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Baptistic Theologies
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Editorial

In the summer of 2013 the Revd. Dr Keith Jones will step down after fifteen years as Rector of the International Baptist Theological Seminary in Prague. Quite rightly a number of tributes have been and will still be paid to Keith for his years of service to IBTS. As those who have had the joy and privilege to serve with Keith in delivering the academic programme of IBTS, we wanted also to acknowledge Keith's contribution to and interest in so many areas of theology and church life. This has led to this volume of *Baptistic Theologies* which we are pleased to present to Keith and our readers.

Sometimes trying to get people to write articles for journals can make getting blood out of a stone seem the work of a moment, so to start with, it shows the affection in which Keith is held that not only did all those we invited readily agree, but all produced their articles in good time. The fear of Keith glancing meaningfully at a ticking clock was not the only reason for this! As you read through this collection of essays, you will also, we hope, appreciate not only the fact that the authors stuck to deadlines, but much more the quality of their contributions, for which we, as editors, are extremely grateful.

When we sat down to plan this volume, we were immediately struck by just how many areas Keith has had an impact on. The extensive range covered in this volume does not include all the facets of Keith's life. We have not, for instance, given a theological reflection on the ministry of administration, which Keith has fulfilled so faithfully over these years. It may come lower down on Paul's list of gifts, but it is a gift which Keith has used always for the good of the Kingdom. Nor have we looked at one of Keith's perhaps more arcane interests, in academic dress. This may seem a rather odd Baptist interest, except that in Keith it is an expression of an abiding belief in the deep respect to be paid to every human being as a child of God. Nor, perhaps more importantly have we looked at his commitment to creation care.

However, if we have not been able to cover everything, we have included a great deal of what has interested and inspired Keith over the years. The volume is book-ended with two more personal contributions. We are indebted to the incoming President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, Ernie Whalley, for all the work he put into describing and getting others to describe Keith, the man. And our volume concludes with the reflections of another long-time friend and colleague of Keith's, Tony Peck, the General Secretary of the European Baptist Federation, also acknowledging Keith's contribution to the European and world Baptist family.

Ian Randall then looks at how Baptists have viewed Anabaptism over the centuries. This fascinating article gives the background to Keith's long-standing attempts to regain the Anabaptist heritage for Baptists. A feature of both Anabaptist and Baptist life that has always been important for Keith, academically but even more in terms of church and seminary life, is community, and Parush Parushev investigates the notion of gathering community that Keith has done so much to promote.

One of the main ways in which communities gather is to worship. Ruth Gouldbourne offers an intriguing essay on the idea of preaching as a "sacramental", reflecting Keith's own powerful preaching and interest in communicating the gospel homiletically. Ivana Noble reflects on the experience of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church in acknowledgement of Keith's desire to draw on the best of Christian practice down the ages and inculturate it into Baptist settings. How can this be done well? Part of the answer to that question perhaps comes out in John Briggs' wonderfully informative contribution on the history of Baptist engagement in ecumenism, a field in which both he and Keith have played important parts.

Keith's working life has been spent in leadership. So we reflect on that, and on his encouragement of others in such roles. Anne Wilkinson-Hayes offers not only a great title, but a challenge to us to produce the kind of leadership which will help our churches today to engage with the world. Lina Andronoviene meanwhile addresses an issue very dear to Keith's heart, the promotion of women in leadership, and the new kinds of leadership that they can and do bring.

The two final essays tackle other issues that have been central to Keith's life and ministry. The first by David Goodbourn looks at adult Christian education and offers an honest assessment of how that has worked out, and what still remains to be done, something that will be of service to all of us involved in education at tertiary or further level. Finally, because all is geared to mission, Tim Noble reflects on the nature of mission between *chronos* and *kairos*.

Keith has often referred to the early Anabaptists in Mikulov in the south-east of today's Czech Republic. In Czech Anabaptists are often called *habáni*. Apparently this comes from the German *Haushaben*, referring to safe houses, places where they could gather in community, living and working together. This volume gathers representatives of many communities of learning and life Keith has touched, and comes with the certainty that Keith will have his house for many years to come in IBTS, and for ever in the Lord whom he and Denise serve so faithfully.

Parush Parushev, Lina Andronoviene, Tim Noble

The Reverend Keith G. Jones BA, MA, PhD, FRHistS, FCMI
Rector,
International Baptist Theological Seminary
1998-2013

Life in Christian Service

Ernie Whalley

In the autumn of 2012, there was a thanksgiving service for the life of Malcolm in a small Baptist chapel in Bradford, West Yorkshire, England. Revd Dr Keith Jones was back in his home city and this church, Tetley Street Memorial Baptist Church, was where he came to faith in the living Christ. This was the community to which Keith was taken as a child and his parents, Ken and Elsie, were in the congregation that day, too, together with his wife, Denise. In the service, Keith gave a powerfully moving tribute to Malcolm who had been his inspirational Sunday School teacher and a major influence on his journey of faith. The congregation was justly proud of this Yorkshire son who had come back to his roots.

Many of those gathered together in Bradford that day had known Keith from childhood and had watched him develop as a young man. Some had witnessed his baptism as an 18-year old by the Revd John Barr. His first employment was at Bradford City Transport and his administrative skills were soon noted. Indeed, he managed to get the time of the City Circle bus altered on a Sunday morning to assist the worshippers in getting to church on time! In those teenage years, Keith was very active in the life of the church. He was soon demonstrating leadership in the wider church, too, and helped to produce the church magazine and later chaired the General Purposes and Finance Group. Keith also began preaching in the local churches, particularly in the West Bradford Baptist Fellowship – an early pioneering experiment in team ministry.

Revd David Milner, minister of the Tetley Street church 1968-1977, recalls sharing with Keith his call to ministry.

David Milner's reflections

Keith is proud of his dual nationality, with a Yorkshire father and Scottish mother, and on special occasions wears a splendid kilt of the Grant Clan tartan. Apart from the loving home environment the main formative influence was Tetley Street Memorial Baptist Church, its Sunday School and strong Scout Group. He became leader of the Cub section of the scouts as soon as he was old enough, he was secretary for the excellent scout band and played the bass drum - and is still banging the drum for many worthy causes. He was also active the national Baptist Scout Guild.

Keith early realised the importance of good PR and took every opportunity of doing good publicity work, press releases etc. for the Church and Scouts. He also encouraged the use of film, for instance he organised a showing of 'The Great Mr. Handel' in the week before the annual performance of 'Messiah' by the augmented Tetley Street choir.

> A young man of ever widening horizons he quickly became knowledgeable of wider Baptist and ecumenical life and early developed an enthusiasm for Baptist History. In response to his minister's suggestion he participated in the Yorkshire Baptist Association young people's Campaign Camp for a few years. This was a fortnight of practical training in evangelism at Scarborough, which for thirty years was a great blessing for many young Yorkshire Baptists. He returned from one of these weeks and immediately phoned his minister to say that the sense of call to ministry, which he had tentatively discussed before, was now very definitely a strong conviction. He was soon admitted as a student at Northern Baptist College.

Manchester: 1971-75

The young fresh-faced lad from Yorkshire crossed the Pennines to Lancashire to begin four years' preparation for ministry. For those outside the United Kingdom, it is important to realise that there have been historic tensions and significant battles between Yorkshire (the white rose county) and Lancashire (of the red rose). Yorkshire is still known as the breeding ground for independent-mindedness, as well as a tenacity of faith and character, with a capacity for deep, lifelong friendships. In some quarters, it is still known as 'God's own county'. There had been a Baptist College at Rawdon near Leeds in Yorkshire but this had joined with the former Manchester College to become 'Northern Baptist College' in 1966. Keith arrived as a new chapter was beginning in a brand new suite of premises with principal, Revd Michael H. Taylor, having just been appointed.

The number of students at that time was fairly small and Keith was part of a year group of four who became very close. I joined the College in Keith's second year and we all sensed we were entering a new era. The new young principal, Michael Taylor, brought a wealth of fresh ideas and thinking into the process of ministerial formation which were pioneering for their time. Michael had deeply held convictions about engagement with the wider community and we undertook projects in Moss Side, a well-known multi-cultural, inner-city area.

Our eyes were opened to the challenges as tutor, David Goodbourn, helped us to understand the principles of social analysis and how churches should be responding to community needs. Later this was to be called 'contextual theology'. Many ministerial training courses now take this community engagement for granted but in the early 1970s, this was at the cutting edge of understanding Gospel and Kingdom. Other tutors at the time were George Farr, who was delighted to have a fellow-Bradfordian in the college, and Ernest Moore. Our formal academic input came from the Victoria University of Manchester, a mile or so down the road, with its acclaimed department of Biblical Studies. Here we enjoyed the lectures of renowned scholars such as F.F. Bruce.

Even then, Keith was able to deliver a cogent argument. He was a member of the University Debating Society and on one occasion spoke against a young Jack Straw, who was later to become a prominent minister in the Labour Government – and won!

Undergirding our formation were the rigorous study groups where, particularly with Principal Taylor, we were challenged to think theologically and engage with a variety of viewpoints. Michael Taylor's course on the History of Christian Worship was also highly influential on Keith's development (as, indeed, it was for many of us).

The heart of the College life for us was our communal worship. In the mornings, we used the Joint Liturgical Group morning office, which some of us continue to use to this day. This was new for many of us and gave us a solid framework for consistent reading of Scripture and prayers. In the evenings, students and staff had opportunity to lead prayer more informally. Each Monday evening in term time, we celebrated Eucharist. For many of us, including Keith, this was the high point of the week. On Sundays, we would be out preaching in the churches near and far, seeking to enthuse the churches to give ongoing support to the College. We all enjoyed Sunday evenings when we met to share supper together and regale each other with stories of our journeys.

On one such College Sunday in 1972, Keith visited the small town of Barnoldswick on the Yorkshire/Lancashire border (though proudly belonging to Yorkshire – despite its Lancashire postcode!) This marked the beginning of quite a story for Keith! The following year, he did a summer pastorate there and during this time, he met and fell in love with an attractive young woman from the church, called Denise Whipp. Many of us were delighted to meet Denise when Keith brought her over to the College that summer and her pink trouser suit was quite a talking point! Later, Keith was to accept the call to the pastorate at Barnoldswick – more of this later.

During our time at Northern Baptist College, within our theological community, we had our first taste of ecumenism which was to have a formative influence on Keith and us all. The nearby Hartley Victoria Methodist College buildings were too large for their purposes so the students and staff relocated and came to share the premises with Northern Baptist College. This marked the beginning of what was later to become the Northern Federation of Training for Ministry. Baptists and Methodists began to share many courses, joined increasingly by students from the local Congregational/United Reformed College. Particularly memorable was the final year course tutored by Michael Taylor and Richard Jones, principal of

Hartley Victoria College. Keith and the rest of us were actively involved in seeking to cement relationships. Keith recognised the opportunities of ecumenism and this had a great impact on his unfolding ministry.

On 17 August 1974, just before commencing his final year of training, Denise and Keith were married in Barnoldswick and spent the first year of their marriage in the smallest of the three flats available for married students at NBC. This was the beginning of a strong partnership – clearly obvious to all who have had the privilege of knowing them as a couple over the years. They have wonderfully complementary gifts and Denise has given her unstinting support for Keith's ministry over the years.

Keith, myself and many other students owe a huge debt to Principal Michael Taylor who opened up for us new horizons of theological thinking, new understandings of contemporary mission and what effective enabling ministry could look like. Michael was later to become a distinguished director of Christian Aid in the UK and, following this, President of Selly Oak College and Professor of Social Theology at the University of Birmingham. Michael has offered the following reflections on Keith, particularly as a student at Northern Baptist College.

Michael Taylor's reflections

Keith, wisely, did not always take my advice even when he asked for it. On one occasion he ignored it in spectacular fashion and went on to become Secretary to the Yorkshire Baptist Association and then Deputy General Secretary of the Baptist Union before escaping to the uplands of Praha.

On the other hand I happily took his advice. Well after he had been a student at the Northern Baptist college in the early 1970s, when students and staff seemed more like an adventurous family than anything else, and he was keeping me in check as a governor of the college, we were about to inaugurate the newly formed ecumenical centre for theological education in Manchester. It was to be based at the college, but needed a new name for the buildings. I thought I could appease the Baptist constituency and the Yorkshire contingent by proposing a dead Baptist worthy from the North and the far side of the Pennines.

Keith, and a small rebellious group which he had mobilised, disagreed and proposed the name of Martin Luther King (another Baptist of course) instead. Quite rightly they carried the day. It was a brilliant suggestion capturing not only something of our own heritage but a vision of a radically different, more just world which in the end inspired so many of us, including Keith, to try to be ministers of the Gospel.

This incident touches on a number of `streaks` in Keith's character. One, to which I had hoped to appeal with my proposal but failed, is that of a proud and defiant Yorkshireman. From thence he came, to thence he returned and has continued to return ever since. His first church, and the love of his life, both came from there as well – or did they? I remember the excellent new buildings he had a lot to do with when he brought two churches together in Barnoldswick – because he invited me to

the opening. But do I also remember a boundary dispute and a big blow to Yorkshire pride when questions were raised as to whether 'Barlick' was 'in' or 'out' of God's own county?

Another streak in Keith's character is a certain taste for the 'radical', however difficult that is to define. In those early college days and along with his very likeable contemporaries – who generally made life highly enjoyable for their somewhat inexperienced principal – we were all out to change the church, not least the Baptist church (or I should say 'churches') if we could: more ecumenical, more open to questioning, more on the side of the oppressed, more adventurous and meaningful in its worship. One of Keith's forays at the time was highly successful. He and two others went off to Taizé one summer and came back fired up by their experience and eager to enrich our own college worship with the prayers and songs, sights and sounds that had come to mean so much to them. And enrich our worship, and that of many others, they certainly did. It took me a long time to follow in their footsteps: not to revel in Taizé-style worship but to make the pilgrimage to Taizé itself, which I finally did in the summer of 2012!

