable version of the Bible; and work towards a complete metrical translation of the Psalms. Aspects of these strands can be traced in different languages but the focus in this article is on English language material.

THE VERSIFICATION OF SCRIPTURE

The division of the text of the Bible into *chapters* was generally well established by the sixteenth century. (An exception being the book of Psalms where the Septuagint Greek differed from the Hebrew; this in turn influencing the Latin Vulgate.) However, no acceptable scheme for further dividing the text into *verses* had been found. This means that references to scripture passages were either limited to the book and chapter; or to the book, chapter and portion within the chapter indicated by A, B, C, etc. These letters were printed in the margin of the page opposite the portion of the chapter they referred to, the number of letters used varying with the length of the chapter. A somewhat similar system is also found within a number of theological works of this period. In these, the A, B, C, D, indicated the adjacent portion of the *page* and were also intended to assist readers find a location more accurately than a page number alone.

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[1] Cited and translated by Charles Garside, Jr., 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536-1543', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 79 (1979), p. 18, from Alfred Erichson, *L'Eglise française de Strasbourg au seizième siècle d'après des documents inédits* (Strasbourg: Librairie C. F. Schmidt, 1886), pp. 21-22.

There had been an earlier attempt at a Bible versification scheme by the Italian Dominican friar Sacre Pagnini (1470–1541), however, this did not gain acceptance. That scheme had divided chapters into larger sections resulting in fewer verses in a chapter.[2]

This was how things stood when Robert Estienne (Latin, *Robertus Stephanus*), a member of the distinguished Estienne family of scholar-printers, fled to Geneva in 1550/1. In Paris, Robert (1503–1559) had been printer to the king of France, Francis I. He had already produced a significant list of titles but the third (of his four) editions of the Greek New Testament (1550)[3] was notable as the first to contain a critical apparatus. This title may well have been his last published in France. Certainly, the fourth edition (1551)[4] was almost certainly published in Geneva, though he seems to purposely omit any place of publication in titles from 1551 onwards. It is a work of over 1800 pages, printed and bound in two parts, and was the first to introduce Estienne's versification scheme.

The text is printed in five columns: at the inner margin of each page is the Latin text of what is described as the old (*veteris*) version, that is Jerome's; next (working towards the outer edge of the page) the Greek text; the verse number; the Latin text of Erasmus; and cross references to the Gospel harmony which is printed towards the end of the second part, and references to other parts of Scripture. Jerome's text is printed in a smaller type size than that in the three central columns. The text for each verse is printed as a separate paragraph within each column.

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2 His scheme is used in a Latin Bible of 1528, a digital copy of which is available from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Bl3Of2R1cOYC> [accessed 25 September 2021].
To illustrate Pagnini's scheme the following comparison of final verse numbers in Mark 1-10 compared with the ESV is given: **chapter**, *Pagnini*, ESV; **1**, *15*, 45; **2**, *12*, 28; **3**, *9*, 35; **4**, *15*, 41; **5**, *13*, 43; **6**, *24*, 56; **7**, *11*, 37; **8**, *14*, 38; **9**, *25*, 50; **10**, *20*, 52.

3 *Της καινης διαθηκης απαντα. Novum JESU Christi D. N. Testamentum* (Lutetiae [Paris]: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1550). It is printed in two parts with separate pagination, though apparently bound as one volume. A digital copy is available at <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GI5UAAAAcAAJ> [accessed 1 December 2021]. Note, the use of u, v, i, j, and y, in this and the following titles has been modernised.

4 *Απαντα τα της καινης διαθηκης. Novum JESU Christi D. N. Testamentum. Cum duplici interpretatione, D. Erasmi et Veteris interpretis. Harmonia item Evangelica, & copioso Indece* (no place of publication: Ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1551). It is printed in two parts with separate pagination which are bound separately. Digital copies are available at (Part 1) <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=jYg8AAAAcAAJ> and (Part 2) <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=1og8AAAAcAAJ> [both parts accessed 1 December 2021].

How does Estienne's versification scheme compare to that in common use today? To seek an answer to that question the *final verse number* in each chapter Estienne's 1551 Greek NT (from now on referred to as 1551NT) was compared to that in the ESV, taken as representative of today's usage. The details of verses within any chapter were only investigated when there was a difference between the final verse numbers. This means any differences *within* chapters which did not affect the final verse number were not identified.[5] In the 260 chapters of the NT the ESV has 7958 verses (including those noted as not found in (some) earliest manuscripts). In only nine instances do the final verse numbers in 1551NT vary from those of the ESV.

Of these, five are instances of simple misnumbering in 1551NT and are all corrected (that is, they are not repeated) in future Bible versions which use Estienne's scheme. The remaining four differences are as follows: In Acts 24, ESV verse 18 includes verse 18 and 19 in 1551NT. This results in 1551NT's final verse number being 28 (ESV 27). In 2 Corinthians 13, 1551NT's verse 12 (a short verse) corresponds to the ESV's verses 12 and 13 (even shorter verses). This results in 1551NT's final verse number being 13 (ESV 14). In 2 John, 1551NT's verse 11 combines ESV's verses 11 and 12. This results in 1551NT's final verse number being 14 (ESV 13). In Revelation 12, the last sentence of verse 17 of the ESV, 'And he stood on the sand of the sea' is marked verse 18 in 1551NT. Thus, with only four differences of this type in the NT, we are surely able to conclude that the versification scheme introduced by Estienne in 1551 remains the one closely followed today.

In introducing his scheme Estienne recognised that some transitional arrangement was needed to allow references to be made both to Bibles printed with his scheme and those printed earlier. (It is also likely that he must have been uncertain whether his scheme would gain acceptance. Thus, titles making use of his transitional scheme would maintain their usefulness, whether or not his versification scheme ultimately gained acceptance.) His solution was simply to add his verse number to the end of the previous reference format. This interim reference format is used for the cross references in 1551NT which we have been examining. For example, in Matthew 1:6 three references are given. Against the name of Jesse are 1 Samuel 16:1 and 17:12; and against the name of David is 2 Samuel 12:24. (These same cross references are also those given in the ESV.) Estienne gives these three references as '1. Reg. 16.a.1 & 17.b.12, 2 Reg. 12.f.24'. That is, the previous way of cross referencing (1 Reg. 16.a; 1 Reg. 17.b;

[5] For example, in Luke 9 there are two verses marked 54 but no verse marked 58. Whether corrected or uncorrected the final verse number remains 62.

2 Reg. 12.f) with the verse number from his versification scheme added at the end (1, 12, 24). The names of the biblical books are those used in the Latin.

Indeed, close examination of Estienne's 1551NT text shows that along with the verse numbers of his new scheme he has also included the previous system. In Matthew 1, B is marked in the margin opposite verse 7, C opposite verse 16, and D opposite verse 18. In Matthew 5, a longer chapter, B is marked opposite verse 11, and C v. 17, D v. 22, E v. 28, F v. 34, G v. 41, respectively. 'A', although not marked, is assumed since it identifies the first portion of any chapter.

This interim reference format is also found in several other Estienne-published volumes: a Latin edition of Calvin's *Institutes* published in 1553,[6] and a concordance published in 1555.[7]

Estienne's versification scheme was next used in a French Bible which he published in 1553 (referred to from now on as 1553Fr).[8] This was followed by a Latin Bible in 1555 (from now on referred to as 1555La).[9] And a further French Bible also in 1555 (from now on referred to as 1555Fr) which was published in Geneva by Rene Houdouyn.[10] 1553Fr is the first example of Estienne's versification scheme applied to the Old Testament. However, the marginal references found in 1551NT (which we have already noted) suggest this scheme was already prepared for the whole Bible by that date. 1553Fr has the text of each verse printed in separate paragraphs but in 1555La the text is continuous with verse numbers preceded by paraphs (¶). 1555Fr is also continuous text with verse numbers preceded (and followed) by a space rather than a paraph.

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6 J. Calvin, *Institutio christianae religionis* (no place of publication: Oliva Roberti Stephani, 1553). A digital copy is available at <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-9606>. Note, titles for this period available through e-rara are not searchable.

7 *Concordantiae bibliorum utriusque Testamenti, Veteris & Novi, novae & integrae* (no place of publication: Oliva Roberti Stephani, 1555). A digital copy is available at <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=hMdtjDldG_kC> [accessed 28 September 2021].

8 *La Bible qui est toute la saincte escripture contenant le Vieil et Nouveau Testament, ou Alliance* (no place of publication: L'Olivier de Robert Estienne, 1553). A digital copy is available at <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-5731>.

9 *Biblia* (no place of publication: Oliva Roberti Stephani, 1555). A digital copy is available at <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-6074>.

10 *La Bible qui est toute la saincte escriture contenant le Vieil et Nouveau Testament, ou Alliance* (Geneve: Par Rene Houdouyn, 1555). A digital copy is available at <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=59tmAAAAcAAJ> [accessed 26 September 2021].

How closely did these versions follow Estienne's scheme? Using the same final verse number comparison with the ESV as above we find that three of the differences identified in 1551NT (Acts 24, 2 Corinthians 13 and Revelation 12) are repeated in all, the remaining difference (2 John) only in 1553Fr and 1555La. Although further differences were introduced in these versions and often then copied into later versions these have, over time, been corrected. However, some of these differences have been retained in versions of the Latin Vulgate to this day.

Robert Estienne died in 1559 without seeing his scheme adopted outwith Geneva. However, the versification of scripture with which we are so familiar today can be traced, and credited, to his work.

THE GENEVA BIBLE

The translation, editing and publication of a new version of the Bible into English in 1560 not only happened in Geneva and made use of Robert Estienne's versification scheme but reflected the scholarly concern of Estienne and others to make the Bible accessible and understandable. And those who carried through this service to God and his church were English-speaking refugees.