I realised the radical 'streak' had not gone away, nor the love of history (which again I had hoped to appeal to in my abortive proposal of a new and ancient name for the college building) when I visited Keith and Denise in Praha to give a series of lectures on social theology in Christianity and Islam. Here I found not only a highly determined and successful Rector (about whom others I'm sure will have many good things to say) but a man busy researching into Baptist history. And as I listened to comments on my lectures and concerns that I had not said enough about the church in them, I realised his, and others', attraction to the Anabaptists and what's more their radical attempts to realise in the life of their communities a foretaste of what a Kingdom of justice and love might look like on earth.

Presumably that vision, seen in Martin Luther King, seen at Taizé and seen in the Anabaptists, Keith also saw, however imperfectly, in the work of Christian Aid where we met and worked together once again. Whilst Deputy General Secretary of the Union he joined the board, made a valuable contribution and, I believe, had something to do with writing my 'obituary' for George Carey (former Archbishop of Canterbury) when he awarded me a Lambeth degree.

What more can I say? Shared experiences have brought the two of us close over the years, not least the tragic death of John Shaw, a fellow student and minister in Bradford, who seemed to brighten up the scene wherever he went. We mourned him together, and with many others. I remember his funeral service in 1983 to this day. Together with Ernie Whalley, Keith did much to arrange it, and all of us as 'family' wore, in defiance of death, one of the colourful ties which John's wife, Elizabeth, had made for us in those early college days.

Keith has landed up in a somewhat surprising place! It is to his credit that he has equipped himself for academic work and made a significant contribution, not least through the research that led to his doctorate. Others will be more qualified to write about this – I can only admire from a distance. But he would doubtless be the first to object and say that the academic setting, where he has faced up to difficult times and decisions, supported so many and achieved so much, can be misleading. It does not entirely convey what he has always been about, whether as a pastor or administrator

> or scholar, teacher and trainer, and that is to encourage the church (or again should I say the churches) he loves to be better representatives on earth of the One he loves and serves and who loves him.

During our time at College, we as students and staff recognised the need for increased levels of support in order to sustain ministry after initial training. Thus was established a pattern of regular meetings between former students and staff. A couple of years later, the Kainos Community was formed by Keith, John Shaw and myself, together with our wives and a few others – later joined by David Milner, Tony Peck and their wives. As part of our commitment to the community, we covenanted to meet regularly as ministers and families, to support each other in prayer and to spend periods of retreat and family holidays together. Keith was the registrar for this very significant support network and Kainos continued formally for over 25 years. As members were displaced around the UK and beyond into Europe, it became harder to sustain – though, informally, the strong bonds of friendship and mutual support remain.

Barnoldswick: 1975-1980

In 1975, following his four years of ministerial training and the successful award of a BA (Theol.) degree, Keith was ordained at Tetley Street in Bradford on 28 June and shortly afterwards, on 2 August, was inducted to the pastorate in the aforementioned Barnoldswick. As Michael Taylor noted, Keith's immediate task at Barnoldswick was to facilitate the integration of two separate Baptist congregations into one new building. There were significant challenges here in terms of design and funding of the new premises, alongside building up the church as a company of believers from two hitherto separate worshipping communities. This experience equipped him admirably for the future. Margaret Nutter, one of the leadership team at the time, takes up the story.

Margaret Nutter's reflections

> College Sunday in 1972 brought a lively young ministerial student from Northern Baptist College to Barnoldswick Baptist Church. This 'new church' had recently been born out of the two previous congregations of North Street and Bethesda and continued the long standing Baptist witness in the town dating back to the mid 1600s.
>
> That was the start of a relationship with Barnoldswick which proved to be seminal, long lasting and personal. Keith returned for a student summer pastorate in 1973, and in due course accepted a call to become minister of the church. He also met and married Denise, a marriage which ensured that Keith would remain connected to Barnoldswick, no matter where his ministry led him.
>
> For a first pastorate, Barnoldswick was a challenge! Developing the united church, disposing of old buildings and creating new – not easy tasks for a young minister. Keith's commitment, determination and attention to detail led to progress, at times against apparently insurmountable odds. There were difficult meetings,

sleepless nights, visits to bank managers, solicitors and constant anxiety about money. At times Keith had to be both the grit which unsettled and provoked and the oil which smoothed and calmed.

On 4 June 1977 the Baptist Centre in Barnoldswick was opened and dedicated in a memorable service which started with a procession from the site of the original Baptist witness in the town and culminated in Communion. That service and other occasions such as the Annual Assembly of the Yorkshire Baptist Association (YBA) held in Barnoldswick in 1979 exercised Keith's logistical talents and demonstrated his capacity for organisation, chivvying and 'making folk do'.

Despite these high profile occasions, Keith's real gift to the church in Barnoldswick came through the development of his preaching and pastoral skills. He was instrumental in the Christian growth and development of many as evidenced by baptisms and the increasing commitment of many members of the church, some even to the point of entering ministry themselves. He was passionate in his desire for people to grow in faith and although not always comfortable visiting the 'old ladies' he became an excellent pastor who could be relied on in times of trouble. Keith frequently described his role as that of an enabler. Despite the passage of time there are still aspects of church life in Barnoldswick and in the faith if its members which are a direct results of that 'enabling'.

Restructuring of the diaconate, an exchange visit with an American pastor, increased involvement with the Yorkshire Baptist Association (YBA) and the Baptist Union, development of ecumenical work, not to mention further studies ensured that Keith was seldom idle. He was awarded an MA in Peace Studies from the University of Bradford in 1980.

On a personal level, 'only child' Keith learned what it meant to be part of Denise's larger family with its social conscience and straight talking. Alex was born while in Barnoldswick and friendships were forged which remain strong today. During his time in Barnoldswick, Keith was teased unmercifully about his lack of DIY skills. Boxes of nails were presented on Christmas day. Jokes were made about his inability to put up a shelf. We mocked his dedication to duplication and inaccurate typing – we had to find something at which he did not excel!

Keith left Barnoldswick in 1980 to become secretary of the YBA. In that and in his subsequent appointments to the Baptist Union of Great Britain and the International Baptist Theological Seminary, we have seen 'our Keith' exercise his ministry in ways none of us would have dreamed of back in the 1970s. We are proud to have been his 'church' and to have played our small part in enabling him to fulfil his calling.

General Secretary, Yorkshire Baptist Association: 1980-1990

In 1980, after five years in the pastorate at Barnoldswick, Keith was appointed General Secretary of the Yorkshire Baptist Association (YBA) in succession to the Revd George Hobbs and he, Denise and Alex moved to Rawdon, Leeds, where their second son, Tim, was born. Keith used to have a sticker on the back window of his car which read: 'Yorkshire Baptists on

the move' and this is indeed an apt description of Yorkshire Baptist life during the decade that Keith served in this key role.

Alongside Jesse Davies, the very able office secretary, Keith built on the organising efficiency of his predecessor. Filing systems, with each separate committee having a designated colour-coded paper, ensured people knew exactly what went where! He serviced with enthusiasm, rigour and vigour the varying committees, whether focusing on trusteeship, buildings, mission, ministry or young people. Ever with an eagle eye for detail, Keith was a stickler for procedures being carried out correctly but he was not just there to service a machine: he brought his creative vision for the task in hand. During his tenure, many initiatives were brought forward and carried through within the YBA. Space here allows only for some highlights of that time.

The Association was ripe for a review of its work and through the YBA Council, a high-powered team was appointed at Keith's recommendation. Revd Dr Paul Fiddes, then tutor at Regents Park College, Oxford – later to become Principal and Professor – helped to expound the 'theology of associating' which was stimulating both for the YBA and for Dr Fiddes himself, who later developed this thinking further across the whole Baptist family. Dame Christian Howard, a clear-thinking Anglican, brought a refreshing, sympathetic yet 'outsider' perspective and Revd Douglas Sparkes, then Deputy General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, completed the review team, ensuring that the insights of the wider Baptist community were not neglected. Their recommendations were shared with the YBA Council at an away-weekend in Hull and later implemented to help association life to move forward.

Keith's interest in history was apparent in preparation for the bi-centenary celebrations of the Yorkshire and Lancashire Association. The celebration event, held in Huddersfield on 6 June 1987, was not a nostalgic trip down memory lane but, rather, a genuine act of thanksgiving for the past and a prophetic look to the future. A special book was published, entitled: 'Our Heritage: the Baptists of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire 1647-1987'. Keith was one of the key contributors to and the driving force behind this publication which offers fascinating insights into Baptist life in the north of England.

During this time, joint meetings of the teams from the YBA and the Lancashire and Cheshire Association were initiated and began to take place twice yearly to explore joint initiatives across the region. Keith was a key player in this and the forum still exists today to provide a vital platform for mutual support and to energise mission.

In 1983, Harry Weatherley was appointed as YBA Missioner – a fresh enterprise for the association. Mission became a priority. In the same vein, 'Advance 87' was a highly effective initiative and, again, owed so much to Keith's visionary missionary thinking. It was subtitled: 'a celebration of life and mission amongst the Baptists of Yorkshire'. Launched in 1986 when over 1300 people gathered at Leeds Town Hall, it focused on the work of the local church, encouraging each of them to evaluate their life and witness and to plan for appropriate mission into the future. In this three-year strategy, teams of three people – gifted lay and ordained, women and men – were specially trained to facilitate this evaluative process. Through Keith's and others' enthusiastic promotion, the majority of YBA churches responded positively and invited the trios to join them for worship, deacons and church meetings.

Alongside the stimulus of local church missional development, there were also gatherings for churches across the YBA to celebrate together. One notable occasion was held in Ripon and on a supremely memorable celebration, 2500 Baptists joined together in York Minister, filling this great historic church to capacity. Keith spearheaded these events, with the support of a team of volunteers, and many of us look back on them as high points in our belonging together.

However, Keith's vision was not restricted to Baptist church life. In the 1980s there was growing momentum in the ecumenical pilgrimage as churches increasingly recognised that, under the Lordship of Christ, it was 'better together'. Keith was part of a small group which initiated the formation of the West Yorkshire Ecumenical Council in 1987, together with the appointment of a full-time Ecumenical Officer. The creation of ecumenical Sponsoring Bodies, alongside Local Ecumenical Projects (later called 'partnerships') took an enormous amount of planning, with the drawing up of appropriate constitutions. As well as the vision, Keith had the administrative acumen for the necessary details so that different denominations could function and thrive together as missional communities. Today, 10% of the YBA churches are ecumenical congregations and, in many instances, these are the only church presence in their own communities. Ecumenical 'the whole inhabited world' inspired Keith to become deeply concerned about world justice issues. He challenged the Association to give 1% of personal income to world development. His sons have inherited this same passion in their own lives and work.

Yorkshire Baptists 'on the move' included deep involvement in the wider Baptist Union of Great Britain (BUGB). A number of Yorkshire

Baptists of this era were actively involved in Union life, including Keith who chaired the General Purposes and Finance Committee – a key BUGB group at the time. His talents were soon recognised by many in the wider Baptist scene and he was elected as chair of the BUGB Council. Keith rose to the challenge of this important task with vision and skill, knowing in detail the Constitution and 'Standing Orders' so that discussion and debate could be conducted in an orderly and informed manner. It was a particular joy for many – especially Keith – when the Baptist Assembly was held in Bradford in 1987 and Keith was heavily involved in the practical arrangements for this.

Whilst able to put Association life on the wider ecumenical and Baptist map, Keith never forgot that the local churches needed encouragement, care and support. The car bearing the sticker '....Baptists on the move' covered literally thousands of miles round Yorkshire. Someone who observed Keith's work in the YBA said: 'Nothing was too much trouble for him... he was always prepared to go the second mile for the churches'. What a tribute indeed! Behind the scenes, in many churches, there were tough challenges and Keith was prepared to give support well away from the limelight.

Alongside the wider work, Keith took seriously the personal discipline of prayer and study. With Denise, Keith also sought to give due priority to family life and treasured time with his growing sons, Alex and Tim. After ten years in the YBA, another call was issued on to a wider canvas still.... Deputy General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, which meant a move to Didcot, Oxfordshire for the family. On 9 November, 1990, the Yorkshire Baptists gathered at Trinity Rawdon, an ecumenical congregation and the Jones' home church, to say farewell to Keith and the family. The church was packed to capacity. Keith had chosen the Gospel readings, Luke 14: 25-45. Michael Taylor should have been the preacher but, in his role as Director of Christian Aid, had been called to South Africa at short notice. I was his unworthy – but honoured! – substitute. In an outpouring of thanksgiving for Keith's contribution to the YBA and beyond, the Gospel reading and sermon reminded us all of the cost of following Christ.... 'and whoever does not carry their cross and follow me cannot be my disciple'. And so Yorkshire released its son for wider service.

Deputy General Secretary, Baptist Union of Great Britain: 1991-1998

The joint appointments of Revd David Coffey as General Secretary and Revd Keith Jones as Deputy General Secretary were greeted with great enthusiasm across the Baptist family. Through the initial Listening Days

across the length and breadth of the land, David and Keith displayed skills of genuine listening. Then dreams and visions were shared, consulted upon and enacted. The complementary gifting and styles of leadership of these two were clearly recognised. Passion for mission was a priority and the tricky task facing them was how to move from vision to action. Keith demonstrated his well-honed gifts in this arena.

Quite early on, tough decisions had to be made to give notice of redundancy to a number of staff at Didcot. Yet, although the number of salaried staff was reduced, there was a deep desire not to reduce the impact for mission and witness. Keith was key in the establishment of imaginative appointments of 'mission networkers' who acted in a voluntary capacity to serve the Baptist Union. These networkers brought a wide range of experience in missional areas, including evangelism, church-planting, public education, engaging with other faiths and so on. Those appointed then made their experience available to others within the Baptist family. There was growing recognition of the importance of 'faith in the public square' and Keith did much to promote this, including – as Michael Taylor noted – personally serving on the Board of Christian Aid. A root and branch review of the BUGB structures also took place during this time, culminating in a Denominational Consultation at Swanwick in 1997. With David Coffey, Keith was key in ensuring implementation of the agreed action.