Henry VIII of England had *adopted* the reformation of religion but it was his son Edward VI who first *endorsed* it. However, Edward's early death in 1553 resulted in Mary I, a daughter of Henry, becoming queen. She vigorously sought to reverse the reformation and earned the name Bloody Mary for her efforts. On Mary's death in 1558 another daughter of Henry became queen—Elizabeth I. Meanwhile in Scotland it was not until August 1560 that the Scottish parliament passed the legislation establishing the reformation there.

This background explains why there were English-speaking Protestants seeking religious refuge during Mary's reign. For at least some of those who later gathered in Geneva, Frankfurt had been their initial sanctuary. However, the 'Troubles' that arose in the strangers' church there led some to leave Frankfurt for Geneva.

The first portion of this new Bible to be published was a New Testament in 1557.[11] It gives evidence of a work in progress. Although it has the format of the Geneva Bible, both the biblical text and the marginal material show differences. Using Revelation 22 as a basis for comparison with 1560GB, there are differences in 11 out of the 21 verses. Often, however,

[11] *The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ. …* (Geneva: printed by Conrad Badius, 1557). A digital copy is available at <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-12660>.

these differences are single words: '*wood* of life' not '*tree* of life'; 'heal the *people*' not 'heal the *nations*'. Only 3 of the 16 marginal 'annotations' in the full Bible are included and only some of the marginal cross references, while the NT includes others. In addition, the format of cross references varies. Those included in the margin are in old format (for example, Deut. 4.a); indeed, the marginal place markers, A B C D, are retained. Those in 'The table of the Newe Testament' included at the end of the volume are in intermediate format (for example, Heb. 5 b 4).

However, this NT did include something significant and unique: an English translation of 'The Epistle declaring that Christ is the end of the Lawe, by John Calvin'. Calvin's French text had been included in a French NT in 1538[12] but without acknowledgement of Calvin's authorship. Five years later, however, it was published under his name together with a work of Pierre Viret.[13] There appears to be some confusion about this short work of Calvin. In 1848 Thomas Weedon produced, in black letter, an edition which he claimed was 'Now first rendered into English'. He also described Calvin's work as 'Being the preface to the Geneva Bible of 1550'.[14] However, neither of Weedon's claims are correct (I can find no reference to any edition of the Bible published in 1550 in Geneva). More recently Flavien Pardigon and David B. Garner have produced a new translation which they acknowledge to be based (in part) on Weedon's earlier work.[15] They say, 'Because of certain appreciable gaps in Weedon's translation, several sections of this preface are now provided in English for the very first time.' however, like Weedon's claims this is not correct. Nevertheless, their translation is much more accessible to a modern reader than that produced in 1557.

A second portion of the new Bible to be published was the book of Psalms in 1559.[16] Brief examination suggests this was close to the final

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12 'A tous amateurs de Jesus Christ, & de son Evangile, Salut' in *Le Nouveau Testament c'est a dire La nouvelle Alliance* (Geneva: Jehan Michel, 1538). A digital copy is available at <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-5692>.

13 'A tous amateurs de Iesus Christ, & de son Evangile, Salut' in J. Calvin and P. Viret, *Deux Epistres*, … (no place of publication: no publisher, 1543). A digital copy is available at <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-80701>.

14 J. Calvin, *Christ the End of the Law, being the preface to the Geneva Bible of 1550. Now first rendered into English by Thomas Weedon, Esq.* (London: Henry George Collins, 1848). A digital copy is available at <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=_OBUAAAAcAAJ> [accessed 14 December 2021].

15 See, <https://students.wts.edu/stayinformed/view.html?id=495> [accessed 6 July 2011].

16 *The Boke of Psalmes where in are conteined prayers, meditatio[n]s, praises & thankesgivi[n]g to God for his benefites toward his church* (Geneva: Rowland

version. It includes a dedication to the recently-crowned Elizabeth I, 'as a special token of our service and good will, till the rest of the Bible, which, praised be God, is in good readiness, may be accomplished and presented'. The writers continue, 'For we suppose in our judgement that no part of the whole Scriptures is more necessary for your grace than this little book of Psalms, if it be well weighed and practised.' They then suggest different ways in which that might be done and the benefits which they foresee would follow as these might apply to the monarch. They conclude by warning against admitting 'none as friends and counsellors, which have not the fear of God before their eyes,' commenting 'How dangerous a thing it is to cause religion to serve policy and not policy to serve religion.'[17]

The full Bible was published the following year, also by Rouland Hall and also in Geneva, hence the name—the Geneva Bible (referred to from now on as 1560GB).[18] A four-page dedication 'To the most virtuous and noble Queen Elisabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c.' is followed by a 2-page 'To our beloved in the Lord the brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.' which is what the title page refers to as the 'Epistle to the Reader'. None of these pages are numbered. Following the text of the Bible and Apocrypha, there is 'A brief table of the interpretation of the proper names which are chiefly found in the old Testament' (more than seven pages of two-column text). Next, 'A table of the principal things that are contained in the Bible, after the order of the alphabet' (more than seventeen pages of three-column text). Finally, 'A perfect supputation [calculation] of the years and times from Adam unto Christ, proved by the Scriptures, after the collection of diverse authors'.

The translators (in the epistle to the reader) speaking of the response of God's people to his goodness write, 'it behoves us so to walk in his fear and love, that all the days of our life we may procure the glory of his holy name', and they continue, explaining the reason for their labours,

> Now for as much as this thing chiefly is attained by the knowledge and practising of the word of God (which is the light to our paths, the key of the

Hall, 1559). Note, quotations are given in a modern rendering, both here and subsequently.

17 The dedication takes up 14 pages but is not paginated.

18 *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in divers langages. With moste profitable annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in Epistle to the Reader* (Geneva: Rowland Hall, 1560). A digital copy is available at <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-6138>.

> kingdom of heaven, our comfort in affliction, our shield and sword against Satan, the school of all wisdom, the glass wherein we behold God's face, the testimony of his favour, and the only food and nourishment of our souls) we thought that we could bestow our labours & study in nothing which could be more acceptable to God and comfortable to his Church than in the translating of the holy Scriptures into our native tongue:

There are several ways in which this version broke new ground, for example, in consistently using an initial capital letter for the names of the persons of the Godhead. However, it is striking that the translators (in the epistle to the reader) do not draw attention to this. Rather, their emphasis is on their endeavours to produce a faithful and accurate translation, and on the helps they seek to provide to encourage the reading, learning and putting into practice of what is learned.

Regarding faithful accuracy, the title page claims, 'Translated according to the Hebrew and Greek, and conferred [compared] with the best translations in diverse languages', and the epistle to the reader adds,

> And this we may with good conscience protest, that we have in every point and word, according to the measure of that knowledge which it pleased almighty God to give us, faithfully rendered the text, and in all hard places most sincerely expounded the same. For God is our witness that we have by all means indevoured to set forth the purity of the word and right sense of the holy Ghost for the edifying of the brethren in faith and charity.

Regarding helps, the first thing that should be noticed is that the Geneva Bible was printed in Roman type rather than the then prevalent black letter. The first full Bible in English to be produced was that of William Coverdale in 1535. This was followed by what is called Matthew's in 1537, Taverner's in 1539 and the Great Bible also in 1539. All were printed in black letter (indeed so were the first editions of the Bishops' Bible in 1568 and of the King James version in 1611). In using Roman type the Geneva Bible stood out; it was immediately more 'readable'.

Previous Bibles had some chapter summaries and some marginal notes/references, but the Geneva Bible with its five-fold reference system in the margin, as well as in the other points described below, included much to help the reader get into and benefit from God's word.

A series of points are made by the translators in the epistle to the reader:

1. **Variant translations.** They speak of the Apostles writing in Greek constraining their words 'to the lively phrase of the Hebrew' and so 'for this and other causes we have in many places reserved the

Hebrew phrases'. They go on, 'Yet lest either the simple should be discouraged, or the malicious have any occasion of just cavillation, seeing some translations read after one sort, and some after another, whereas all may serve to good purpose and edification, we have in the margin noted that diversity of speech or reading which may also seem agreeable to the mind of the holy Ghost and proper for our language with this mark ″.' For example, in Genesis 1:6, against 'a ″ firmament' is '″ *Or, spreading over, & ayre*.'

2. **Hebrew idiom.** They add, 'Again where as the Hebrew speech seemed hardly to agree with ours, we have noted it in the margin after this sort ", using that which was more intelligible.' For example, in Genesis 1:20, against 'creeping thing that hath " life' is '" *Heb. the soul of life*.'

3. **Hebrew names.** They note that the Hebrew names have been 'restored to the true writing' yet say they have retained the common names little changed 'for fear of troubling the simple readers'.

4. **Words supplied to clarify the sense.** When the translation requires additional words, not found in the Greek or Hebrew, in order to make the meaning clear, these words have been added 'with another kind of letter', that is in italics.

5. **Hebrew structure.** Concerning versification they write, 'As touching the division of the verses, we have followed the Hebrew examples, which have so even from the beginning distinct [distinguished] them.' The suggestion seems to be that the division of the verses was inherent in the text. Although this might conceivably be offered as an explanation of divisions within Hebrew poetry, it surely does not cover either Hebrew prose or indeed the Greek text of the New Testament.

6. **Scripture cross references.** They refer to 'the quotations which we have diligently herein perused and set forth by this star *.' That is, to the cross references to other parts of the Bible. For example, in Genesis 1:3, against 'Then God said, * Let' is '*Ebr. 11, 3.*'

7. **Principal points.** The 'principal matters are noted and distincted [distinguished] by this mark ¶.', though this mark was changed in actual use. So, for example, in the margin of Genesis 1 the different days of creation are marked: '|| The 1. day.' '|| The 2. day.', with the

same mark in the text at the appropriate places. (Paraphs [¶] were in fact used in the text of the Bible to indicate paragraph breaks.)

8. **Introductions to books and chapters.** There are 'the arguments both for the book and for the chapters with the number of the verse are added, that by all means the reader might be holpen [helped].' Each book of the Bible has an 'argument' preceding it, and also each chapter, with the part of the chapter described identified by verse number.