As BUGB Deputy General Secretary, Keith's ecumenical vision was given space to flourish further since, following the landmark Swanwick Declaration back in 1987, there was much to do in grounding the vision within new structures. Keith excelled in working with others to develop these and, in so doing, he became highly respected in ecumenical circles nationally.

Keith was also getting drawn increasingly into the international Baptist community. He was actively involved in the European Baptist Fellowship (EBF), including the development of twinning arrangements between Associations within BUGB and smaller Unions in other countries, particularly those in the former Eastern Europe. Since his experience as a sabbatical student in the early 1980s, he had maintained contact with the International Baptist Seminary at Ruschlikon, Switzerland, later becoming a member of the Board of Trustees and – later still – its chair. This was to open up his later challenge.... the invitation to become the Rector of IBTS in Praha, from 1998.

Space allows only for the tracing of an outline of Keith's ministry as BUGB Deputy General Secretary but his former colleague, David Coffey, fills in a little more of the picture.

David Coffey's reflections

I first met Keith Jones at the BU Council in 1980 when he was appointed as YBA Association Secretary and represented the YBA on the Council; in the same period I had been elected as a co-opted member of Council. I was serving as Secretary of the newly formed Mainstream and knew some of the national networks but I was impressed by Keith's superior knowledge of how to work the Baptist system. Little did I know this would prove personally beneficial within ten years, when we both became responsible for the business of Council!

The first time we had a long conversation was at the Bradford Assembly 1987. I was stepping down from the Presidency of the Union and handing over the baton to Margaret Jarman. Keith had played a major part in planning the Baptist Assembly that year and we had a coffee together. Although I could not have anticipated in detail what was to follow, I did have a strong sense during our fellowship in Bradford, that our ministries would be drawn closer in the life of the Union in the years that followed.

I joined the BUGB Mission Department in September 1988 and then came the surprise phone call from Morris West in December 1989; I imagine Keith had his call from Morris about the same time. It was a clear proposal from the Search Committee to bring together the combined gifts of Coffey and Jones as General Secretary and Deputy General Secretary.

We decided we would begin our ministries in May 1991 by holding 12 Listening Days in different parts of the country and we pledged to share publicly what we heard in these Listening Days and said this would provide the basis for a future Mission Strategy for the Union. It was ambitiously called a ten-year strategy.

Twenty-two years later, I still hold the conviction that our partnership was a perfect match and we soon adopted the mantra: "David's task is to make it matter – Keith's task is to make it work".. I look back with gratitude and appreciation on seven fruitful years of partnership with Keith that included the historic Swanwick Denominational Consultation of 1997. No person in leadership brings all the gifts to the task – hence the phrase 'the incomplete leader'. I subscribe to the doctrine of 'the incomplete leader' and in this sense Keith completed me with gifts I did not possess. Like a good marriage, we had to learn to work with each other harmoniously. From the beginning we had the understanding that we would keep short accounts with each other. If either of us had a grievance we wanted to share we would raise it speedily. As we both arrived early morning in the office, one of us would say 'can I have two minutes' which was the signal there was a serious issue to discuss.

It is a lasting tribute to Keith's vision and diligence that Faith and Unity was given a much higher profile in the structures of the Union. Following the 1987 Swanwick Declaration there were new ecumenical instruments – Churches Together in England and Churches Together in Britain and Ireland – and Baptists were being invited to play a major role in these new ecumenical structures. Keith was held in the highest esteem in the ecumenical world and the warm appreciation that accompanied

his contributions to ecumenical committees and working groups probably gave him the greatest fulfilment in ministry away from the sometimes routine work of the BUGB. He had the perfect temperament, gifting and experience for ecumenical partnerships: a solid theological grasp of how Baptist faith and order convictions could make a rich contribution to current debates; a generous Baptist churchmanship which appreciated and absorbed the best liturgical insights of other traditions; a knowledgeable grasp of church history which knew the stories of other traditions (sometimes better than those who belonged to the other traditions) but always remaining convictionally faithful to the Free Church Tradition; and a wonderful servant heart which volunteered for challenging committee tasks. Whether it was skilfully chairing a committee towards resolutions that captured the diversity of the discussion, or accurate minute taking which distilled the essence of a lengthy discussion into a few well-crafted words, Keith was at home in this ecumenical world and moved with ease in the corridors of all the denominations. We used to chuckle and say 'he who takes the minutes rules the world' and in Keith's case this was probably true!

In the same period, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the break up of the old Soviet Union was redrawing the map of Europe at a frightening pace. In the space of half a decade the EBF almost doubled its member Unions. This brought challenges to larger Unions like the BUGB, as fledging Unions, with young leaders at the helm with little or no experience of leading a national union of churches, sought the advice and counsel (and sometimes the financial support) of the Union. We decided rather than partner our large BUGB with much smaller European Baptist Unions; we would twin Associations with mainland Europe BU's. Many fruitful partnerships were born in the 1990's and the fostering of this twinning was largely due to Keith and his PA, Maureen White. It is a wonder to see how the Lord prepares people for the service he has in mind. It is now obvious that the experience of meeting and befriending so many in the EBF family was the perfect preparation for the fruitful years of Keith at IBTS.

We both worked hard to achieve a higher vote the second time the Council and Assembly voted on BUGB membership in CTE and CTBI. In 1989, the vote at the Leicester Assembly was 74% whilst at the Plymouth Assembly in 1995 it was over 90%. These were years of fruitful ecumenical involvement of BUGB and much of the day-to-day maintenance of the vision was due to Keith's capable and diligent handling of the great issues of the day.

His in-house management of the BUGB team was of the highest efficiency. He introduced me to the wonderful habit of keeping a file of appreciative correspondence. There were enough brick bats handed out by critical Baptists (especially in the pages of the *Baptist Times*!) that letters of encouragement were to be cherished. If Keith had a letter of encouragement he would file it and then read all the letters in that file on days when he felt discouraged! Under his tutelage I started the same practice and the file does provide rainbows on a rainy day.

There were a number of areas where Keith made his mark as the DGS. From the start of the weekly meetings of our Senior Management Team (SMT) on Fridays, Keith requested that we followed the lectionary readings for the Sunday coming and that each SMT member in turn would study the lectionary readings and bring their

own comments and insights. Keith had practised this devotional discipline in the YBA and it became a much-appreciated element in the weekly life of the SMT.

We both shared the conviction that the ministry of gifted women (which some churches never experienced) should be a feature of our Baptist Assembly. We worked to ensure there was always a woman speaker at the Annual Assembly each year, a value not always shared by all Baptists, and I know Keith continues to actively encourage his celebration of women in ministry.

My friend Keith was the kindest pastor and at special moments of my personal need he would display wisdom and care accompanied by the deepest of emotions that would surprise you. His cards and notes with appropriate scripture verses always brought encouragement. Denise's wonderful gifts of generous hospitality were deeply appreciated and for a number of years the annual New Year's Eve party at the Jones' home was one of the highlights of the Didcot social calendar.

I rejoice to see the steady growth of Keith as the international Baptist. Whilst IBTS will be remembered as his lasting legacy to the international Baptist family, he also became a valued member of both the EBF and the BWA. In the latter body he became a legend in the Resolutions Committee 'wheeling and dealing' with the best minds of the USA Southern Baptist Convention and achieving a remarkable harmony of mind and spirit in which resolutions would be presented before the larger body of the BWA Council. Without his behind the scenes work there would have been contentious debates on the floor of the BWA Council. His lasting legacy to the BWA was the richly worded Centennial Statement presented to the 2005 BWA Congress in Birmingham. The statement bears the hallmark of Keith Jones' theological breadth and precision. During my years of BWA Presidency (2005-2010) he was a wonderfully able colleague in managing the constitutional and structural changes in the BWA. He was by my side when I needed him.

I recall with warm appreciation a 'Keith' moment from a Baptist Assembly. After he had left the BUGB staff for the Rectorship of IBTS he attended a Baptist Assembly and during the BUGB AGM he made a rousing speech supporting the BU policy on an issue and returned to his seat with the applause of Assembly ringing in his ears!

The IBTS Rector appointment seemed a natural fit and in spite of enormous sacrifices for the Jones family they made the move to Praha. Keith himself had sacrificed further studies in his early years at BUGB in order to give top priority to the role of DGS, therefore I was delighted the move to Praha enabled him to complete his doctorate at IBTS This was a deserved recognition of his able intellect and disciplined mind.

Concluding thoughts....

So – back to that small Baptist chapel in Bradford where Keith was making his passionate tribute to Malcolm, his former Sunday School teacher. Beneath all the many giftings which we have noted, there is a deeply compassionate pastor. This was revealed at Malcolm's Thanksgiving Service and many of us have experienced this on a personal level down the years. Together, Keith and Denise have shown generous love and support to so many people. Whilst this publication is essentially focusing on

Keith's ministry, Denise's contribution to this cannot be underestimated. Her warmth, friendship, ability to reach out to people of all ages and backgrounds, together with her outstanding gifts of hospitality are legendary.

Shortly before he moved from BUGB at Didcot to the post of Rector at IBTS, Keith wrote an important book outlining his ideas: 'A Believing Church... learning from some contemporary Anabaptist and Baptist perspectives' – published at Easter, 1988. He dedicated this book to his sons, Alex and Tim, with the words: 'May they be inheritors of a Christo-centric, baptistic and radical church'. That is the vision of the man and the heritage he wants to bequeath to us all.

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A Believing Church: Baptist Perspectives on Anabaptism

Ian Randall

In February 1998 Alan Kreider, a Mennonite historian, wrote in the foreword to Keith Jones" book, *A Believing Church*, that Keith believed the ideas of the radical, baptistic believers of the sixteenth-century Reformation – the Anabaptists – could "transform the life and witness of Baptist churches in three ways". These ideas were: the Anabaptist "way of discipleship centred in Jesus Christ"; the Anabaptist stress on the "corporate", what Keith called the "gathering church"; and the Anabaptist "insistence that truth must be more than words".[1]

I have had the privilege of working closely with Keith at the International Baptist Theological Seminary in the years since then, up to the present time, and I have greatly admired the way in which he has continued to communicate his passion for these themes. As he has elaborated on the contribution of the radicals of the Reformation, he has maintained his stress on the importance of learning – as he put it in *A Believing Church* – what it means today to be radical, to be a church of the marginalised, to work with the Bible, to have a distinctive life-style, and to be communities that are inclusive and ecumenical, committed to religious freedom and human rights, to peacemaking, to mission, to the baptism of believers, to the separation of church and state and to Eucharistic celebration.[2] Keith is well aware that Baptist historians have over the centuries offered different perspectives on the Anabaptists.[3] In this study I am examining these perspectives as a way of setting Keith's own contribution in context.

Formative Baptist historians: "Anabaptists are good men"

Writing (in 1983) about the early Baptist historians, B.R. White, who was then Principal of Regent's Park College, Oxford, noted: "From the first, Baptist historians in England have not merely tried to give as adequate a narrative as their sources allow but have seen their task as that of defending their co-religionists and of influencing denominational policy".[4] As is well known, even before Baptists began to write their histories, English Baptists in the seventeenth century denied that they were associated with sixteenth-century Anabaptism. This was largely because of the negative image of

[1] Alan Kreider, "Foreword", in Keith G. Jones, *A Believing Church: Learning from Some Contemporary Anabaptist and Baptist Perspectives*, Didcot: Baptist Union of Great Britain, 1998, pp. xiv-xv.
[2] Jones, *A Believing Church*, pp. 34-51.
[3] Jones, *A Believing Church*, p. 11.
[4] B.R. White, *The English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century*, London: Baptist Historical Society, 1983, p. 12.

Anabaptism due to the tragic events in the German city of Münster, when violent radicals took over the city in the 1530s.

The 1644 *London Confession*, which was produced by its authors to show the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Calvinistic Baptists,[5] explicitly stated that Baptists were "falsely" called Anabaptists.[6] The first significant historian of Baptist life, Thomas Crosby (?1685-1752), was clear that English Baptists should be distinguished – as he put it in the introduction to his work – from the "mad and heretical people" at Münster.[7] Crosby's four volumes, *The History of English Baptists*, came out between 1738 and 1740. He was well aware of seventeenth-century English Baptist developments, since his father-in-law was Benjamin Keach, an influential early Baptist leader, and Crosby was a church member in Horslydown, Southwark, where Keach had been minister and where Benjamin Stinton (Keach's other son-in-law) became minister.[8]

Crosby is vividly portrayed by White as "a stubborn, quarrelsome, mathematician and schoolmaster". Although Crosby's work was not systematic, and lacked analysis, nonetheless he was concerned to utilise sources properly.[9] He had manuscripts collected by Stinton and it was through his use of these that he sought to put forward the rightness of the Baptist cause. In looking at Baptist origins, Crosby described the arrival in Amsterdam of John Smyth and his group – the group that in 1609 would form a Baptist church – and how they met the "foreign Anabaptists", by which Crosby means Mennonites in Amsterdam. These Anabaptists, says Crosby, "denied Christ's having taken flesh of the virgin Mary, the lawfulness of magistracy, and the like, which he [Smyth] and his followers looked upon as very great errors".[10] However, in introducing his *History* Crosby had kinder words to say about the Anabaptists. He noted that George Cassander, an eirenic sixteenth-century Flemish Reformed theologian who had debates with Anabaptists and visited some of their ministers in prison, spoke of them as having

> an honest and a pious mind; and that they erred from the faith, through a mistaken zeal, rather than an evil disposition; that they condemned the outrageous conduct of their brethren of Münster; that they taught that the kingdom of Jesus Christ was to be established only by the cross.

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[5] B.R. White, "The Doctrine of the Church in the Particular Baptist Confession of 1644", *Journal of Theological Studies* 19:2 (1968), p. 571.
[6] "London Confession, 1644", in W.L. Lumpkin (ed.), *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, rev. edn, 1969, p. 153.
[7] Thomas Crosby, *The History of the English Baptists*, London: privately printed, 1738, Vol. I, p. lvii.
[8] White, *English Baptists*, pp. 12-13. For detailed studies of Crosby see B.R. White, "Thomas Crosby, Baptist Historian", in *Baptist Quarterly* [*BQ*], 21:4 and 5 (Oct. 1965 and Jan. 1966), pp. 154-68 and 219-34.
[9] White, *English Baptists*, pp. 12-14.
[10] Crosby, *History*, Vol. I. pp. 267-8. Here and elsewhere I have updated the spelling.