9. **Page running titles.** They have set 'over the head of every page some notable word or sentence which may greatly further as well for memory, as for the chief point of the page.'

10. **Explanatory and applicatory notes.** They 'have also endeavoured both by the diligent reading of the best commentaries, and also by the conference with the godly and learned brethren, to gather brief annotations upon all the hard places, as well for the understanding of such words as are obscure, and for the declaration of the text, as for the application of the same as may most appertain to God's glory and the edification of his Church.' For example, in Genesis 1 there are 21 such annotations, marked a-x, (j, v, and w are not used).

11. **Explanatory diagrams.** They note that 'whereas certain places in the books of Moses, of the Kings and Ezekiel seemed so dark that by no description they could be made easy to the simple reader,' a picture has been supplied with a, b, c, giving the explanation. In Genesis 6 such an explanatory diagram is given of Noah's ark with different letters marking dimensions and features. For example, 'A. B. The length three hundred cubits.' 'F. The door.'

12. **Geographic maps.** There are 'certain maps of Cosmography which necessarily serve for the perfect understanding and memory of diverse places and countries'. For example, between Genesis 2 and 3 is such a map of 'The situation of the Garden of Eden.' Mountains, rivers, seas and cities are pictured, with all except mountains named. There follows an explanatory paragraph of text. Since some place-names are in French, translations are given adjacent to the map.

13. **Tables of names and contents.** 'Finally that nothing might lack which might be bought by labours, for the increase of knowledge

> and furtherance of God's glory, we have adjoined two most profitable tables, the one serving for the interpretation of the Hebrew names: and the other containing all the chief and principal matters of the whole Bible'.

Why did the translators not draw particular attention to the uniqueness of many of these features? And why is there no acknowledgement whatsoever of Robert Estienne and his versification scheme? That scheme is used throughout, with no inclusion of the A, B, C, portion markers in the margin, and no use of the old or intermediate format of references. It was adopted in a fuller and more comprehensive way than Estienne himself felt able to do in his own publications, as we have seen.

The answer may perhaps be found in the plea with which the epistle to the reader closes, that, 'you would willingly receive the word of God, earnestly study it and in all your life practise it'. Their expressed desire was to help God's people to grasp God's word, and they did not want to say or do anything that might work against that. The same motivation may have led Estienne himself to omit (or suppress?) the place of publication in his Geneva productions. Some people then (and now) were too ready to say, 'It's foreign', 'It's new', 'It's different', or anything else that would justify their rejection, and thus their neglect, of what had been intended for their spiritual good. The translators have already referred to steps they took to avoid 'the malicious' having 'any occasion of just cavillation'. And if, as a consequence of this concern, Robert Estienne failed to get proper acknowledgement for his labours, then apparently they were willing for that to be the case.

The Geneva Bible was prepared and published in Geneva, but its use was never intended to be limited to the English-speaking refugees there. Rather the dedication to Elizabeth and the greeting to 'brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland' suggest the hope that this new translation would be used throughout the English-speaking world, as it then was. Yet the very fact that this hope was so fully realised may well also have led to the adoption of Estienne's scheme, as we see it in use today.

WORK TOWARDS A METRICAL PSALTER

The first complete metrical Psalter in English was prepared and published by Robert Crowley in 1549.[19] It is printed in black letter and each Psalm is given in Common Metre together with one tune in four parts which

[19] Robert Crowley, *The Psalter of Dauid newely translated into English metre in such sort that it maye the more decently, and with more delite of the minde, be reade and songe of al men* (London: Robert Crowley, 1549).

'serveth for all the Psalms thereof'. Crowley writes, 'This have I done, to move thee to delight in the reading and hearing of these Psalms, wherein lieth hid the most precious treasure of the christian religion.'[20] However, the work does not seem to have found any wide acceptance since it was never reprinted.

Some years earlier Thomas Sternhold had produced *Certaine Psalmes chosen out of the psalter of David & drawen into English metre*. At least two editions were published but neither are dated. Sternhold identifies himself as 'Grome of his majesties Roobes' and opens with a dedication to his king, Edward VI. In it he commends the book of Psalms 'which by the opinion of many learned men comprehendeth the effect of the whole Bible', and notes the encouragement the king had given him to labour in the psalms, and that the king 'taketh pleasure to hear them sung some times of me'.

Nineteen psalms, printed in black letter, are included and all are given in the same format. First, the opening words of the psalm from the Latin Vulgate translation; this detail was first introduced in the then current English version of the Bible (the 'Great Bible' of 1539). Next, a four-line rhyming verse summarises the content of the psalm, before the words of the psalm itself are given.

In closing his dedication Sternhold expresses his intention, if the king should 'favour so this my beginning' that his labour might 'be acceptable in performing the residue'. It appears that Sternhold made some progress in this aim since, following his death in 1549, John Hopkins was able to produce *All suche psalmes of David as Thomas Sterneholde, late grome of the Kinges Majesties robes, did in his life time drawe into Englishe metre* (spelling varies). This included thirty-seven psalms by Sternhold and the format is the same as the earlier work even including the dedication to Edward VI. At the end of the psalms of Sternhold, Hopkins, in a 'To the Reader', notes that a further seven psalms produced by Hopkins himself have been added. Although he stresses that the intention is not that 'they should be fathered on the dead man, and so through his estimation, be the more highly esteemed'. At least eight editions of this work were published between 1549 and 1553 when the accession of Mary I brought an end, albeit temporarily, to the work of reformation.

One other development of this time should be noted. In 1549, under the auspices of Edward VI, *The booke of the common prayer and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche* was produced, with a second edition in 1552. These enacted that, 'The Psalter shall be read through, once every Month'. Thus those worship-

[20] In 'To the Christian reader'. The work is not paginated.

ping in the Church of England at that time regularly made use of the psalms in this way. Whether this had an impact on the development of metrical psalmody is unclear. However, it is the case that no psalms were published, expressly to advance Sternhold's beginning, beyond those produced by Hopkins in 1549, until 1556.

In that year *The forme of prayers and ministration of the sacraments, &c. used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva* … was printed by John Crespin in Geneva.[21] It included *One and fiftie Psalmes of David in Englishe metre, whereof. 37. were made by Thomas Sterneholde: and the rest by others. Conferred with the hebrewe, and in certein places corrected as the text, and sens of the Prophete required*. In the preface (of 22 pages) different parts of the work are explained and defended, and this includes, 'why we altered the rhyme in certain places', namely, 'we thought it better to frame the rhyme to the Hebrew sense, than to bind that sense to the English meter and so either altered for the better in such places as he had not attained unto, or else where he had escaped part of the verse, or some times the whole, we added the same'.[22] A comparison of a random selection of psalms (1, 11, 21, 32, 41, 63, 73, 103) in 1556 with those in *All suche* shows around two in three of the 440 lines are substantially the same. Those psalms of Hopkins (random selection 30, 42, 52, 146) fair better with around five in six of the 184 lines substantially the same. It is worthy of note that following this initial revision no further changes seem to have been made in later, or indeed the final editions.

The format in which the psalms are presented is similar to that noted in the earlier editions published in England. The opening words of the Vulgate translation are retained but the summary of the contents of the psalm is in prose and similar to the chapter summaries in the English Bible published in 1560 (1560GB). There is considerable variation in these summaries. Some are exact copies of those that would be published in 1560, others are completely different, others show varying degrees of correspondence. When we remember that work on the Bible translation was progressing in the same place and involving many of the same people as that on the metrical psalms it would not be surprising if the psalms produced at an earlier stage reflected earlier drafts of the biblical material. However, again it should be noted that the first wording of the summaries was retained in later versions, in nearly all cases, regardless of any changes which appear in 1560GB. A further edition of *The forme of prayers* was printed in 1558 by James Poullain and Antonie Rebul. In this edition the wording of the title-page of the psalms adds *In this second edi-*

[21] A digital copy is available at <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-547>.

[22] See, 'Preface', p. 21.

tion are added eleven mo[re], newly composed. The format is the same as in 1556 but without the opening words from the Vulgate or the marginal notes and references included in 1556.

The psalms in 1556 also include biblical verse numbers. Indeed, these psalms are the very first portion of Scripture in English to be published with verse numbers! However, there is a greater variation in that versification from today's usage than might have been expected. We noted earlier that a comparison of final verse numbers in the New Testament identified very few differences between Estienne's versification scheme and today's usage. A similar comparison in the book of Psalms between 1560GB and today's usage shows the same close correspondence. However, this masks a significant difference introduced in 1560GB. By 1560 three whole Bibles had been published using Estienne's scheme: 1553Fr, 1555La, and 1555Fr. In each of these editions, when a psalm had a title (for example, the frequent 'A Psalm of David') then that title was numbered as, or included in, the first verse(s). This was not done in 1560GB; the title was included, but not given a verse number, and that example has been followed in all subsequent English Bibles up to today.

No explanation was given for this change, but the close connection between the work of Bible translation and work of metrical psalmody may give a clue. Is it possible that the concern to see the psalms as material to be *sung* led to allocating verse numbers only to material that *would be sung*? Possible confirmation might be seen in the treatment of verse 20 of Psalm 72 ('The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended.' [ESV]) 1560GB includes a version of this wording but without any verse number. Was this done because these words, like the psalm titles, would not be sung in the metrical version?

It is not clear when the decision was made not to allocate verse numbers to the psalm titles. It is possible therefore that the greater than expected variation in verse numbers in the earliest-produced metrical psalms may be due to individual revisers, in some cases at least, following Estienne's scheme from the French or the Latin rather than that which would be adopted in 1560GB.

No further additions were published in Geneva to the 51 psalms of 1556 and the 62 of 1558. However, the work continued, and in 1562 (in England) and 1564 (in Scotland) the full 150 metrical psalms were finally completed.

A RELATED ASIDE

Two other publications may be briefly noted as possibly shedding further light upon the work of Bible translation and metrical psalmody. Nei-

ther are dated; neither are complete; and neither give publisher or place of publication, so any conclusions drawn from them must be tentative. The first contains material similar to the 1556 *Forme of Prayers* (hereafter 1556 *Forme*). The first portion of what remains[23] is a selection of metrical psalms. This covers the same psalms included in 1556 *Forme* with one extra—a version of Psalm 95 (numbered 94) which appears again in one later collection but not in either the English or Scottish final versions. This extra psalm is followed by an 8-line Gloria Patri in both instances.

However, in the psalms common to 1556 *Forme* there are differences. Most noticeably those which earlier appeared in *All Suche* are the same as in that collection. The remaining psalms are similar to those additions found in 1556 *Forme*.[24] However, the music, verse numbers and marginal notes/references of 1556 *Forme* are all missing.

There are two possible explanations: the metrical psalms in this version were taken from 1556 *Forme* and this work was therefore published subsequently; or this work preceded 1556 *Forme* and obtained the additional psalms in some other way. Since the earlier psalms are not in their (1556) edited form and the additional psalms are missing their verse numbers and marginal notes/references it seems copying from 1556 *Forme* is unlikely. That leaves the suggestion that these additional psalms were prepared earlier, probably in Frankfurt, and copies found their way to Wesel allowing them to be included in this publication. If this is accepted it would also serve to confirm that the final versions of both the earlier and additional psalms were prepared at Geneva.

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[23] The work is printed in black letter and starts with Psalm 1 on the first extant page, preceded by the heading, 'Psalmes of David in Metre' which is thereby used as a title for the work. Proquest's EEBO suggests Wesel as the place of publication and H. Singleton as the publisher and they identify twenty distinct works in this way. An examination of these shows that where a work begins with signature A, the titlepage is never marked A.i, rather the recto of the following page is marked A.ii. However, this work does have A.i. on the first page, which (together with the absence of a titlepage) suggests that earlier pages are missing.

[24] Comparing the additional psalms in 1556 *Forme* with this edition shows three changes. In Psalm 130 (1556) 'unto this prayer mine' is 'unto this prayer *of* mine', but the musical notes printed in 1556 *Forme* do not allow for this extra syllable; a scripture reference included (in 1556 *Forme*) at the end of the summary of Psalm 133 is missing; and in Psalm 137, 1556's 'our loving god' is rendered 'our living god'.

The second publication is a prose version of the book of Psalms.[25] The extant portion of the reverse of the titlepage contains 'An Admonition to the Reader', starting, 'Let no man be troubled with the titles of the Psalms though they be dark and not plainly explicated [explained] by us or any other writers.' This is followed by a two page preface, which illustrates that 'This whole book of Psalms may be divided into five sorts.' Then follows 'The Psalms of David'. Each psalm is prefaced by a summary similar to that found in 1556 *Forme* and 1560GB; the text of the psalm, preceded by the title, is printed in somewhat larger type and is divided into verses with verse numbers given; there is a three-fold system of marginal notes/references, with the references given in intermediate format (for example, *Esa*. 8.*c*.).

First impressions are that this is largely the text of the 'Great Bible' accompanied by some of introductory and marginal material introduced at Geneva. A comparison of a few psalms shows that the introductory summaries are similar to those in 1556 *Forme* and 1560GB; there are more annotations than in 1556 *Forme* but fewer or the same as in 1560GB; there are, however, more marginal references than both 1556 *Forme* and 1560GB. The text of the psalms seems to be that of the 'Great Bible', in some cases corrected with wording found in the Geneva Bible. To describe the changes as corrections accords with the title of the work: 'translated according to the verity and truth of the Hebrew'. Also, the context in which this work was done is that of the availability of an improved Greek text for New Testament translation and the restoration of the Hebrew (rather than the Greek of the Septuagint) as the primary text for the Old Testament.

What are we to make of this book of Psalms? The use of Roman type points to a Geneva origin, as does the similarity to the Geneva-produced material described in this article, not least with the inclusion of verse numbers. But why would anyone produce such a book? We know that work on a new English translation of the New Testament was ongoing, but a new translation of the Old Testament would be quite a different undertaking. Could it be this was a trial run to see whether a simpler revision of the 'Great Bible' text against the Hebrew, would be possible or acceptable, instead of a fuller new translation? And why choose the book of Psalms out of all the Old Testament books for such a trial? We have already noticed that many, if not all, those involved in this translation were simultaneously at work on a metrical translation of the Psalms. That

[25] The top portion of the titlepage exists, with the beginning of the title reading, 'The Psalmes of David translated according to the veritie and truth of the Ebrue, with annotacions moste ...'. The work is printed in Roman type.

too is described as 'Conferred [compared] with the Hebrew, and in certain places corrected as the text, and sense of the Prophet required'. Thus their labours on the Hebrew text could be made use of in both ventures.

This is speculation of course, but it does offer an explanation for this work that fits with the wider context we have been considering.

CONCLUSION

It can be tempting to ask, 'What if?' What if Robert Estienne had never sought refuge in Geneva? What if the English-speaking refugees had never needed to flee, or had remained in Frankfurt? Yet for a number of years they all did gather in Geneva and there, in an unplanned but profound way, three strands of service for God and his church interconnected. The effects, and the benefits, were not limited to Geneva. Today we might take for granted the versification of scripture; the many helpful features of a well-presented Bible translation; and the ability to sing together, and to God, using the book God himself has provided for that purpose. But, in the providence of God, rejection of him and his ways by two monarchs, served to bring together refugees whose distinct ministries were to interconnect with such long-lasting significance.

Old Testament use of the Old Testament: A Book-by-Book guide. By Gary Edward Schnittjer. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic, 2021. 1052pp. £50.00.

How do the books of the Old Testament relate to each other? Although not a unique question, Schnittjer's book is a distinctive contribution in providing answers. This lengthy reference work contains extensive research with a particular focus on how allusions may, or may not, exist between texts in the Old Testament. Framing the work is an awareness that 'Scriptural exegesis of Scripture is an engine of progressive revelation' (p. xvii) and should therefore be evaluated in order to best understand the intertextuality of the Old Testament.

A substantial introduction is present providing helpful orientation to the reader regarding the purposes and method which will be followed. Here Schnittjer explains that 'Advancements of revelation by exegesis do not set aside previous scriptural revelation. They unfold from it' (p. xix), making clear that what precedes chronologically is not of lesser importance. One of the unique features which recurs throughout the work is an A-F scale which is used to identify the probability of an allusion in Old Testament text (p. xx-xxviii). In adopting any scale there are always points of criticism, however it is a useful tool in highlighting the likelihood of intertextual allusion.

The reason for getting this volume is the book-by-book intertextual exegetical work. Each book of the OT is covered individually and follows the order of the Hebrew Bible (Genesis-Chronicles). A text box begins every chapter laying out the use of scripture in the book, OT use of that book, and the NT use of that book. This is also the place where grading of likely allusions are placed. For example, 2 Kings 8:15-21 is aligned with Deuteronomy 12:5 and 2 Samuel 7:8, 13 and receives an A grading due to the significant literary crossover between these texts (p. 186). Following this Schnittjer produces a hermeneutical profile for each book noting patterns which he identifies in the author's use of Scripture. With Isaiah he suggests that 'engagement with Scripture is omnipresent' (p. 215), Daniel 'demonstrates familiarity with Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah and Jeremiah' (p. 617) and 'Chronicles houses extensive scriptural interpretation… a bold new version of an old story' (p. 698). Thirdly, each reference included in the grading box beginning the chapter is discussed. Here Schnittjer seeks to demonstrate why certain texts display greater or lesser likelihood of exegetical development. Finally, instances where there

are non-exegetical parallels found in each book are discussed at the end of each chapter.

Concluding the book are engaging chapters handling how this work enables greater appreciation of the New Testament and ways of developing networks across Scripture based on interconnected textual exegesis. There is also a very helpful glossary of terms which come up throughout the book. This will aid the reader in understanding the wider field of intertextual exegesis including terminology such as 'constellations' (p. 892) and 'extended echo effect' (p. 894).

No doubt some will be disappointed that Schnittjer's work is not a companion volume to Beale and Carson's *Commentary on the New Testament use of the Old Testament*. While that would be helpful, it is important to recognize that this was not his aim. The goal of this work is to recognize the exegetical developments within the Old Testament, something Schnittjer does very well. Grading scales are always areas which can be critiqued since a degree of subjectivity remains, however this does not diminish the importance of this work.

Old Testament use of the Old Testament is a remarkable achievement and will remain an important and influential contribution in the field of biblical studies for decades to come. Gary Schnittjer has produced an invaluable resource which will aid in the communication of the Old Testament's message in the academy and the church, and I am grateful for his commitment to producing this volume.

Martin Paterson, OMF International, Glasgow

Why Can't Church be more like an AA Meeting? And Other Questions Christians Ask about Recovery By Stephen R Haynes. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2021. ISBN: 978-0-8028-7885-4. 230pp. £15.99.

In this book, the author, professor of religious studies at Rhodes College in Tennessee and adjunct professor of recovery ministry at Fuller Theological Seminary, contends that the work of churches among people suffering from a range of addictions such as drugs, gambling, and pornography, in addition to alcoholism, would be significantly strengthened by adopting the Twelve-Step approach of Alcoholics Anonymous.

The basic questions addressed are encapsulated in the titles of chapter 4 ('Are AA and the Church Allies or Competitors?') and chapter 8 ('Can Christians Embrace Recovery?'). Themes covered in other chapters include: what the Church can learn from AA, a description of Twelve-Step Recovery, and consideration whether it works, and also whether it is biblical.

Stress is laid on the Christian origins of AA in the Oxford Group (formed in 1921). Alcoholics Anonymous formally separated from the Oxford Group in 1939 in New York to focus exclusively on helping suffering alcoholics. A Twelve-Step programme of Recovery was developed which acknowledged 'God' (later revised to 'a Higher Power' or to 'God as we understood him'). From the beginning AA was strongly supported by leading representatives of American Christianity. Haynes takes Samuel Shoemaker, rector of Calvary Episcopal Church in New York City as an exemplar of early AA devotees. Shoemaker asserted that the church needs to be 're-awakened and re-vitalised' by AA's insights and practices, not least by the need of 'true conversion' in 'a society of "before and after"' (p. 11).