Crosby also quoted from John Calvin's successor, Theodore Beza: "Many of the Anabaptists are good men, servants of God, and our most dear brethren".[11] Keith Jones notes that Crosby, and those who followed him in this early period of the writing of Baptist history, "were concerned with the development of the movement against infant baptism".[12]

In the later eighteenth century there were leading Baptists who were happy to affirm common ground with the Anabaptist tradition. John Rippon, in Southwark, in *The Baptist Annual Register* (compiled first in 1790), included a remarkable amount of detail about Mennonite churches in the Netherlands, Prussia, Switzerland, France and Russia.[13] The early nineteenth century saw the production of the next major work of Baptist history, by Joseph Ivimey, who owed much to Crosby and Rippon. Ivimey was pastor of the Particular Baptist Church in Eagle Street, London, and was also much involved in wider Baptist affairs.

He produced his four-volume *History of the English Baptists* between 1811 and 1830. He wrote in 1811 that he was indebted to Crosby for many of the materials he used, but that Crosby was now scarce and was 'so badly written, that an abridgement and arrangement of its contents have long been thought desirable".[14] Writing on the events in Münster, "which our Paedobaptist writers so often refer to in this controversy about baptism, and so frequently reproach us with", Ivimey was robust. He argued that "the disturbances in Germany" were started by Roman Catholics and continued by Lutherans, and that only 'some few of the people called Anabaptists mingled themselves" in what happened.[15] According to Ivimey, there was no cause for Baptists to feel intimidated by anti-Münster polemic designed to discredit the Baptist movement.

Ivimey went to some lengths to document the emergence of the Anabaptist movement in Switzerland from 1525 onwards. He described public disputations between Reformed ministers and some Anabaptist teachers, including those "between Zwinglius [Zwingli], one of the first reformers, and Dr. Balthasar Hubmeierus [Hubmaier], who afterwards was burnt, and his wife drowned at Vienna, in the year 1528". Among his sources, Ivimey quoted Arnold Meshovius, a Catholic theologian and professor at the University of Cologne who died in 1667. Although a history of the Anabaptists by Meshovius was largely based on the anti-

[11] Crosby, *History*, Vol. I, p. xxviii.
[12] Jones, *A Believing Church*, p. 11.
[13] J. Rippon, *The Baptist Annual Register* (London: Dilly, Button and Thomas, 1793), pp. 303-20. For Rippon see K.R. Manley, *"Redeeming Love Proclaim": John Rippon and the Baptists* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2004).
[14] Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists* (London: Burditt, et.al., 1811), Vol. I, p. vii.
[15] Ivimey, *History*, Vol. I, p. 15.

Anabaptist writings of major Reformers such as Luther, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Bullinger and Oecolampadius, in his comments on Hubmaier (quoted by Crosby) Meshovius spoke of Hubmaier as someone who "was from his childhood brought up in learning; and for his singular erudition was honoured with a degree in divinity; was a very eloquent man, and read in the scriptures, and fathers of the church".[16] Another source used by Crosby was Johannes Hoornbeek, a Dutch Reformed theologian who died in 1666. He was a professor of theology at the Universities of Leiden and Utrecht. Hoornbeek attacked the Mennonites (along with other groups who were in his sights), but he called Hubmaier "a famous and eloquent preacher".[17] It was also significant, for Crosby, that Hoornbeek commented on Felix Mantz and Conrad Grebel, as those who gave rise to Anabaptism in Zürich, describing them as "very learned men, and well skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages".[18]

As would be the case with other Baptist historians, Ivimey investigated movements before the rise of Anabaptism, seeking to find evidence of earlier "baptist" convictions. He highlighted "people in Bohemia, near a hundred years before [the rise of Anabaptism], who appear to be of the same persuasion with the people called Anabaptists". Ivimey cited a letter to Erasmus about this, dated 10 October, 1519 from Johannes (Jan) Slechta Costelecius, who lived a few miles from Prague.[19] Ivimey also explored the identity of Anabaptists in England, a topic Keith Jones was to suggest merited further attention in any consideration of ecclesiological developments in the period.[20] Bishop Hugh Latimer, Ivimey said, in a sermon he preached before Edward VI, stated that in the reign of Henry VII the "Anabaptists that were burnt here in divers parts of England" went (Latimer had been told) "to their death even intrepid as ye will say, without any fear in the world, cheerfully".[21] Ivimey's view was that "these Anabaptists were Wickliffites".[22]

Following Crosby, Ivimey alluded to a Dr. Some, "a man of great note, and violent churchman", who had published a work in 1589 opposing Elizabethan Separatists. Some's work attempted to show that there was agreement between Separatists and the dangerous Anabaptists on contentious issues: that ministers ought to be maintained by voluntary contributions; that the civil power had no right to make and impose

[16] Ivimey, *History*, Vol. I, pp. 16-17.
[17] Ivimey, *History*, Vol. I, p. 17.
[18] Ivimey, *History*, Vol. I, p. 17.
[19] Ivimey, *History*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19; cf. P.S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus* (Oxford: University Press, 1914), ch.11, for Erasmus and the Bohemian Brethren.
[20] Jones, *A Believing Church*, pp. 10-11.
[21] Ivimey, *History*, Vol. I, p. 84; cf. Crosby, *History*, Vol. I, p. 62.
[22] Ivimey, *History*, Vol. I, p. 84.

ecclesiastical laws; and that a constitution and discipline were essential to a true church. Ivimey commented that these views expressed the "genuine principles" of the New Testament, concluding: "Baptists have no reason to be ashamed of these sentiments of their predecessors, who at a time when the principles of dissent were so imperfectly understood, had such clear ideas on the subject, and sealed the truth with their blood."[23] Ivimey was keen to affirm Separatist and Anabaptist pioneers of "Baptist" convictions.

Nineteenth-century thinking: "The true Reformation"

The next significant English Baptist historian after Ivimey was Adam Taylor, who produced *A History of the English General Baptists*. Whereas Ivimey was a Particular Baptist, Taylor was a General Baptist, a schoolmaster and the son of a minister. He was the nephew of Dan Taylor, founder of the New Connexion of General Baptists, a Connexion which Keith Jones has insisted should be given its proper weight, not least in studies of Baptist interdependency. Keith speaks of how Dan Taylor "was concerned to foster good fellowship with others who basically shared his evangelical tenets", and cites the close fellowship Taylor had in Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire, with his neighbour, the Particular Baptist John Fawcett.[24] Adam Taylor edited the *General Baptist Repository* and also published memoirs of his uncle.

In his *History*, Adam Taylor called the sixteenth-century Anabaptists "baptists". He wrote that although on the continent of Europe 'some enthusiasts who denied infant baptism, disgraced themselves and their profession by their extravagant opinions and practices" yet it was certain that "there were thousands of baptists, at that time, and in those countries, who deserved and obtained a very different character". Taylor then quoted an opponent of the Anabaptists who acknowledged that they owed their success to three things: their teaching of scripture – they "deafened their hearers with numberless passages of scripture"; their commitment to sanctity; and their constancy in suffering and death. Like Crosby, Taylor quoted favourable statements by Cassander and Beza about Anabaptists.[25] A positive history of "baptists" was being told.

John Sheppard, a Baptist layman, visited some of the homelands of continental Anabaptists in 1816. His account of a tour through some parts of France and Italy, Switzerland and Germany was full of interest. In reflecting on the Anabaptists he wrote about the "mad fanaticism" of

[23] Ivimey, *History*, Vol. I, p. 108; cf. Crosby, *History*, Vol. 1, pp. 76-79.
[24] K.G. Jones, *The European Baptist Federation: A Case Study in European Baptist Interdependency, 1950-2006* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009), pp. 13-14, citing Adam Taylor, *Memoirs of Dan Taylor* (London: Baynes & Son, 1820).
[25] Adam Taylor, *The History of the English General Baptists*, Part First (London: T. Bore, 1818), pp. 36-38.

Münster and the 'sobriety and civil obedience" of the Mennonites.[26] Sheppard's account was analysed in 1960 in an article by G.W. Rusling which appeared in the *Baptist Quarterly*. Rusling noted that "Münster and Menno Simons appear to be Sheppard's only landmarks in early Anabaptist history".[27]

Admiration for Menno, the Anabaptist leader in the Netherlands who 'sought to draw out some of the deeper and more spiritual insight of the Anabaptist vision",[28] was strikingly illustrated in J.H. Wood's, *A Condensed History of the General Baptists of the New Connexion* (1847). Wood referred to the Anabaptists as "baptists" and saw Menno Simons as an exemplary "baptist minister", suggesting without any hesitation that "of all the illustrious names recorded in church history for the last six hundred years, there is none superior to that of Menno".[29] It seemed that some Anabaptists were receiving more acclaim than Baptist figures. In 1854, E. B. Underhill, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, editing *Confessions of Faith* for the Hanserd Knollys Society, refused to draw a distinction between Anabaptists and Baptists and accused one (anonymous) historian of being someone "who seeks in the history of the German Anabaptists an armoury of crimes by which to assail them".[30] Admirers of the Anabaptists had taken the high moral ground.

A similar approach was to be seen in North America. Baptist historians were eager to affirm the linkage of Anabaptists and Baptists. David Benedict, a Baptist pastor in Rhode Island, in his *General History of the Baptist Denomination* (1856) referred to Hubmaier as "a learned and eloquent man, styled by the papists, a doctor of divinity", and noted that in his work as an Anabaptist minister, first in Waldshut and then in Moravia, Hubmaier "taught with great energy the baptism of believers as instituted by Christ".[31] In 1887 another North American Baptist, Thomas Armitage, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York, produced *A History of the Baptists*. This book sought to show that there had been a "golden thread" of Baptist beliefs throughout church history, and it was only on page 327 of his chronological account that Armitage reached the sixteenth-

[26] J. Sheppard, *Letters Descriptive of a Tour through Some Parts of France and Italy, Switzerland and Germany in 1816* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Waugh & Innes, 1817), p. 242.
[27] G.W. Rusling, "Anabaptists in the Jura Mountains", *BQ*. 18:8 (1960), p. 340.
[28] Jones, *The European Baptist Federation*, p. 27.
[29] J.H. Wood, *A Condensed History of the General Baptists of the New Connexion*, London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1847, pp. 71-2.
[30] E.B. Underhill, *Confessions of Faith*, Hanserd Knollys Society, printed by Haddon, Brothers & Co., 1854, p. vii.
[31] D. Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination*, New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1856, p. 91.

century Anabaptists. He had six chapters on the subject, beginning – significantly – with what he called "The Swiss Baptists".[32]

Whereas Armitage had six Anabaptist chapters, in 1897 the Canadian A.H. Newman, Professor of Church History at McMaster University in Toronto, devoted no less than eighteen of the twenty-eight chapters of his treatment of "baptists" to Anabaptist developments in different parts of mainland Europe. The title of Newman's book, *A History of Anti-Pedobaptism*, does not convey the rich historical scholarship in the area of Anabaptism that characterised this work.[33] Four years later a volume appeared which was edited by Newman, *A Century of Baptist Achievement* (1901). In this book over 40 authors, many of them well-known Baptist figures, such as B.H. Carroll and E.Y. Mullins, looked at Baptist life in different parts of the world as well as in different eras. Newman, in his own chapter "A Survey of Baptist History to 1801", portrayed Anabaptists as having "much in common with modern Baptists" and viewed the Anabaptists as a movement or movements that appealed to the masses of the people.[34]

The nineteenth century saw scholarly work by Baptists on Anabaptism advancing. In England, Benjamin Evans, minister from 1826 to 1864 of Ebenezer Baptist Chapel, Scarborough, was significant as a historian of Baptists because he succeeded in gaining the assistance in his work of Mennonite scholars. Evans had an interest in continental Europe. He trained for Baptist ministry at Horton College, Bradford (later Rawdon College), and Christine Paine notes that he forged links between Horton, Scarborough and Memel, in Prussia (now Klaipeda, in Lithuania), in order to reach out to British sailors in Memel - where a very large Baptist church was to develop.[35]

Evans was also significant as an editor with radical political views. He was editor of *The Freeman*, which was eventually to merge with the *Baptist Times*, and Evans" book, *The Early English Baptists*, grew out of articles he wrote in *The Freeman*. Part of his vision was to make Baptist history accessible. He noted that Ivimey was "remarkably heavy".[36] Samuel Müller, a Professor in the Mennonite College at Amsterdam, translated into English a number of documents from the Mennonite archives about Anabaptist-Baptist connections in Amsterdam in the early seventeenth

[32] T. Armitage, *A History of the Baptists*, New York, Bryan, Taylor, & Co., 1887, pp. 327-424.
[33] A.H. Newman, *A History of Anti-Pedobaptism*, Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897.
[34] A.H. Newman, ed., *A Century of Baptist Achievement*, Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901), p. 3.
[35] Christine Paine, "Benjamin Evans of Scarborough, 1803-1871", *BQ* 21:4 (1965), pp. 174-80.
[36] Benjamin Evans, *The Early English Baptists*, London: J. Heaton and Son, 1862, Vol. 1, p. ix.

century and sent them to Evans, who subsequently included them in his book. Evans, noting that these "valuable documents in the archives" had been placed at his disposal, expressed his gratitude: "To my friend Professor Müller, of Amsterdam, I am very, very deeply indebted. His profound scholarship and Christian courtesy excite my warmest admiration and command my esteem".[37] Because of his careful use of sources, Evans was commended as the ablest of the English Baptist historical writers of his time.[38]

Ian Sellers suggests that by the end of the nineteenth century the name "Anabaptist" was being seen by some English Baptists as interchangeable with "Baptist".[39] Although C.H. Spurgeon, the leading Victorian preacher, was a determined Baptist, when issuing a challenge in 1880 to more adventurous mission Spurgeon used the example of Menno Simons as well as Baptist figures.[40]

Fulsome praise for the Anabaptists was also evident in the USA at the end of the century. Henry C. Vedder, who was church historian at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, and who contributed to the volume edited by A.H. Newman, wrote *A Short History of the Baptists* in 1892 (reprinted 1907), and in the course of several chapters Vedder sought to highlight Anabaptist-Baptist commonalities. Virtually a whole chapter was on Hubmaier. Dealing with the Swiss Brethren, Vedder said that "they had the courage and honesty to interpret the Scriptures as Baptists today interpret them". He also spoke of the "deep piety" of the Anabaptists.[41] "The fame of Luther and Zwingi and Calvin", he argued, "would have been eclipsed by that of Grebel, Hubmaier and Denck, if the labours of the Anabaptists had been crowned with success. The true Reformation was that with which they were identified". For Vedder, with an eye to the issue of separation of church and state, it was "in America, not in Germany, that the genuine Reformation culminated".[42] Such statements sum up the feeling of religious and wider historical progress that typified the period.