Today, American mainline churches continue to utilize the AA Twelve-Steps programme, as is, without need of being Christianized. Haynes calls those who respond in this way 'embracers'. But many American evangelicals are less enthusiastic with some rejecting the Twelve-Step philosophy. Haynes cites theologian David Wells and counsellor Edwin T Welch among late 20th century 'rejectors'. For Wells, the Twelve-Steps replace sin with sickness, treating rebellious sinners as 'innocent and injured children' (p. 82). Welch, while more sympathetic, regards the AA approach to addiction as theologically deficient.

On the other hand, Haynes recognizes that evangelicals are the main 'adaptors' of the Twelve-Steps.

He reckons the most popular explicitly Christian offshoot of AA to be Celebrate Recovery (CR), sponsored by Saddleback Community Church in Southern California. By 2020 CR had spread to thirty-five thousand churches, prisons, rehab facilities, and rescue missions worldwide. A range of other American evangelical Twelve-Step fellowships join CR in substituting 'Jesus Christ' for AA's 'God as we understood him'.

Fuller Seminary was the first graduate school to introduce courses on Spiritual Formation and the Twelve Steps. Recovery Bibles with marginal references to the Twelve Steps began to appear in 1990. Thomas Nelson led the way (NKJV), followed by Zondervan (NIV), and Tyndale House (NLT). Furthermore, Haynes cites examples of the Twelve-Steps being employed as a hermeneutical device in expounding John's Gospel and other biblical passages, apparently without any scruples of possible mutual incompatibility.

Haynes forcefully critiques evangelical 'adapters'. As a former evangelical he knows the American evangelical world, and his criticisms on the whole seem sound. He is justifiably averse to pulling biblical proof-texts out of context to support the Twelve-Steps. He thinks the North American obsession with marketing and merchandising by some Twelve-Step

fellowships hinders addicts from seeking help. He also suggests member participation in these groups lacks the honesty and transparency of AA groups.

For Haynes, evangelical 'adapters' have failed to develop a coherent theological framework for their use of the Twelve-Steps. He makes a similar critique of liberal embracers of AA. He writes, 'AA's "Power greater than ourselves" is not the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' (p. 167). But Haines' own theological framework of Recovery is ambiguous, for he justifies someone accepting 'any god will do' if it enables one addict to make a beginning in Twelve-Step recovery (p. 166).

This book will be of interest to Christian leaders working with people suffering from a range of addictions. It may be of limited usefulness for readers living outside North America; on the other hand, the internet has homogenized the transnational moral climate. The book's sobering review of a wide range of addictions will helpfully inform readers who serve the addicted anywhere. The statistics in the final chapter ('What about Sex Addiction?') revealing the extent of pornography addiction among Christians (including pastors) will ring alarm bells for many Church leaders.

In the author's view Christians can undoubtedly embrace recovery, and maybe AA and the Church are allies *and* competitors. His hope that the Church might develop a robust theological framework within which to view and tackle addiction sadly remains unfulfilled.

Fergus Macdonald, Edinburgh

Finding Jesus in the Storm: The Spiritual Lives of Christians with Mental Health Challenges. By John Swinton. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2020. ISBN: 978-0-8028-7372-9. 245pp. £19.99.

John Swinton is professor of practical theology and pastoral care at the University of Aberdeen. Before he took up his chair, he worked for sixteen years in the mental health field. Few then are better qualified to write on this subject as he; after all, the book is sub-titled, *'The Spiritual Lives of Christians with Mental Health Challenges'*. His work represents a major leap forward in understanding mental health challenges among Christians. Written with a pastor's heart and an academic mind, *'Finding Jesus'* should have a place on every pastor's bookshelf.

There are two features of '*Finding Jesus*' I want to highlight. The first concerns ***Description***. From experience and reflection, Swinton wants to talk about two ways of describing mental health challenges. First, he uses the term, '*thin descriptions*'. In other fields, this might be re-named label-

ling. He writes, '*A thin description provides us with the minimum among of information necessary to describe a situation or context*'. (p. 14) Someone who lives under the description of having '*depression*', by virtue of a '*thin description*', is almost entirely characterized by the nature of their mental health challenge. He is no longer an individual with a unique personality, history and identity. He is defined by a list of symptoms contained within a Diagnostic Manual. Swinton calls such descriptions '*dehumanising*'.

From his considerable experience in the field, Swinton moves on to critique, '*thin spirituality*' – the recognition that human beings cannot be reduced to chemical processes, but the insufficiency of the current utility-based model of mental health chaplaincy to deal with our innate human spirituality. Swinton writes, '*it is a spirituality from below that takes its shape not from the urgings of the Spirit of God but from the nature and spirituality of health-care institutions*' (p. 35). '*Thin descriptions*' are dangerous, especially in the area of the pastoral care of Christians with mental health challenges, and following Swinton's wise counsel, we should avoid labelling in our interactions.

Secondly, Swinton uses the term, '*thick descriptions*'. Taken from academic sociology, thick descriptions, '*are necessary for deep understanding to occur. They provide a detailed account of a situation, phenomenon, or culture, an account that pays careful attention to the forms of behavior, language, interpretation, and relational dynamics*' (p. 39). Christians with mental health challenges are not defined by the biology of their mental health challenges. Rather, they are human beings embedded in a culture and situation, expressing themselves in common language.

It is at this point Swinton comes into his own because he makes an appeal to the discipline of phenomenology. He writes, '*phenomenology asks us to put aside our presuppositions, plausibility structures, standard explanatory frameworks, expectations, and assumptions and return to … the experience as it is lived rather than theorized*' (p. 42). To put it in layman's language – the '*see me*' approach. We must understand those with mental health challenges by a process of dialogue, listening and conversation, not labelling. Theologically, this must include the relevance of Scripture and tradition in transforming our practice.

This emphasis on phenomenology leads to the second major feature of '*Finding Jesus*' I want to highlight. Swinton devotes three quarters of his book to phenomenology in action. The academy meets the coalface! He begins to talk to and about real people, refusing any '*thin description*' and pursuing a deeper understanding of depression, schizophrenia and bipolar disorder.

In his section on '*Redescribing Depression*', Swinton displays his versatility as a practical theologian. He guides us to Walter Brueggemann's cat-

egorisation of the Psalms in terms of orientation, disorientation and new orientation, using each as a template from which to build a theology of understanding depression. Again, Swinton eschews any '*thin description*' and draws together the phenomenology of those having mental health challenges with both the Biblical and psychological evidence. The result is a rewarding, if not at times disturbing, thick redescription of depression.

Swinton goes on to reframe the terms of reference for both schizophrenia and bipolar disorder. He writes, '*feeling God's abandonment is a disorientating aspect of being with God; it is deeply entangled with our discipleship, not apart from it. Strange as it may seem in some respects, darkness and feelings of God's abandonment are actually normal aspects of a biblical spirituality and of what it means to be in the presence of a God who sometimes hides*' (p. 115). Swinton is not bound to our culture but observes the ways in which many world cultures understand and interact with those having mental health challenges.

His conclusion deals with the nature of healing. He subtitles this section, '*theology that drops down into the heart*'. For Swinton, healing does not necessarily mean curing. He appeals to the Hebrew word 'shalom' with its New Testament fulfilment of life with Jesus. He writes, '*the pastoral task is to help people hold on to Jesus in these difficult times without unnecessary guilt or blame*' (p. 206). This statement alone is worth the price of the book and why it deserves a place on every pastor's bookshelf.

'*Finding Jesus in the Storm*' represents a major leap forward in understanding mental health challenges among Christians. The mark of genius is to make complex issues comprehensible to the layman. Swinton models the pastor's heart and the academic's mind in producing a marvellous work of compassion and coherence. It has my highest recommendation.

Colin Dow, Glasgow City Free Church

Emerging Gender Identities: Understanding the Diverse Experiences of Today's Youth. By Mark Yarhouse and Julia Sadusky. Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos, 2020. ISBN: 978-1-58743-434-1. xiii + 238pp. £13.99.

A current and difficult topic for many Christians today is how to deal with culture's rapidly changing understanding of gender. For many this may lead to hiding from the developments and becoming more out of touch with those around us. Alternatively, there may be incautious adoption of cultural beliefs. In this excellent book, Yarhouse and Sadusky, invite us to enter into the experiences of many today in a sensitive, caring, and theologically responsible manner. This book is well worth reading and considering by the church, especially for those who are in forms of leadership. However, due to the thorough changes in gender understand-

ing in our culture, the book may prove of much value to be read by the church in general.

The book is split into two major sections. The first is titled 'Making Important Decisions' and consists of three chapters. The first chapter forms something of an introduction to transgender experiences, the terminology of emerging gender identities, and transgender history. The second discusses how language and categories shape gender identities, and the third chapter discusses some of the controversial areas of care for transgender youth. An excellent feature of these discussions is found in the pastoral heart of the authors who never cease to see the real people behind the topic, both those identifying themselves using emerging gender identities and those who care for them.

The second major section is titled 'Seeing the Person'. This section makes up the bulk of the book and is made up of the remaining six chapters. Chapter four, 'Foundations for Relationship', lays out some theological foundations for relationship. They first describe three main 'lenses' through which most Christians see transgender people before moving on to propose a posture of 'accompaniment', that is, 'to understand where a person is, enter into their present experience with them, and commit to journey with them regardless of where they go from here' (p. 94). They then look to the threefold office of Christ to examine how we as Christians ought to 'reflect Christ in our everyday lives' (p. 100) all the while applying the discussion to journeying with people. This is split into three sections: priestly witness, prophetic witness, and kingly witness. The chapter is aptly finished with a section titled 'Love as the Goal'.