Divergent Interpretations

The end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century saw, however, divergent interpretations of Anabaptism by Baptists. In 1895 a book on Anabaptism, by Richard Heath, appeared in a series published

[37] Evans, *Early English Baptists*, Vol. I, p. xiv.
[38] K.R. Short, "Benjamin Evans, DD and the Radical Press, 1826-1871", *BQ* 19:6 (1962), p. 251.
[39] I. Sellers, "Edwardians, Anabaptists and the Problem of Baptist Origins", *BQ* 29:3 (1981), p. 98.
[40] *The Sword and the Trowel*, July 1880, p. 320.
[41] Henry C. Vedder, *A Short History of the Baptists*, Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1907, p. 144
[42] Vedder, *Short History*, pp. 182-3.

under the auspices of the British Baptist Union under the editorship of George P. Gould, who from 1896 was Principal of Regent's Park College. In his book Heath paid tribute to Gould for reviewing his text and to the Baptist Union for allowing him freedom in what he wrote.[43] In words that express his convictions well, Heath wrote:

> Anabaptism is not dead; it slumbers in the heart of the Poor Man and will assuredly rise again. For the voice that proclaimed liberty of conscience in Christendom to which therefore we owe all that results there from – liberty of thought, liberty of worship, free speech and a free press – the voice that proclaimed the Common Life to be of far higher importance than the individual life, the true Community to be the divine unit rather than the individual, the family or the nation - that voice cannot be hushed in any tomb, or kept silent under the heavy stone of conventional religion.[44]

Christopher Evans noted that the American Baptist social gospel advocate, Walter Rauschenbusch, admired Heath's work, which he saw as wedding an Anabaptist ideal of the church "to the goal of creating a democratic socialist society".[45] Rauschenbusch himself made a pioneering contribution to Anabaptist scholarship.[46]

Divergent interpretations of Anabaptism by British Baptists in the early twentieth century are vividly illustrated in two books published in a series "Eras of Nonconformity". E.C. Pike wrote *The Story of the Anabaptists* in 1903 and acknowledged his debt to the "valuable book" by Richard Heath and to a volume with similar social sentiments, *The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists*, by Belfort Bax.[47] Pike was saddened that there were Baptists who 'shrank from owning the connection" with Anabaptists: it was time to 'shake off this timorousness". He welcomed new research on Anabaptism and judged that "the Anabaptists have more to gain than to lose by the fullest investigation".[48] For Pike the Anabaptists represented the aspirations of the "Common Man" and the desire for a 'spiritual Church" – the titles of two of his chapters.

The next book in the series took a markedly different approach. This was by J.H. Shakespeare, General Secretary of the Baptist Union, and was on *Baptist and Congregational Pioneers*. Shakespeare had an ecumenical vision, and Anabaptism did not fit his aspirations.

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[43] I am indebted to a paper delivered by John Briggs in 2012, to be published in a forthcoming volume of papers by the Baptist Historical Society: "Richard Heath, 1831-1912: From Suburban Baptist to Radical Discipleship, by way of Anabaptism".

[44] R. Heath, *Anabaptism* (London: Alexander and Shepheard, 1895), p.193.

[45] Christopher Evans, *The Kingdom is Always but Coming: A Life of Walter Rauschenbusch*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004, p. 155.

[46] Don E. Smucker, "Walter Rauschenbusch and Anabaptist Historiography", in G.F. Hershberger (ed.), *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision*, Scottdale, Penn.: Herald Press, 1957, p. 295.

[47] E.C. Pike, *The Story of the Anabaptists*, London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, 1904, p. x.

[48] Pike, *Anabaptists*, p. 3.

> It is entirely unhistorical and misleading", he wrote trenchantly, "to confuse the English Baptists with the Anabaptists. That there was an indebtedness no one can deny, but they were marked off by differences of origin, doctrine, social and political ideals.

Shakespeare quoted an Anglican bishop, Mandell Creighton: Anabaptists were "fanatical sects" according to Mandell – and Shakespeare.[49] Anabaptism was a 'semi-social and semi-religious movement which took its rise in Switzerland out of the death-throes of the Peasants" War".[50] Anabaptists in England, Shakespeare continued, were "an alien element; and the rise of the Baptist Churches was wholly independent of them".[51] Here was summary dismissal.

W.T. Whitley, who was the "virtual founder and for years the driving force" of the Baptist Historical Society,[52] changed his position on Anabaptist-Baptist linkage. Whitley edited the Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptists, and in 1909, in his introduction to this volume, Whitley wrote that the General Baptists were "an English outgrowth of the Continental Anabaptists". He spoke of the "constant interaction of the Dutch Anabaptists and the English, for at least half a century".[53] He later reiterated this view of Anabaptist influence on Baptist beginnings.[54]

But by 1923, in his *History of British Baptists*, he had rejected any major Anabaptist influence. He began his first major chapter with this abrupt statement: "Baptists are to be sharply distinguished from the Anabaptists of the Continent". Strangely, Whitley did not mention the Swiss Brethren. He said: "In 1526 they organized at Augsburg, and adopted the baptism of believers, disusing infant baptism".[55] At this stage Whitley saw Anabaptists in a negative light: "Thus, most held by passive resistance, many were apocalyptic and pre-millennial; many were mystics; some were pantheists; some were anti-trinitarian; some were communists". None of these views, Whitley argued, was distinctively Baptist.[56] It is also questionable whether some were distinctively Anabaptist. But for Whitley, writing in 1923, it was "inexcusable" to confound the continental Anabaptists with English Baptists. To press his point, Whitley quoted

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[49] J.H. Shakespeare, *Baptist and Congregational Pioneers*, London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, 1906, p. 15.
[50] Shakespeare, *Pioneers*, p. 17.
[51] Shakespeare, *Pioneers*, p. 17.
[52] Minutes of Baptist Historical Society Annual Meeting, 29 April 1948, cited by Faith Bowers, "History of the Baptist Historical Society, Part 1: 1908–1965", *BQ* 42:5 (2008), p. 326.
[53] W.T. Whitley, ed., *Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England*, London: Kingsgate Press, 1909, Vol. I, pp. ix, xi.
[54] Ian Sellers, "W.T. Whitley: A Commemorative Essay", *BQ* 37:4 (1977), p. 163.
[55] Whitley, *History of British Baptists*, London: Charles Griffin and Co., 1923, p. 17.
[56] Whitley, *History*, p. 17.

Bullinger, who alleged that all the Anabaptists "protested against the doctrine of Justification by faith alone".[57]

There were trends, which Ian Sellers probes, in historical research and in Baptist self-understanding in the early twentieth century that meant more and more Baptist apologists were anxious to repudiate the Anabaptist heritage, in marked contrast to an earlier era when they had been keen to avow it. This amounted, Sellers argues, "to a revolution not just in Baptist historiography but in their whole attitude to their past".[58]

The scholarly contribution of Champlin Burrage was significant in this process. Champlin was the son of Henry S. Burrage, an American Baptist who in 1882 had published a study of Swiss Anabaptism.[59] In his *Early English Dissenters*, published in 1912, Champlin Burrage referred back to the work of W.H. Whitsitt, who was Professor of Church History at the Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, from 1872 to 1895, and President from 1895 to 1899. Whitsett had cast doubt on Anabaptist-Baptist links as well as the "golden thread" of Baptist life through the centuries (as espoused in Baptist "Landmark" thinking in the USA) and argued in the later 1890s that English Baptists only began to practise total immersion as late as 1641. Burrage commented that this stance "defied Baptist tradition, and it has been thought that Dr Whitsett indirectly through its publication lost his position [as President]". Historical investigation, Burrage stated, had "abundantly justified the most of his [Whitsett's] contentions".[60]

Although pronouncements such as Whitley's in 1925, that "English Baptists have no kind of continuity with English Anabaptists or with foreign Anabaptists",[61] might suggest a united Baptist historical perspective – and indeed Sellers talks of "virtual unanimity"[62] – there was variety. One important study of Anabaptism came from R.J. Smithson, a Baptist minister in Scotland who had a PhD from the University of Glasgow. Archibald Main, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Glasgow University, welcomed Smithson's "fresh contribution".[63] Significant praise for Smithson came later, in *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision* (1957). In this largely-Mennonite volume Guy F. Hershberger and Franklin H. Littell

[57] Whitley, *History*, p. 18.
[58] Sellers, "Edwardians", p. 99.
[59] H.S. Burrage, *A History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland*, Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1882.
[60] Champlin Burrage, *Early English Dissenters*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912, p. 16.
[61] See W.T. Whitley and A.J.D. Farrer, "Continental Anabaptists and Early English Baptists", *BQ* 2:1 (1924), pp. 24-30.
[62] Sellers, "Edwardians", p. 99.
[63] R.J. Smithson, *The Anabaptists: Their Contribution to our Protestant Heritage*, London: James Clarke & Co., 1935, p. 7. I am indebted to Dr Derek Murray for recommending this volume to me.

commended Smithson's work, seeing him as "author of one of the few reasonably adequate books on the [Anabaptist] movement".[64]

Smithson was indebted to Whitley, was in touch with the Mennonite historian, John Horsch, and utilised the work of Philip Shaff, who noted that Anabaptists produced some of the earliest Protestant hymns in German.[65] Smithson suggested an amendment to Shaff's description of the radical reformers as a "protest against Protestantism": for him they were a "protest against an uncompleted Protestantism" and what they wanted was an "unreserved return to the spirit and practice of primitive Christianity".[66] Anabaptists "held that the Church depicted in the New Testament is a community of believers who have been regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and that baptism is the symbol and seal of the faith of the regenerated".[67] Smithson was critical of some interpretations in Bax and Heath.[68] For Smithson the essential elements of Anabaptism were spiritual and ecclesiological, and were "clearly reflected in the highest ideals of Baptists of our own time".[69]

The Anabaptist Vision

Prevailing perceptions changed again in the 1940s. In North America, an address on "The Anabaptist Vision" delivered on 28 December 1943 by the American Mennonite historian, Harold S. Bender, was to prove a milestone in Anabaptist studies. The address was published in *Church History*.[70] It was also published in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* (which Bender had himself co-launched in 1927) and subsequently as a pamphlet. Bender's argument – which was not new, as we have seen - was that Anabaptism was "the culmination of the Reformation, the fulfilment of the original vision of Luther and Calvin", and that far from being a lunatic fringe sixteenth-century Anabaptists, or more particularly the Swiss Brethren, represented "consistent evangelical Protestantism".[71]

One of those following the discussions in the 1940s was Ernest Payne, a historian who from 1951 to 1967 was General Secretary of the British Baptist Union. In 1947 Payne published a booklet, *The Baptist*

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[64] G.F. Hershberger, "Introduction" and Franklin H. Littell, "The Anabaptist Concept of the Church", in Hershberger, ed., *Recovery*, pp. 7 and 119.
[65] Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church: Modern Christianity: The Swiss Reformation*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1910, Vol. VIII, p. 80.
[66] Smithson, *Anabaptists*, pp. 12-13.
[67] Smithson, *Anabaptists*, pp. 14-15.
[68] Smithson, *Anabaptists*, p. 205.
[69] Smithson, *Anabaptists*, p. 208. He suggests a very close connection in terms of similarities of views between the Anabaptist and the later Christian Brethren. He notes shared views of church life, the place of scripture, the leading of the Spirit, separatism, the place of lay people in ministry and the Second Advent. Smithson, *Anabaptists*, pp. 210-13.
[70] Harold S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision", *Church History* 13 (1944), pp. 3-24.
[71] Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision", p. 9.

Movement in the Reformation and Onwards, which showed a sympathetic understanding of the development of the various sections of Anabaptism.[72] Two years later he published *The Anabaptists of the 16th Century and their Influence in the Modern World*, which gave evidence of an intimate knowledge of Anabaptist studies, both in German and English.[73]

Morris West, Ernest Payne's biographer, spoke of Payne's "great interest in the radical Anabaptist Movement",[74] and his interest in the radicals came to the attention of readers of the *Baptist Quarterly*, of which Payne became editor in 1946. Others also contributed to ongoing historical reflection from their own perspectives. In 1947, A.C. Underwood, Principal of Rawdon College, published his *History of the English Baptists*. His indebtedness to W.T. Whitley, he said, was "beyond computation".[75] Underwood's understanding of Anabaptism was that the

> fundamental principle which governed the Anabaptist Movement was that of the immediate and direct accountability of God to each individual. Between God and the individual soul they recognized no mediator save Jesus Christ. This principle determined all their views, religious, social, and political.[76]

This did not, however, take sufficient account of the corporate nature of Anabaptist life. Three years after Underwood's work came what would be a widely-read volume from America, R.G. Torbet's *History of the Baptists*. Torbet set out the thinking of those who espoused the "Anabaptist spiritual kinship theory", as he called it. Then he referred to those who took the view that English Baptists came from English Separatists.[77] There was an increasing awareness that each view had substantial advocates.