Chapter five, 'Locating Your Area of Engagement', discusses three different 'areas of engagement in relation to gender identity: (1) political identity, (2) public identity, and (3) private identity' (p. 109). They discuss what these areas of engagement consist of as well as helpful principles for navigating whichever areas we may be called to engage in (they helpfully acknowledge that we are not called to equally engage in all and that few are called to engage at the political level).

Chapter six, 'Locating the Person: A Relational-Narrative Approach', emphasizes the need to truly listen to each person we accompany. They write: 'Hearing another person's story is a critical starting point for any intimate relationship, and it is intimate and vulnerable relationships that bear the most fruit' (p. 141). While all stories differ, they helpfully provide a description of 'common life "chapters" transgender people experience' (pp. 141-2) as a tool for beginning to connect with the individual.

Chapter seven, 'Engaging Youth: Looking beneath the Surface', delves into the experience of youth, the sources of influence in their lives and principles for fruitful engagement with youth navigating gender identity.

This chapter flows on to the following chapter, 'Ministry Structures for Youth', which examines how ministry structures can unintentionally harm these youth. A key challenge in this chapter is to face the difficulties and extra work involved in loving these youth. Yes, they may be a minority, but if we claim they are wanted 'our actions must follow' and 'we need to reflect on whether our ministry is revealing the heart of Christ' (p. 201).

The book ends with a final chapter titled 'Recovering a Hermeneutic of Christian Hope'. This is a short but excellent chapter which points us back to our hope found in Christ and reminding us of the vital importance of loving each person we meet.

This book is excellent. The authors have succeeded in offering 'distinctly Christian principles' for navigating the topic 'that are in keeping with a historic Christian anthropology' (p. xiii). Those committed to the authority of Scripture will find much value in this work. As more of us pick up this book, Yarhouse and Sadusky will all the more achieve their goal of helping 'parents, loved ones, pastors, youth ministers, and lay Christians' to 'equip church communities, so that young people do not feel as if navigating gender identity questions precludes them from a relationship with Christ or a home in the church' (pp. xii-xiii).

Philip D. Foster, Beechworth, Australia

The Logic of the Body: Retrieving Theological Psychology. By Matthew A. LaPine. (Studies in Historical and Systematic Theology). Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2020. ISBN: 9781683594253. xiii + 416pp. £29.99.

In the last century, psychology has often been viewed with suspicion by the church. Yet in some sense, psychology is unavoidable. We must operate day to day with certain views about how the mind works because our reactions to various circumstances require it. This excellent book by Matthew LaPine delves into the history of theological psychology from Aquinas to the modern reformed church and offers a model of soul and body that seeks to be consistent with both the bible and neuroscientific advances. It is well worth the read and consideration for the teaching of biblical anthropology.

LaPine begins the book with an introduction to the problem, and a description of what he sees as the path forward including his assumptions and methodology. In chapter 1, he discusses 'emotional voluntarism' and demonstrates how it leads to dilemmas in understanding. From chapter 2 to chapter 5 he discusses the history of theological psychology, covering Aquinas (2), Medieval and Renaissance psychology (3), John Calvin's psychology (4), and modern reformed psychology (5). Chapter 6 delves into the debate 'between non-reductive physicalists and dualists', and chap-

ter 7 offers a biblical theological look at how the body relates to human agency. In chapter 8, LaPine moves on to discuss his model of emotion, which he then applies in chapter 9 to an analysis of Jesus's command to not be anxious. He ends with a short conclusion followed by an appendix titled 'on the heart'. LaPine suggests an easy-access version of his book for the non-specialist: focusing on chapters 1, 8 and 9 and skipping over the more detailed specific background discussions.

The basis for LaPine's work is an attempt to correct problematic understandings of psychology that come from an emotional voluntarist perspective: a perspective quite common in Reformed evangelical circles. According to LaPine (pp. 25-6): emotional voluntarism includes the following elements:

1. Emotion as judgement: Emotion is strictly or first a mental state.

2. Emotions of the heart: Since emotions are morally significant, the proper subject of emotion is the heart, though perhaps some emotions are sourced in or influenced by the body.

3. Deep belief associationism and legitimacy: Emotion is a mental state that arises when a deep belief is elicited into consciousness; the beliefs that surface unbidden are also our truest.

4. Mental voluntarism: Emotions as mental states are changeable by shifting attention, mainly through internal speech (e.g. repenting of false beliefs) to bring about new mental states.

5. Emotional duty: People are duty bound to address any emotional aberrance as quickly as possible, since this is within their power.

He goes on to examine these points with examples from the Reformed evangelical world and contrasts it with the models coming from a psychological point of view. In his book, he does not seek to raise one model over the other, but rather, he points out problems with both types of models and then seeks to find a corrective theological model that functions well in the presence of contemporary neuropsychological research.

If the above quote concerning emotional voluntarism struck a nerve, or if you find yourself questioning whether the psychological models are completely theologically viable, this book may be for you. LaPine takes us through an alternative theological model with a long pedigree which has had a minority place in Reformed theology, being found in Bavinck's thought (among a few others). He argues for a 'tiered psychology' with 'a holistic relation between body and soul, which accounts for embodied

plasticity' (p. 37). This view has emotions as 'quasi-independent of executive, conscious mental activity because they are responsive to inputs that are not directly cognitively mediated' (p. 37). That is, emotions can be triggered by our environment and are not completely controlled by the mind (cognition), such as in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder where high anxiety (or a full panic attack) may occur because of a noise or some other sensory stimulus that reminds one of the traumatic event. The tiered psychology accounts for 'perceptive or adaptive unconscious and physiological inputs', and plasticity 'refers to the capacity to form new neuropathways' which 'are durable' (p. 38). Thus, plasticity accounts for things such as habit formation including links like that illustrated for PTSD.

For someone unfamiliar with psychological and theological language, this book may be difficult to wade through. However, the dividend is worth the effort. For those familiar with psychological and or theological language, particularly those struggling to find a path through emotional voluntarism and psychological models of emotion, this book is well worth the read. Coming from a place of having studied both psychology and theology, I found this book put words and form to the model I was intuitively working with. It was immensely helpful and I wholeheartedly recommend it.

Philip D. Foster, Beechworth, Australia

The Beauty and Power of Biblical Exposition:Preaching the Literary Artistry and Genres of the Bible. By Douglas Sean O'Donnell and Leland Ryken. Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2022. ISBN: 978-1-4335-7044-5. 304pp. £17.99.

The authors lament the current state of preaching within Bible-believing churches (p. 28). Could it be that preachers do not understand the Bible as literature, the importance of genre, and the proper consideration of both in the preaching event? Douglas O'Donnell and Leland Ryken believe so. O'Donnell is Senior VP of Bible Publishing at Crossway and Ryken is professor of English emeritus at Wheaton College. They aim to lay a homiletical foundation for sermons that are fresh, relevant, interesting, and accurate to authorial intent (p. 23). O'Donnell and Ryken do this with clarity, defining each genre as it appears in Scripture, as well as supplying principles and practices for all who endeavour to preach God's Word faithfully and effectively. If you are searching for a revitalizer for your preaching this book will prove beneficial. While both are listed as authors, Ryken penned each genre specific chapter and then O'Donnell had freedom to use what he wanted, restate it in his own words, and add a preacher's perspective (p. 14).

The Beauty and Power of Biblical Exposition is both personal and engaging. Chapter emphases include: 1) *The Greatest Stories Ever Told* (Preaching Narrative), 2) *Let Him Who Has Ears Hear* (Preaching Parables), 3) *Love Letters* (Preaching Epistles), 4) *The Beauty of the Simple* (Preaching Poetry), 5) *Words of Wisdom* (Preaching Proverbs), and 6) *And I Saw* (Preaching Visionary Writings). Also included are many helpful Tables and Diagrams, numerous examples, and each chapter concludes with a *Build Your Library! Helpful Resources* that is a wellspring for understanding or preaching each genre. Six weighty chapters well worth the investment, but a couple may call for a closer look.

Love Letters (Chapter Three): while the Epistles are probably the most often preached, sadly preachers often fail to preach the Epistles as epistles (p. 106). Epistles are neither sermon, treatise, nor essay (pp. 106-107), still it must be remembered that the very forms the biblical authors employed are inspired (p. 118). Preachers are admonished to take serial preaching seriously, remembering that 'all Scripture' is 'breathed out by God' and is 'useful' (2 Tim. 3:16) – this means, among other things, that preachers who value the Epistles as epistles will touch on every greeting, thanksgiving, domestic code, and the lengthy list of names in the final greetings (p. 123).

Words of Wisdom (Chapter 5): the aim of Proverbs (and all other proverbs in the Bible) are to direct the reader to walk skilfully in wisdom. This type of wisdom will lead to living a morally and spiritually ordered life covering the breadth of human experience, resulting in right thinking and right acting (p. 190). It can be intimidating to think about preaching a Sunday morning series on Proverbs; nevertheless, it is essential that we preach it faithfully, as well as Ecclesiastes, Job, the Sermon on the Mount, and James. In addition, this is not merely for book expositions, as proverbs occur throughout God's Word (p. 186). In this chapter, O'Donnell and Ryken point out that proverbs are not promises, instead of the proverb 'Start a youth out on his way; even when he grows old, he will not depart from it' (Prov. 22:6) being a promise or guarantee, it is a general principle (p. 198). They provide about twenty extremely helpful suggestions on 'how to preach the proverbs.'

Several positives are worth noting. First, the authors encourage the public reading of Scripture (1 Tim. 4:13), which is refreshing – O'Donnell and Ryken wonder if the preacher is reading God's perfect Word before he preaches his imperfect ones (p. 121)? Next, there is also the welcome emphasis of preaching the gospel to the saved (what they label as *Evangelize the Elect*!): God's gospel stands at the top of the list of theological truths that believers need to be reminded of on a weekly basis (p. 131). Third, every preacher should tailor his sermon to the shape/structure and

emphasis of the text, including tone and tenor (p. 172). Last, a prophetic charge, 'We need to stop preaching (go home, or stay home) if we do not preach a big God' (p. 278).