In 1953 Winthrop S. Hudson, who was President of the American Baptist Historical Society and Professor at Colgate Divinity School, Rochester, USA, argued that "the Baptists and the Anabaptists represent two diverse and quite dissimilar Christian traditions". He saw Anabaptists as part of the Erasmian movement, speaking of the activities of "a few university-trained humanists".[78] Hudson took his argument to the pages of the *Baptist Quarterly* in 1956, marshalling a number of arguments to seek

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[72] E.A. Payne, *The Baptist Movement in the Reformation and Onwards*, London: Kingsgate Press, 1947. Payne was at that time Senior Tutor at Regent's Park College, Oxford.
[73] E.A. Payne, *The Anabaptists of the 16th Century and their Influence in the Modern World*, London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1949, pp. 22-3.
[74] W.M. S. West, *To be a Pilgrim: A Memoir of Ernest A. Payne*, Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1983, p. 66.
[75] A.C. Underwood, *A History of the English Baptists*, London: Kingsgate Press, 1947, p. 9.
[76] Underwood, *History*, p. 21.
[77] R.G. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists*, Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1950, p. 60.
[78] Winthrop S. Hudson, "Baptists Were Not Anabaptists", *The Chronicle*, October 1953, pp. 171- 79.

to show that "Baptists are to be identified with the English Congregationalists rather than the Anabaptists".[79]

Unsurprisingly, Ernest Payne soon replied, suggesting that Winthrop's article seemed like "a singular attempt to survey a varied landscape with the telescope fixed firmly towards one part only of the terrain or else to an eye that is closed". Payne was clear that no responsible historian confused Anabaptists with Baptists, but Payne argued that Hudson's analysis was inadequate on several grounds: he did not take account of the complexity of Anabaptism, he played down the influence on John Smyth and Thomas Helwys of the Dutch Mennonites, and he paid little attention to the General Baptists. Payne concluded: "The religious life of the seventeenth century was like a tumultuous sea, blown upon by winds from every direction. That one strong current of air came from the Anabaptist movement of the previous century I am convinced".[80]

Whereas Payne was critical of Hudson, he was appreciative of a fellow-Baptist in Europe, Gunnar Westin, Professor of Church History at Uppsala University, Sweden, and was pleased to have Westin's support in the continued debate with Hudson in the pages of the *Baptist Quarterly* in 1957.[81] In 1954 Westin, a prolific author, produced a substantial book on Free Church history. It was first published in Swedish, with a German translation in 1956 and an English translation in 1958. One-third of the 360 pages of text in the English edition dealt with the sixteenth-century Anabaptists and their successors, principally the Mennonites and Hutterites.[82] Westin had a long tenure at Uppsala - he became a teacher of church history at the University in 1930 and a Professor in 1937.

The interest Payne took in Westin's work was part of his wider commitment to European developments, both historical and contemporary, a vision that was to be taken up by Keith Jones. Payne offered an enthusiastic foreword to a book by Irwin Barnes, a British Baptist minister who became active in the Conference of European Churches. Payne hoped the book would help to make the "thrilling story of Baptist witness on the Continent" more widely known.[83] Significantly, Barnes" title, *Truth is Immortal*, was a translation of Hubmaier's motto, and although the book concentrated on Baptist life across mainland Europe from the nineteenth

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[79] W.S. Hudson, "Who were the Baptists?", *BQ* 16:7 (1956), p. 305. I have written about "Baptist-Anabaptist Identity among European Baptists" in J.H.Y. Briggs and A.R Cross (eds.), *Baptists and the World: Renewing the Vision* (Oxford: Centre for Baptist History and Heritage, 2011), pp. 133-51.
[80] E.A. Payne, "Who were the Baptists?", *BQ* 16:8 (1956), p. 342.
[81] Gunnar Westin, "Who were the Baptists?", *BQ* 7:2 (1957), pp. 55-60.
[82] Gunner Westin, *The Free Church through the Ages*, Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1958 [translated from the 3rd Swedish edn, 1955, by Virgil A. Olson].
[83] Irwin Barnes, *Truth is Immortal: The Story of Baptists in Europe*, London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1955, p. 7.

century, Payne pointedly spoke of Baptist witness 'since the days of Hubmaier and the Swiss brethren".[84]

Important work on Hubmaier was done by Torsten Bergsten from Sweden, who joined Gunnar Westin at Uppsala as his assistant. Bergsten's doctoral dissertation, presented to the University of Uppsala, was on Hubmaier, looking at his position in regard to the Reformation and the Anabaptist movement, and in 1961 this was published as an impressive 550 page book (produced by Oncken Press). The book was later translated (utilizing work by Irwin Barnes) by W.R. Estep, Professor of Church History at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.[85] From its initial publication in German, this was seen as a landmark in Anabaptist studies.

Baptists in Europe were placing particular emphasis on Hubmaier as one of the shapers of their spiritual tradition. Debate was continuing, however, about the indebtedness of early Baptists to Mennonites, with Glen Stassen, who was then a PhD student at Duke University, North Carolina, and who would contribute to Baptist scholarship in Europe, arguing in 1962 in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for the influence of Menno Simons on the Particular Baptists in England.[86] Two years later a conference of "baptizer" theologians (the description used) was convened in Amsterdam. This was held under the joint sponsorship of the Dutch Baptist Theological Seminary and the Mennonite Theological Seminary. Speakers included W.R. Estep, J.A. Oosterbann of the University of Amsterdam and the Mennonite Seminary, John Howard Yoder from the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries, Indiana, and Dale Moody, of the Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville.[87] Interest in studies involving Baptists and Mennonites, and in an Anabaptist vision, would continue to engage Baptists over the succeeding decades.

Ideas have wings

As noted, W.T. Whitley had been the prime mover in the formation of the Baptist Historical Society in 1908. To celebrate the Society's diamond jubilee, a Summer School was held at Spurgeon's College in 1968. Payne, who was President of the Society from 1960 to 1980, presided at most sessions. Speakers included B.R. White, a lecturer and later Principal of Regent's Park College, Oxford. Of the forty-three people present, most

[84] Barnes, *Truth is Immortal*, p. 7.
[85] Torsten Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier: Anabaptist Theologian and Martyr* (trans. I.J. Barnes and W.R. Estep; ed. W.R. Estep) Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1978.
[86] G.H. Stassen, "Anabaptist Influence in the Origin of the Particular Baptists", *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 36:4 (1962), pp. 322-48.
[87] European Baptist Press Service Report, 2 June 1964, Box 2. Held at the International Baptist Theological Seminary.

were from England, but two were from Northern Ireland, and one each came from Norway, Switzerland and the USA.[88] In a lecture which Payne gave (the second Henton Lecture), he itemized a number of areas for study in the future. He placed the study of the "Anabaptist connection" first in the list.[89]

However, the view that there was little or no significant connection was to gain ground among British Baptists in the 1970s. B.R. White, who was to emerge as the leading British Baptist historian of the period, took the view that the Free Churches were a product of English Puritanism and contended that in any consideration of the sources of Separatist, including Baptist, views in England "the onus of proof lies upon those who would affirm that the European Anabaptists had any measurable influence upon the shaping of English Separatism".[90]

However, other views were being heard in mainland Europe. A significant step was taken at the Baptist Theological Seminary in Rüschlikon, Switzerland, in 1979, when Wayne (later Walker) Pipkin was appointed as Associate Professor of Church History. Pipkin was to take the study of the Anabaptists, and in particular of Hubmaier, further than any of his predecessors at the Baptist Theological Seminary. In 1982 the Seminary approved the creation of the Institute for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies, with Pipkin as Director. Tribute was paid in 1982 to Gunnar Westin who had "inspired us to promote Baptist and Anabaptist studies at Rüschlikon".

Wayne Pipkin stated his expectation that the programmes of study would "enrich Baptists and Anabaptist studies on campus and off" and that the Institute would serve as "one means for enhancing the understanding as to what the particular witness of Baptists can and should be."[91] The most significant task to which Pipkin had committed himself by early 1983 was to cooperate with John Howard Yoder, who from 1977 had been on the faculty of the University of Notre Dame, USA, in editing an English translation of the works of Hubmaier. This work, which was in the series "The Classics of the Radical Reformation", was published in 1989 as *Balthasar Hubmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism*.[92]

The mid-1980s saw a flurry of renewed interest, especially in Britain and America, in the question of the extent to which the emergence of

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[88] Bowers, "Centenary History of the Baptist Historical Society: Part 2. 1966–2008", *BQ* 42:6 (2008), p. 389.
[89] E.A. Payne, "History: Too Much or Too Little", *BQ* 22:8 (1968), p. 393.
[90] B.R. White, *The English Separatist Tradition: From the Marian Martyrs to the Pilgrim Fathers*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 164.
[91] European Baptist Press Service Reports, 26 April 1982; 27 September 1982, Box 9. Held at IBTS.
[92] H. Wayne Pipkin and John H. Yoder (trans. and eds.), *Balthasar Hubmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism*, Classics of the Reformation; Scottdale, PA/Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1989.

Baptist life in Amsterdam and then in England in the early seventeenth century was influenced by Dutch Anabaptist thinking. Differing views were expressed in articles in the *Baptist Quarterly* in 1984–85, including comment by B.R. White, then President of the Baptist Historical Society.[93] In the 1980s, in a separate development, *The Radical Kingdom*, by Nigel Wright (later Principal of Spurgeon's College, London), was to introduce Anabaptist ideas to a wider evangelical/charismatic audience.[94] Among other advocates of Anabaptist thinking in this period was Stuart Murray, who was subsequently to examine Anabaptist hermeneutics for his PhD, and who in 1992 became a tutor at Spurgeon's College.[95]

While these developments were taking place in the British context, a new proposal about Baptist identity was being put forward at Rüschlikon. The occasion was an extended visit to the Baptist Theological Seminary in 1985 by James W. McClendon, Jr, of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific in Berkeley California. Pipkin and McClendon were friends. In an address on "The Baptist Vision", which had become a theme of his,[96] McClendon proposed that Baptists should be seen as part of a distinctive "type", with "a certain understanding of the gospel and the Christian life". He commended the terminology "baptist with a small b".[97]

McClendon was also significant for the Anabaptist Network, which was formed in 1992. Emerging out of this network an Anabaptist Theological Study Circle was started in England, which drew together about fifteen people who participated in a number of discussions in the period 1996 to 1999. The co-chairs were Keith Jones, who was then Deputy General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, and Alan Kreider, who had recently moved to Regent's Park College, Oxford, from Northern Baptist College, Manchester. At the second meeting, in June 1996, Brian Haymes, then Principal of Bristol Baptist College, gave an introduction to the thought of McClendon and the rest of the Study Circle sessions on that occasion were devoted to responses to McClendon.[98]

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[93] See D. Shantz, "The Place of the Resurrected Christ in the Writings of John Smyth", *BQ* 30:5 (1984), pp. 199-203; J.R. Coggins, "The Theological Positions of John Smyth", *BQ* 30:6 (1984), pp. 247-64; S. Brachlow, "John Smyth and the Ghost of Anabaptism", *BQ* 30:7 (1984), pp. 296-300; B.R. White, "The English Separatists and John Smyth Revisited", *BQ* 30:8 (1984), pp. 344-47; S. Brachlow, "Puritan Theology and General Baptist Origins", *BQ* 31:4 (1985), pp. 179-94.

[94] Nigel Wright, *The Radical Kingdom: Restoration in Theory and Practice*, Eastbourne: Kingsway Publications, 1986.

[95] Stuart Murray's PhD was published as *Biblical Interpretation in the Anabaptist Tradition*, Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 2000.

[96] See J.W. McClendon, "What is a "baptist" Theology?", *American Baptist Quarterly* 1.1 (1982), pp. 16-39.

[97] European Baptist Press Service Report, 30 April 1985; James W. McClendon, Jr, "The baptist Vision". I am grateful to my colleague Dr Parush Parushev at IBTS for supplying me with this manuscript. It is the address which McClendon gave at Rüschlikon in 1985.

[98] Anabaptist Theological Study Circle Programme, 17–18 June 1996.

In this period the Baptist Theological Seminary moved from Rüschlikon to Prague, Czech Republic, and "Hughey Lectures" (named after a former President at Rüschlikon and church historian, J.D. Hughey), which had been envisaged by Wayne Pipkin, took place. When Keith Jones was appointed Rector of the International Baptist Theological Seminary (as it was now called) in Prague, this was highly significant for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies since Keith was an active member of the Baptist Historical Society as well as the Anabaptist Network. It was at this stage that Keith wrote *A Believing Church*, and in it he drew from the thinking of Ernest Payne. As he had reflected in the 1940s on the relevance of Anabaptism, Payne had argued that ideas generated in particular places and periods could be sources of spiritual potency in other countries and centuries: "Ideas have wings as well as legs."[99] Keith noted that with electronic communication it was abundantly evident that "ideas have wings".[100]

During the fifteen years in which Keith was Rector of the Seminary in Prague, Anabaptist and Baptist studies flourished. There has been a steady flow of students specialising in these areas and achieving Master's degrees and PhDs. Significant historical and theological conferences and lectures have been held. A number of the Hughey lecturers have taken up Anabaptist themes. Ruth Gouldbourne, a lecturer at Bristol Baptist College and then minister of Bloomsbury Baptist Church, London, lectured in 1998 on "Ecclesiology and Gender: Radical Reformation, Baptist Beginnings, and Baptists Today". In 2004 Andrea Strübind, from Münich, took the subject "Exploring the Anabaptist Tradition". In 2006, very fittingly, the Hughey Lecturer was Dr Pipkin, on "The Life Story, Reforming Work and Contributions of Dr Balthasar Hubmaier (ca. 1480–1528)". Others lecturers have looked at Baptist themes, such as Professor David Bebbington, from Stirling University, Peter Morden from Spurgeon's College, and Professor Henk Bakker, Vrije University, Amsterdam.

Conferences and theses have resulted in numerous publications. But Keith has never been content with words, and in various ways he has taken seriously the Anabaptist "insistence that truth must be more than words". For example, in the years in which I lived and worked at IBTS the weekly community celebration of the Eucharist was always a highlight. Keith never tired of reminding us that we gathered around the Table in a simple way, reminiscent of the Anabaptists, and that we were drinking wine from vineyards in the area of Moravia which saw the ministry of Hubmaier, and

[99] See Payne, *Anabaptists of the 16th Century*, p. 19
[100] Jones, *A Believing Church*, p. 3.

where the Anabaptist restored the vineyards. This 'shared meal", as Keith called it, provided a potent connection with a powerful spiritual tradition.[101]

Conclusion

In this essay I have traced some of the approaches to Anabaptism among Baptists from the seventeenth century up to the present time. Although I have had to select the authors covered, this study is representative of the main tendencies that have been present. Debates have taken place, and no doubt will continue to take place, over the indebtedness of the early Baptists to the Anabaptists. David Bebbington has provided perspectives on the arguments in his *Baptists through the Centuries: A History of a Global People* (2010).[102]

What is evident is that many Baptists have found spiritual inspiration from the stories of the Anabaptists. Ivimey, in his history of the Baptists, wrote that it seemed the epithet "Anabaptist" was applied to all those seeking "a reformation in the church and state", and he likened it to the way "Methodist" was applied "to all who are zealous for promoting evangelical principles".[103] Ernest Payne's deepest concern was not to make a point about Anabaptist–Baptist linkage, but rather, as he put it, to seek "the recovery of something of [the Anabaptist] spirit".[104]

Through an examination of the features of Anabaptist life witness, Baptists have also been challenged to look again at their understanding of their community life. Keith Jones argued in *A Believing Church* that

> there is much of value in the passion, vision and commitment of the radical reformers. To ignore it is to miss out on exciting possibilities for contemporary Christian believing. The Anabaptists, for all their differences, represented in their day a serious attempt to come to terms with the message of the Scriptures understood particularly from a Christocentric perspective, and with an accent upon a gathering church committed to development a lifestyle and mission which engaged with the surrounding world.[105]

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[101] Keith Jones, *A Shared Meal and a Common Table: Some reflections on the Lord's Supper and Baptists*. The 1999 Whitley Lecture, published 2000.
[102] D.W. Bebbington, *Baptists through the Centuries: A History of a Global People*, Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2010, pp. 25-41.
[103] Ivimey, *History*, Vol. I, p. 83
[104] Payne, *Anabaptists of the 16th Century*, p. 21.
[105] Jones, *A Believing Church*, p. 54.

Gathered, Gathering, Porous
Reflections on the nature of baptistic community

Parush R. Parushev

Introduction

This paper is intended as an academic tribute to the ministry and scholarly contributions of the Revd Dr Keith Jones on the occasion of his early retirement from active service to the European and world-wide Baptist family as the longest serving Rector of IBTS and the last to serve on the campus in Prague. I first met him in person some thirteen years ago. My first impression was that I could not think of a human character more different from mine than his. The appearance was deceptive.

Those who have been around with us at IBTS on the journey of the last dozen years will testify that IBTS is a tight community and human characters are very quickly discerned and revealed. Through challenging times and moments of festivity, my appreciation for Keith as a person with integrity, passion and care for students, for colleagues and for the institution grew exponentially. With the years it turned into a strong bond of trust, loyalty and shared vision with a colleague and a friend who I profoundly respect. It did not take too long to realise that theologically we were very close.

Keith considers himself a historian and deservedly so. He has left his imprint on Baptist historiography. In my judgment, however, it would be unfair to pigeonhole him within the confines of one discipline. During his tenure as Rector, IBTS has become an established and respected centre of academic study and research. In the course of countless formal presentations, informal discussions and friendly chats it has become clear to me that the scope of his scholarship is much wider. He is equally at home in issues of Baptist identity and ecclesiology, matters of worship and practice of ministry through to questions of practice of ecumenism, theology of leadership and care for the creation.

Keith is not an education-bureaucrat or an ivory-tower academician. For him theology matters as long as it serves the real life of people and the communities of faith. I have learned immensely from Keith and internalised some of his insights to the extent that I cannot distinguish his thought from my own. If I have to single out one of his original ideas, which has left a lasting mark on my own thinking, this would be his understanding of a Baptist congregation as a gathering, intentional,

convictional and porous *koinonia*.[1] I found this adjectival 'quadrilateral' a particularly helpful conceptualisation in addressing the balance of centrifugal and centripetal forces at work in the formation of communities of faith as well as in their relation with each other and with the power structures outside the believing community.

In this paper I will first reflect on the nature of character forming and transforming community of faith. Next I will review Jones' vision of gathering, intentional, convictional and porous baptistic community. Finally I will evaluate the practicality of his vision and the typology of communities of a sort he is suggesting by putting his thought next to the ecclesiological reflections of Fernando Enns.

1. Baptistic communities as convictional communities

One major academic undertaking of IBTS in the recent years has been the mapping of the historic, ecclesiological, theological and missiological features of the identity profile of the wide variety of European Baptist communities, East and West.[2] At the heart of this research work was a focused enquiry into what constitutes a community of radical Christian faith. Building on the work of James Wm. McClendon,[3] we came to designate this type of fellowship of believers as a baptistic community:

> By 'baptistic' [communities] is meant those of the Free Church and believers' baptism tradition. This term is used as an umbrella term for a variety of believing communities ('gathering' churches) practising believers' baptism, and demanding radical moral living, such as Baptists or Pentecostals. It can also include a number of other groups in the regions, such as Adventists and [Mennonite] Brethren. (There is an overlap with the use of the term 'Evangelical' in the Central and Eastern European contexts – sometimes in denominational names). It excludes churches in which members think in terms of ethnicity or geographical and political boundaries

[1] On the complex nature of the concept and on its trinitarian formulation, see Fernando Enns, *The Peace Church and the Ecumenical Community: Ecclesiology and Ethics of Nonviolence*, trans. from German by Helmut Harder in Studies in the Believers Church Tradition Series (Kitchener, ONT: Pandora Press – Geneva: WCC, 2007), *passim*, particularly pp. 31-57 and pp. 231-36. Fernando Enns is one of the leading contemporary Mennonite scholars, currently with the University of Hamburg and Free University in Amsterdam.

[2] Some of those findings have been published by in the IBTS Occasional Publications Series and have been an object of research by many IBTS research Master and doctoral students, the results of which are available in IBTS Library. With Keith Jones' active participation and enthusiasm, summary results of this extended research work has been printed: see, e.g., Keith G. Jones and Parush R. Parushev (eds.), *Currents in Baptistic Theology of Worship Today*, (Prague: IBTS, 2007), Keith G. Jones and Ian M. Randall (eds.). *Counter-cultural Communities: Baptistic life in twentieth-century Europe* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster – Prague: IBTS, 2008); John Briggs (Gen. ed.), *A Dictionary of European Baptist Life and Thought*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009); Ian M. Randall, *Communities of Convictions: Baptist Beginnings in Europe*, Schwarzenfeld: Neufeld Verlag, 2009) and others.

[3] See his *Systematic Theology: Ethics, volume I*, reprinted (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012; originally published in 1986 by Abingdon Press in Nashville, revised 2002), p. 9, for the use of the term 'baptist' with a small 'b' for the Churches of the Radical Reformation.

and in which people typically baptise their children into these ethno-geo-religio-identities. That is, 'baptistic' excludes traditionally state sponsored ecclesial bodies.[4]

Community is an essentially contested concept. In contemporary public discourses it is used in a variety of ways that renders the term practically useless unless properly qualified. Elsewhere[5] I have argued that there are different attempts to define the content of the notion of "community". Some communities are rather 'thin', narrowly focused on a particular interest and shared affinities. Thinness undervalues the visionary and inspirational or, one may say faith-based, dimension of community formation and the convictional bond of the members of the community that are stronger than mere shared affinities. The bond of belonging and solidarity among members of a community is nurtured by 'thick'[6] communities of story-formed and shared convictions centred on a particular vision.

When thought of in a positive light 'thick' community is "a community of care"[7] and "observed life".[8] It is character forming and transforming. Members interact in a variety of practices and in doing so

[4] Rollin G. Grams and Parush R. Parushev (eds.), *Towards an Understanding of European Baptist Identity: Listening to the Churches in Armenia, Bulgaria, Central Asia, Moldova, North Caucasus, Omsk and Poland*, Prague: IBTS, 2006), p. 10. Cf. Lina Andronovienė and Parush R. Parushev, "Church, State, and Culture: On the Complexities of Post-soviet Evangelical Social Involvement," *Theological Reflections*, EAAA Journal of Theology 3 (2004), pp. 174-227; Wesley Brown, Rollin Grams, Keith Jones, Parush Parushev and Peter Penner "Towards a 'baptistic' Contextual Theology," in Grams and Parushev (eds.), *Towards an Understanding*, pp. 175-81; and Parush R. Parushev, "Baptistic Convictional Hermeneutics," in Helen Dare and Simon Woodman (eds.), *The Plainly Revealed Word of God? Baptist Hermeneutics in Theory and Practice* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2011), pp. 172-190.

[5] Parush Parushev, "Convictions and the Shape of Moral Reasoning", in Parush R. Parushev, Ovidiu Creangă, Brian Brock (eds.), *Ethical Thinking at the Crossroads of European Reasoning*, IBTS Occasional Publications Series, volume 7 (Prague: IBTS, 2007), pp. 27-45.

[6] 'Thin' community is a virtue (or vice) excelling community. It is held together by a limited range of specific interest (e.g. a community of musicians or of academic theologians). 'Thick' communities are story-formed through shared life and communal language within a particular social reality. They are 'communities of solidarity, resistance, and fellowship,' (Terrence W. Tilley, *Postmodern Theologies: The Challenge of Religious Diversity* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1995), p. 151. Originally I introduced the distinction of 'thin' and 'thick' communities for the purpose of defining primary and secondary levels of theologising in a paper "Theology for the Church: A Convictional Perspective on a Community's Theological Discourse" delivered at IBTS Directors' Conference "The Dynamics of Primary and Secondary Theologies in Baptistic Communities", 24-28 August 2004, in Prague, unpublished manuscript. The distinction was further refined in Parush R. Parushev, "Theologie op een baptistenmanier [Doing Theology in a Baptist Way]," in Teun van der Leer (ed.), *Zo zijn onze manieren! In Gesprek over gemeentetheologie*, Barneveld, Nederland: Unie van Baptisten Gemeenten in Nederland, September 2009, in Dutch, pp.7-22, 66-75, here p.7 and Parushev, "Baptistic Convictional Hermeneutics," pp.184-187. Thick and thin communities necessarily overlap. A fragmented society lacks a network of overlapping communities and creates exclusive enclaves. These notions have been used and extended further by Nigel G Wright in his *Free Church, Free State: The Positive Baptist Vision* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2005), p.256, p.280, and Einike Pilli in her doctoral work *Terviklik Elukestva Õppe Kontseptsioon Eesti Protestantlike Koguduste Kontekstis* (A Holistic Concept of Life-Long Learning in the Context of the Estonian Protestant Church), Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2005, pp. 29-30.

[7] McClendon, *Ethics*, p. 77 and Part II, *passim.*

[8] Wright, *Free Church, Free State*, p. 65.

they build a corporate identity and develop a convictional matrix of meaning. Community formation and transformation call for a common understanding – a shared hermeneutical perspective, and mission, for a lived out vision, for discipleship with care and discipline of watching-over one another's lives not without tension. Negatively thickness may imply homogeneity and a sharp boundary between insiders and outsiders. This negative side of communal living is a worry that has to be addressed.[9] The notion of 'thin' and 'thick' in relation to communities need not to be seen in conflict. As the historian of culture, Peter Burke, observes, "individuals can and usually do belong to a number of different communities: local and national, religious, occupational and so on. Some of these communities are in competition, or even in conflict, for the loyalty of [an] individual".[10]

In this understanding, baptistic communities are 'thick' communities, guided in a unique way by a baptistic vision of the Kingdom of God[11] revealed in and through Christ, endorsed by him and passed on to his earliest disciples, and the Kingdom yet to be fully revealed at the *parusia.* Building on McClendon's work, I have argued elsewhere,[12] baptistic communities have a distinct communal interpretative pattern,[13] being guided by a particular hermeneutical perspective and rooted in a convictional reading of biblical story with strong emphasis on the significance of the Kingdom vision for Christian moral living now. It is important to realize also that for these communities this vision is necessary and sufficient for a way or "*the* way—of Christian existence".[14] Furthermore,

> It shows 'how a people's identity is construed by means of narratives that while historically set in another time and place nevertheless display redemptive power in the present time.'[15] This identity can be properly defined as a baptistic or congregational way … of living as a Christian community with an open Bible, ready to follow God 'wherever the Holy Spirit leads them.'[16] The baptistic vision works to keep the community centred not on the story alone, but on Christian discipleship in

[9] For a strong critique of homogeneous communitarianism allegedly following from the philosophical work of Alasdair MacIntyre, see Susan Moller Okin, *Justice, Gender, and Family*, New York: Basic Books, 1989, pp. 42, 44, 51-60.
[10] *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 6.
[11] On different Christian patterns of appropriating biblical story, see Parush R. Parushev, *Christianity in Europe: The way we are now* with a response by Vija Herefoss, Crowther Centre Monographs Series 9 Oxford: Church Missionary Society, 2009.
[12] Parushev, "Baptistic Convictional Hermeneutics," pp.185-190; cf. McClendon, *Ethics*, pp.26-34.
[13] For an extended discussion on convictional communal hermeneutics of baptistic kind of communities, specifically among Mennonite Brethren, see Douglas Heidebrecht, "Contextualizing Community Hermeneutics: Mennonite Brethren and Women in Church Leadership," Ph.D. Dissertation, IBTS – University of Wales, 2013.
[14] McClendon, *Ethics*, p.33; McClendon's italics.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] James Leo Garett, Jr, *We Baptists*, Franklin, Tennessee: Providence House Publishers, 1999, p. 3.

the world as a people whose lives are to reflect the life of those called to embody the Jesus way.[17]

The key identity question is: What will contribute to the formation of a baptistic community of convictions – a character forming and transforming community, without the negative liabilities of 'thickness' both in the sense of self-centred sectarianism and obtuse narrow mindedness? A 'thick' community is the one where sets of interrelated convictions are formed, cohered, affirmed or challenged in respect to the community's shared vision.