The Beauty and Power of Biblical Exposition will fit nicely on the shelf of every preacher seeking to hone his craft; a good companion for Steven Smith's *Recapturing the Voice of God: Shaping Sermons Like Scripture* (B&H Academic, 2015) or the forthcoming 5-volume, *Preaching Biblical Literature* (Fontes Press), Series Editors Jeffrey Arthurs and Kenneth Langley. Their desire was to assist preachers as they 'bring the thunder' (p. 14), knowing that what happens in the pastor's study, as he seeks to understand, explain, illustrate, and apply Scripture, can help all who regularly teach God's Word to connect to the surge behind the storm (p. 15). Their desire is to equip preachers with effective and reliable tools for proper understanding, teaching, and preaching the Bible (p. 61). This book will aid the preacher in fulfilling his God-given mandate: he is not to simply preach *from* the Word or *about* the Word, but to *preach the Word* (2 Tim. 4:2), and he will do so as he recalls the Word's beauty and power, 'How sweet your word is to my taste—sweeter than honey in my mouth' (Ps. 119:103).

Tony A. Rogers, Southside Baptist Church, Bowie, TX, USA

Reformed & Evangelical across Four Centuries: The Presbyterian Story in America. Edited by S. Donald Forston III and Kenneth J. Stewart. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2022. xiii + 364pp. ISBN: 978-0-8028-7340-8. £23.99.

Four authors are listed as contributors to this volume. Besides the two editors, these include Nathaniel P. Feldmeth and Garth M. Rosell. Each represents a different branch of American Presbyterianism. The book is, however, the brainchild of the editors, developed out of a lunchtime meeting. There is no indication as to who wrote which chapter, but readers familiar with the theological interests and writing style of Ken Stewart (a frequent contributor to this journal) will recognize his influence in such matters as the British background and the relationship between American Presbyterianism and evangelicalism.

In a substantial and thoughtful foreword, noted historian George M. Marsden begins by commending the book's distinctive strengths. 'First, it offers a detailed and reliable new history of American Presbyterianism. Second, it is unusual among such histories in the thoroughness with which it recounts the British background. Third, it explicitly emphasizes 'the symbiotic relationship that has frequently existed between American Presbyterianism and American evangelicalism.' Finally, the emphasis

on such relationships orients the recent history toward the realignments among the more evangelical Presbyterians' (p. ix). This is a helpful summary of the book's contents.

There are five chapters dealing with the British background, before and after the Union of the Crowns (1603) and of Parliaments (1707) out of which the modern British nation was formed. That background begins with the Reformation and the initial influence of Lutheranism in both England and Scotland, superseded by the Swiss Reformation, including but not limited to Calvin's Geneva. Scotland is universally considered to be the home of Presbyterianism, but it was in England (with Scottish non-voting commissioners in attendance) that the Westminster Assembly was held from 1643-47, giving us the Confession of Faith and Catechisms that form the doctrinal basis (with modifications) of Presbyterianism worldwide. The original intention was to develop a unified form of doctrine and worship in the Reformed churches north and south of the border, but this never happened, as the Church of Scotland ratified the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, along with the Form of Church Government and the Directory of Worship, but the Church of England never has.

In Chapter 6, the story moves to the new world and the formation of the first presbytery as a 'meeting of ministers' in Philadelphia in 1706. Thereafter, there is discussion of Presbyterian attitudes to the Great Awakening which began in the 1730s. Conflict between supporters and detractors led to a seventeen-year division between the synods of the New Side (supporters) and Old Side (detractors). The schism was finally healed in 1758, with New Side Gilbert Tennent chosen as moderator of the reunited Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and Old Side minister Francis Alison preaching when the reunion took place. A constitution was later developed and the first General Assembly of what became known as the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America took place in Philadelphia in 1789. By this time, the newly formed denomination consisted of 'four synods and sixteen presbyteries encompassing four hundred churches and 177 ministers' (p. 126).

Several factors arising out of the Great Awakening, including a 'deepened American passion for freedom to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience…helped create fertile soil for the American Revolution and several Presbyterian ministers utilized these themes in sermons leading up to independence' (p. 114). Presbyterian minister John Witherspoon was recruited from Scotland to head up the newly formed College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) and he was to become one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The American 'passion for freedom to worship God according to the dictates of one's con-

science', which was foundational to the entire new world experiment led to the non-establishment of religion clause in the First Amendment to the US Constitution. This is alluded to in Marsden's foreword and is picked up again later in the book, but more might have been developed throughout as to the distinctiveness of this approach relative to the establishment principle, especially as that was developed in Presbyterian Scotland. (The Westminster Confession of Faith's chapter on the civil magistrate was modified in 1788, two years after the American Revolution, to reflect the new world perspective.) Despite its many national sins, decline in church attendance and drift into secularism, with the current insistence that the First Amendment precludes any public recognition of religion, the United States remains the most religion-friendly, church-going nation in the Western world. Is there a connection with the religious voluntariness of the First Amendment?

A Second Great Awakening featuring the Arminian theology and innovative methods of Charles Finney contributed to another schism, this time between Old School and New School Presbyterians. 'While the Old School was committed to traditional Calvinism, the New School practiced a broader version of Reformed theology that included a robust ecumenical spirit and more tolerant perspectives on revivals' (p. 148). Complicated by differences over slavery and the New England Theology of Jonathan Edwards's followers, as well as evangelistic cooperation between Presbyterians and Congregationalists, a division took place in 1837 that lasted for over 20 years.

A chapter is devoted to the important issue of debates over slavery. Broadly speaking, with exceptions, southern Presbyterian leaders like R. L. Dabney and J. H. Thornwell claimed that the institution of slavery (but not the slave trade) had biblical support, whereas northern churchmen, following the lead of Charles Hodge of Princeton Seminary (founded in 1812) advocated 'a peaceful, gradual emancipation as the way forward for the United States' (p. 177). It fell to smaller denominations like the Reformed Presbyterian Church (Covenanters) and the short-lived Free Presbyterian Church Synod of the United States to unequivocally advocate abolition and declare (as the Covenanters did in 1800) that 'no slaveholder should be allowed the communion of the Church' (p. 169).

Separate chapters discuss 'The Darwinian Challenge' and 'German Universities and American Protestantism', leading to the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy of the early twentieth century and the role of J. Gresham Machen in the founding of Westminster Seminary (1929), the Independent Board of Foreign Missions (1933) and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church (1936). The latter part of the twentieth century saw further church divisions and the emergence of conservative leaders such as Fran-

cis Schaeffer (albeit initially from his Swiss base at L'Abri) and R.C. Sproul of Ligonier Ministries. There is a commendable emphasis throughout the book on the importance of missionary outreach at home and abroad. Appropriate attention is also given to the phenomenon of Korean Presbyterianism in America.

A concluding chapter discusses the 'symbiotic relationship' between historic Presbyterianism and evangelicalism with their shared allegiance to 'a deep respect for the Bible, a yearning for spiritual renewal and spread of the gospel, a theological seriousness, and a desire for a society transformed by Christian principles' (p 320). This includes some reflection on future prospects of this relationship.

The stated goal of the book is to fill a need for a single volume that could be recommended to 'help students and Christian leaders grasp the thread of Presbyterian history' (p. xvii). This resulted in somewhat of a birds-eye view of American Presbyterianism from its European origins to the present. Whatever the perceived limitations of this approach, *Reformed & Evangelical* can be said to have succeeded admirably in achieving its intended purpose.

J. Cameron Fraser, Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada

Tethered to the Cross: The Life and Preaching of C. H. Spurgeon. By Thomas Breimaier. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2020. ISBN: 978-0-8308-5330-4. xvi + 271pp. £29.99.

Charles Haddon Spurgeon died at the relatively young age of 57 on 31 January 1892. His capacity to fascinate continues unabated, as many of his works remain in print and popular level writings about him abound. Two documentaries of his life can be found on YouTube: the Christian Television Association treatment from 2010 at just over an hour long has 1.8 million views; Stephen McCaskell's fine two-hour documentary, 'Through the Eyes of Spurgeon' (2014), has 1.1 million views. It remains the case, however, that scholarly attention to Spurgeon has not kept pace with popular interest—the work of Peter Morden, Ian Randall, and Mike Reeves notwithstanding. There remains only one 'critical' biography of Spurgeon, and that was published in 1982![1]

One of the smaller benefits of Breimaier's book, which observes this deficit, lies in its broad survey of the Spurgeon industry—noting the breadth of its output, but also the points at which it is found lacking. The larger contribution the book makes is to take seriously and account for

[1] Patricia Stallings Kruppa, *Charles Haddon Spurgeon: A Preacher's Progress* (New York & London: Garland, 1982).

Spurgeon's 'hermeneutic': the principles of interpretation which informed his understanding of the meaning of the biblical text. That such attention has previously been lacking is no surprise. Broadly speaking, homiletical engagement with the Bible has not been accorded the respect or interest it is due on the part of later scholarship. It was, in part, the burden of Frances Young's *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) to redress this balance for the study of patristic interpretation, by including homiletical material alongside the commentary genre which tends to hold pride of place. Beyond this general neglect of sermons, however, is the perception that Spurgeon's voluminous output in any case did not really exhibit a 'hermeneutic' in any substantial sense of that term. The texts preached amounted to a verse or two, so that the sustained attention to broader context deemed necessary for a properly 'hermeneutical' treatment—say, of the kind promoted even by advocates of expository preaching—is simply absent.

So Breimaier's 'primary goal' is to 'identify and analyze C. H. Spurgeon's approach to biblical hermeneutics' (p. 3). He wastes no time in doing so. Quoting Spurgeon's characteristically colourful words, it involved making a 'beeline to the cross'. In Breimaier's more considered terms, Spurgeon's hermeneutic is found to be crucicentric and conversionist: this pair of terms occurs early (p. 4), and recurs *passim*. And it appears to be the case that Breimaier has indeed hit the bullseye with his first shot. Copious examples are provided not only from Spurgeon's sermons but also his ample wider corpus to demonstrate that by design and practice, Spurgeon's method of biblical interpretation was guided by these two principles: pointing to the cross of Christ, and thereby seeking to win converts to Christianity.

But Breimaier has written a book, and not an article. This requires something more than simply identifying the overriding crucicentric and conversionist principles that shaped Spurgeon's interpretation of the Bible. Rather, while emphatically (even relentlessly) pressing home this major claim, Breimaier places Spurgeon's biblical interpretation firmly in his Victorian context. The question, then, is not simply 'What is Spurgeon's hermeneutic?', but more broadly, 'How did Spurgeon's hermeneutic situate him within the wider practice of biblical interpretation of the Victorian age?'.

The Introduction and Chapter 1 put in place the contours of the Spurgeon industry, and outline the progress of his conversion and early ministry. The latter is significant for the book as a whole, and does more than simply offer a biographical sketch. Significantly, Spurgeon's conversion experience—so Breimaier argues—informs the whole of his career as

an interpreter of the Bible. That direct appeal of a simple preacher from Isaiah 45:22, 'Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth' (KJV), and applied to Jesus Christ, spoke directly to Spurgeon's heart and transformed him. Breimaier has some insightful commentary to offer on this well-known moment (pp. 33–37), but there is no doubting its import for Spurgeon's own 'crucicentric' and 'conversionist' use of the Bible (e.g., p. 104). Breimaier follows this trajectory into the development of Spurgeon's voluminous writing on, and frequent speaking about the Bible outside the pulpit. Here, his capacity to fine-tune his message to his audience is seen, even while his commitment to cross and conversion persists, even if muted from his pulpit performances.

Still, the key chapters for the hermeneutical interest lie in Chapters 3 and 4, where Breimaier deals in turn with Spurgeon's interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, largely from his pulpit ministry. These are substantial chapters, roughly 45 pages each, and follow the same pattern. First context is set in describing scholarly developments in OT and NT in Spurgeon's day, followed by his attitude to various commentators and their work, then a genre-by-genre investigation into Spurgeon's homiletical handling of texts of various kinds. Clearly, there are challenges to his programme for the OT in particular, since neither conversion *per se*, nor cross are explicitly found in it. Breimaier's explanation of Spurgeon's 'theology of the Bible' makes clear that this is no obstacle, for a book with a single author—and that author, divine—has only one message (cf. pp. 86–87). Spurgeon is presented as being aware of, but sitting quite lightly to, critical scholarship. Copious examples are provided of Spurgeon's ability to move ('leap'!) directly from an OT text to contemporary Christian: Joshua's exhortation to the 'officers' 1:11 becomes a statement to believers as 'good soldiers of Jesus Christ' (p. 103).

While the New Testament obviously does not present such invitations to anachronism, Breimaier documents the continued cross-and-conversion approach, even in cases where context invited other sorts of reflections. Breimaier is not reluctant to point out the irony ('drawback') in the tension that arose from Spurgeon's urging his hearers to read the Bible 'plainly', even though his own connections were often quite distant from the 'plain meaning' of a given passage (p. 167).

The final two substantive chapters cover Spurgeon's later years 'beyond the pulpit', attending especially to his writing in his periodical, the *Sword and Trowel*, and the Downgrade Controversy, which painfully marked the latest phase of Spurgeon's career. Breimaier's brief but nuanced account of this episode draws attention especially to the way in which his stand for biblical infallibility drew him into closer fellowship with like-minded evangelicals in other denominations, even if he appeared isolated within

his own Baptist context. The closing chapter attends to the legacy of instruction from the Pastors' College, and other Bible classes and instructional settings with which Spurgeon was involved. While there is a concern demonstrated for the broad education and cultural engagement of students in these varied contexts, clearly the overriding purpose was to equip men (and women!) to be competent evangelists, proclaiming a biblical gospel.

There is much to appreciate in Breimaier's rich and readable study. Alert to nuance, and appreciative of Spurgeon's legacy, Breimaier's key contribution is to explain the principles which governed Spurgeon's biblical interpretation, demonstrated by copious examples drawn from the whole of his career, and from the breadth of his activities with a sensible focus on his sermons. If this answers the 'why' and 'what' questions, there is a lingering sense of missing out on the 'how'. By providing such ample and clear evidence of Spurgeon running roughshod over context, by what means was he able to arrive at cross-centered messages seeking converts?

Stated thus, it might not sound much different from contemporary preaching courses which equip students for 'Christ-centered' preaching. However, it is clear that Spurgeon's practice would fall foul of the instructors of such courses for his failure to attend to context—and, on occasion, the very text itself![2] Rather, Spurgeon seems to have been a later and Christian expression of the sort of exegesis found in the commentaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the *pesharim*. The key interpretative move in those commentaries is the 'this-is-that' approach, identifying some element of the biblical text with their contemporary community and context. Examples can be found in the New Testament itself: so Peter is able to conclude 'And this is the word which was preached to you' (1 Pet. 1:25b), having just cited Isaiah 40:7–8.

Does *Tethered to the Cross* amount to an account of 'hermeneutics'? I confess, I'm not so sure. However, read as a window into Victorian Christianity, Spurgeon's place in it, and the convictions which motivated his remarkable ministry, Breimaier's book succeeds admirably.

David J. Reimer, University of St Andrews

[2] E.g., the sermon on Amos 3:3 on Christian baptism (!) which fails to mention Amos anywhere in the body of the sermon (noted by Breimaier for other reasons on p. 80 n. 7). On this theme more broadly, see Donald Macleod, 'We Preach Christ Crucified', *SBET* 32 (2014), 208-219.

The Rise and Triumph of the Modern Self: Cultural Amnesia, Expressive Individualism, and the Road to Sexual Revolution. By Carl Trueman. Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2020. ISBN:978-1-4335-5633-3. 409pp. £25.99.

The Rise and Triumph of the Modern Self is both a map and guidebook for any reader interested in understanding and interpretating the rapid cultural developments that have gripped particularly the Western world in the first quarter of the twenty-first century.

Trueman states that the 'burden of this book has been to explain the pathologies of our culture and the reasons why speech itself has come to be considered as violence' (p. 329). He achieves this by examining the ideological and intellectual underpinnings of what, Trueman contends, has been one of the most comprehensive cultural revolutions that has transformed the West. This book will undoubtedly become one of the evangelical pastor's or ministers key reference points, especially as the question of sexual ethics and Christian sexual morality continues to come under intense scrutiny. Indeed, Trueman comments that 'the argument of this book has two immediate implications for Christian discussion of LGBTQ+ issues in terms of the wider social and political context in which they occur' (p. 390). Christian leaders, ministers, teachers, evangelists and disciples who read this book will embark upon a fascinating and well researched journey that explains how notions of external authority, such as God and his word, have been replaced by the 'inward turn' regarding personal authority and the therapeutic necessity of affirming 'another's' own personal truth. Many will be familiar with phrases such as, 'telling your truth.' Trueman explains the ideas and philosophies which have created the social space for such a concept not only to exist but to become an accepted social norm for many. This book will explain why the question of 'what is a woman', troubled a US Supreme Court nominee and bothers some senior politicians, on both sides of the 'pond'.

Not including the 'Introduction', the book is divided into four main parts: 1, 'Architecture of the Revolution'; 2, 'Foundations of the Revolution'; 3, 'Sexualization of the Revolution'; and 4, 'Triumphs of the Revolution'. The 'Introduction' and part 1 'Architecture of the Revolution' sets out the basic concepts that are subsequently referred to in parts 2 and three. Trueman engages with Philip Rieff, Charles Taylor and Alasdair MacIntyre as key dialogue partners. Readers who have never devoted large amounts of their time to comprehending these innovative academic thinkers will find Trueman's interaction with them accessible and useful.

Part 2, 'Foundations of the Revolution' skilfully demonstrates how key academic and literary figures from the history of the West have moulded and shaped modern thinking. Trueman persuasively links the work of

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Wordsworth, Shelly, Blake, Nietzsche, Marx and Darwin into an imaginative map charting key ideas associated with each thinker became embedded in our modern culture. Part 3 'Sexualization of the Revolution' explores how the theories of Sigmund Freud were fundamental in placing 'the sex drive at the very core of who and what human being are from infancy' (p. 221). Trueman correctly argues, in my view, that it is irrelevant whether or not the scientific status of Freud theories are now considered 'methodologically and materially discredited.' The idea that it is sexual activity that makes us authentic human beings, is now an uncontested 'truth' for many citizens of the revolution.

Readers of this book may be tempted to go straight for Part 4, 'Triumphs of the Revolution' because Trueman explores the issues surrounding human sexuality. How the Church responds or should respond to these issues are a profound matter of importance for many in Christian ministry and service. The various sections can be read in themselves, yielding important insights for the enquirer. However, the investment from reading the first three parts will enable the reader to get the most out of the chapters 'The Triumph of the Erotic', the 'Triumph of the Therapeutic' and the Triumph of the T'. How the Church responds to the LGBTQ+ movement is critical for the work of the gospel and Trueman provides a helpful insight on understanding the history of the movement and how expressive individualism is now a simple 'taken for granted' by politicians and corporate business.

In conclusion, *The Rise and Triumph of the Modern Self* will become a standard reference for anyone in Christian ministry trying to understand and make sense of the rapidly changing culture in which we are immersed. The culture of expressive individualism is not going to be replaced any time soon. While the statement that a 'culture that has had to justify itself by itself has never maintained itself for any length of time' (p. 381) may express a great deal of historical truth, nevertheless, the cultural entropy and degeneration evident to many commentators within the West, will not be hindered from within by the logic that gave rise to the rejection of external authority. The Christian Church does, however, have an answer: the God who declared 'I am the way, the truth and the life' (Jn 14:6). In an endless sea of subjectivity, this is our one true anchor point.

Philip McCormack, Spurgeon's College, London