Keith Jones has been instrumental in providing the ecclesiological content of the descriptive definition of baptistic community provided earlier. In his doctoral work,[18] in a series of published essays[19] and lectures[20] he has worked his way through finding the essential characteristics of a baptistic *koinonia*, which is character forming yet without legalism, transforming without manipulation, robust but not sectarian, firm in its convictions and yet welcoming. In the next section I will review the development of Jones' thought of how to account for the complex dynamics of formative, competing and switching loyalties in allying oneself with a convictional community of faith without compulsion.

2. Gathered, gathering and porous: a vision for an intentional convictional community

Jones starts laying down his vision by affirming the orthodox belief that Christian *ekklesia* is both human and divine reality – both visible and spiritual, where a person meets with God and others in worship and serves God and others in mission. He looks next at the story recorded in the Christian Scriptures which gives firm evidence that "the first communities of those who were disciples of, and witnesses to, Jesus, cohered around a

[17] Parushev, "Theologie op een baptistenmanier," p.7.

[18] Published as *The European Baptist Federation: A Case study in European Baptist interdependency 1950-2006*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009.

[19] See his book *A Believing Church: Learning from Some Contemporary Anabaptist and Baptist Perspectives*, Didcot: The Baptist Union of Great Britain, 1998; and his essays "Towards a Model of Mission for Gathering, Intentional, Convictional Koinonia," *Journal of European Baptist Studies* (*JEBS*) 4:2 (2004), pp. 5-13; "On Abandoning Public Worship," in Jones and Parushev (eds.), *Currents in a Baptistic Theology of Worship Today*, pp. 7-23.

[20] At IBTS, Jones initiated an annual lecture course on "Baptist Identity" for the undergraduate "Certificate of Applied Theology" Programme and a two-year cycle of post-graduate workshops for master's and doctoral students to present views and discuss issues related to Baptist identity. Both the course and the seminar series are taught and delivered collectively by the IBTS academic team. Jones had it as one of his missions in life to stimulate the academic rigour of younger colleagues by "getting Baptists to think in a deeper and fuller sense about some of the core values we might hold together and to explore the theological depth of these issues in a more satisfactory way." (See Keith G. Jones, "Do Baptists believe in baptism? An initial exploration of the theology of baptism," unpublished manuscript available upon request through Keith Jones.)

Christo-centred affirmation that 'Jesus is Lord'".[21] The Lordship of Jesus Christ was their "presiding conviction."[22]

These communities were of different size and had different patterns of meeting; "but essentially they were communities of believers operating within a domestic, rather than public" context.[23] This pattern has been tested historically and affirmed by different contemporary expressions of a particular type of being people of God.[24] These baptistic types of communities were first and foremost discipling communities gathered to worship God whom they knew in Christ, to follow his Way and to grow in the likeness of him. Thus, Jones argues for "the primacy of worship within the believing community."[25] According to him these were also dynamic and open communities. There were 'gathering' – open to the Holy Spirit to lead them in unexpected ways, and "porous at the edges as people came in touch with them and wanted to know more about the Christ" whom they worshipped.[26]

These may appear self-evident and inconsequential observations. For Jones they have a deeper theological meaning bearing on the kind of ecclesiology necessary to sustain a baptistic body of believers. While others have used the term 'gathering' occasionally[27] or quite regularly,[28] without attaching particular theological significance to it, Jones employs it as a theological concept in counter-position to 'gathered.' "The more common term of the 'gathered church' has a feel of the complete, the settled, the static community about it."[29] Furthermore, he claims that for the "authentic baptistic communities of faith, worshipping in spirit and in truth, the accent seems to be on developing communities of faith that are open to change, to

[21] Jones, "Towards a Model of Mission," p. 7.
[22] James Wm. McClendon, Jr. and James M. Smith, *Convictions: Defusing Religious Relativism*, Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1975, p. 99; Parushev, *Christianity in Europe*, pp.7-8.
[23] Jones, "Towards a Model of Mission," p.7, for all citations in this paragraph. Cf. his *A Believing Church.* The notion of domestic or private rather than public worship of early Christian communities is important to Jones and leads him to question both unnecessarily grandiose public worship and the size of mega-churches (See his "On Abandoning Public Worship," pp. 12-15).
[24] Jones, *A Believing Church*; cf. Parushev, *Christianity in Europe*. Several streams of communities of radical following of Christ have emerged recently such as the neo-Anabaptist network, emergent church, neo-monastic movement, urban expression and the like; see, e.g., Stuart Murray and Anne Wilkinson-Hayes, *Hope from the Margins: New Ways of Being Church*, Cambridge: Grove Books Ltd., 2000.
[25] "On Abandoning Public Worship," p. 8.
[26] "Towards a Model of Mission," p. 7.
[27] E.g., McClendon occasionally uses the term without endowing it with a particular significance, see *Ethics*, pp. 327ff.
[28] See e.g. Christopher J. Ellis, "Gathering around the Word: Baptists, Scripture, and Worship," in Dare and Woodman (eds.), *The Plainly Revealed Word of God?*, pp. 101-21, here p. 105; cf. C. J. Ellis, *Gathering: A Theology and Spirituality of Worship in Free Church Tradition*, London: SCM, 2004 and Christopher J. Ellis and Myra Blyth, *Gathering for Worship: Patterns and Prayers for the Community of Disciples*, Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2005.
[29] "Towards a Model of Mission," p. 7.

the insights of new people, to realistic possibility of moving on."[30] This insight into the dynamic nature of baptistic communities distinguishes them from the more traditional established and institutionalised Christian bodies.[31] The concept took on a life of its own in the work of others.[32]

As mentioned earlier, the dynamic of gathering presupposes also some measure of unsettled boundaries of the community to allow others to be welcomed in. As in the ministry of Jesus porous boundaries allow those who are seekers "to receive something of the healing ministry of Jesus"[33] and of his disciples and to 'taste' the community's life. The 'gathering' and the 'porous-ness' are features of a community that will keep it from becoming too self-absorbed and isolationist. These are transitive qualities of soft 'porous' welcome of the stranger to experience the enduring value of Christian gathering for worship to meet God in God's word[34] and to experience the divine presence in the community's worship. Jones extends the porous-ness of Christian gathering within and beyond worship to the human dimension of the believing community. He notices the centrality of meals and table-fellowship in the ministry of Jesus. The ultimate meal is the eschatological Eucharistic celebration. With reference to the biblical story, he argues for the meal being an integrated part of worship and re-calls David Holeton saying:

> The eucharistic feast has its origins in the last supper Jesus shared with his disciples. This is to be understood in the larger framework of Jesus' previous meals with disciples and others, and of the risen Christ breaking bread with his disciples on the first day of the week. As Jesus' table fellowship with all sorts and conditions of humanity was a sign of the in-breaking of the reign of God, so too eating and drinking in the fellowship of the community is a sign of the contemporary community's participation in this reign of God.[35]

This leads him to propose "porous table worship" in gathering communities. He considers worship "in the pattern of the parables and meals of Jesus where some who think they are in are out and some who think they are out are in".[36] The central focus of such an open worship is

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[30] "On Abandoning Public Worship," p. 9.

[31] It is in contrast to the catholicity or *sobornicity* of the 'gathered' churches (e.g. see John Meyendorff, *Living Tradition: Orthodox Witness in the Contemporary World*, Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978, p. 84.

[32] Wright, *Free Church, Free State*, pp. 51-52; Brown et al. "Towards a 'baptistic' Contextual Theology"; Parushev, "Theologie op een baptistenmanier"; Parushev, "Baptistic Convictional Hermeneutics".

[33] "Towards a Model of Mission," p. 8.

[34] As Ellis writes: In the "gathering we believe we meet the living God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And in the meeting we share God's passion for the kingdom and God's love for the world." And particularly to gather around God's word by "gathering to hear God's word, gathering to speak God's word, and gathering to meet God *in* God's word." ("Gathering around the Word," p. 105)

[35] David Holeton (ed.), *Renewing the Anglican Eucharist: Findings of the Fifth International Anglican Liturgical Consultation*, Cambridge: Grove Books, 1996, in Jones, "On Abandoning Public Worship," p. 18.

[36] Jones, "On Abandoning Public Worship," p. 18.

the Eucharistic table both spiritually and in the design of the worship space.[37] The Eucharist meal, he suggests, naturally flows over to a human table fellowship (an *agape* feast) where access is denied to no one who has come to see and is "caught by the power of [biblical] narrative" enacted by the worshiping community.[38]

As was made clear earlier, 'thick' communities can potentially give way to some negative tendencies of striving for homogeneity, putting the majority in a dominant position, establishing a sharp boundary between insiders and outsiders and the like. The dynamics of a gathering and porous community allows more space for diversity in expressing the community's set of convictions and for prophetic voices to be heard. The novices and the experienced members of the community can enter into closer fellowship or move out without experiencing trauma or hurt.

In this analysis qualities of gathering and porous-ness are not only desirable, they are necessary for the well-being of baptistic or any Christian community for that matter. But are these sufficient qualities? If there are no clear rules of who is in and who is out, will not a community in motion without clear boundaries become shallow, amorphous and in danger of gradually fading away? Community will become like a train station with people coming off, passing through and getting on another 'friendly community's train'.[39] These are legitimate questions. The thinning of theological breadth and the lack of depth of the shared life of contemporary seeker-friendly and well-mannered evangelical large-scale gathering shows that this is a real threat.[40]

Jones is aware of the challenge and he offers a remedy by complementing these desirable features of his ecclesial model with the requirement of intentionality. For the gathering communities intentionality is of significant importance.

> Whilst the edges of the church might be porous, allowing people to come close and sample the life of the community, the attractiveness of the *koinonia* and worship experienced will undoubtedly rest on there being a core of those in the church who are very committed to each other. This core will have a shared understanding of both the gospel message and the particular shape, worship and mission of their specific

[37] Keith Jones, *A Shared Meal and a Common Table: Some Reflections on Lord's Supper and Baptists*, The Whitley Lecture 1999, Oxford: Whitley Publication, 1999.
[38] Jones, "On Abandoning Public Worship," p. 20. For the content and the *Ordo* of porous table Eucharistic fellowship, see *ibid.*, pp. 18-23.
[39] I owe this metaphor to Fedyr Raychinets who used it in a private conversation about the challenges faced by hyper-emotivist and hyper-charismatic churches in keeping up the height of the emotional experience and to retain members for a prolonged period of time.
[40] See, e.g., Gregory A. Pritchard, *Willow Creek Seeker Services: Evaluating a New Way of Doing Church*, Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995.

> community. Inevitably, this will be a style of church life that has a greater depth and intensity than the majority of contemporary western evangelical churches of today.[41]

To establish and sustain a core of committed members covenanted with God and with each other for real *koinonia*, particularly in contemporary post-… cultures[42] longing for genuine community of belonging, he insists that size matters. For him a normal covenanted worshipping community should not exceed forty or fifty people; beyond that it "will begin to stretch the possibilities of this [baptistic] type of gathering communities". The location matters too: "The gathering *koinonia* will be communities of the street corners, of the side streets and apartment blocks, of the corner shop and the corner pub".[43]

With that in mind, breaking apart of communities growing beyond the 'normal size' will not be caused by proverbial baptistic strife and divisions. As with their early Christian forbears, seen in the light of the baptistic vision,[44] parting will be occasioned by a missionary calling for a part of the community to form a nucleus of another gathering fellowship in interdependent relationship with others of similar kind. For the gathering community to constitute, to grow, to mature and to multiply in mission-outreach, Jones suggests, it has to be an ortho-church,[45] to strike the right balance of worship, discipleship and mission: The balance of firmly held beliefs and worship (orthodoxy), care and social activism (orthopraxis), an affectionate (orthopathy) and affirmative (orthohexy) attitude to 'our' folk and to others (Gal 6:10) and, most importantly to discern the invigorating flames of the calling and the leading of the Holy Spirit (orthopyre) to share the Gospel story with its cultures. The measure of the 'right-ness' of these 'orthos,' according to him, is the close conformity to the life and teaching of Jesus as laid out in the Sermon on the mount and the Gospels.[46]

3. Reviewing the vision

The summary of Jones' thought on the ecclesial nature of baptistic communities raises several queries: To what extent is his idea a realistic

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[41] Jones, "Towards a Model of Mission," p. 8.

[42] For the predicaments of ministry in post-… cultural space, see Parush R. Parushev, "The Practice of Ministry in the Post…World: What is all this about? *JEBS* 3:2 (2003), pp. 33-49; cf. Mark Pierson, "Reflections on the Shape of the Church in Postmodern Western Cultures," in *JEBS* 3:3 (2003), pp. 29-35.

[43] Jones, "Towards a Model of Mission," p. 9 for the two citations: notice footnote 25 on the same page for references to particular expressions of these type of communities.

[44] McClendon, *Ethics*, pp. 26-34.

[45] Keith G. Jones, "Orthodoxy, Orthopraxy, Orthohexy, Orthopyre," in John H.Y. Briggs, gen. ed., *A Dictionary of European Baptist Life and Thought*, in Studies in Baptist History and Thought Series, vol. 33, foreword by David Coffey (Milton Keynes, England: Paternoster, 2009), p.371; cf. his "Around what do Baptists cohere?" A paper for "Baptist Identity" Series, delivered at the IBTS Postgraduate seminar, 2007, unpublished manuscript upon request through Keith Jones.

[46] Jones, "Towards a Model of Mission," p.7.

proposal for flesh-and-blood Christian communities or an idealistic vision? Does this ecclesiological model fit the Baptist mould? Can insignificant gathering communities make any difference to the way things are politically and socially?

Is this vision realistic?

I will start with the first question. Is Jones' ecclesiological vision unrealistic. In mathematics there is an approach in addressing negative statements, 'disproving a negative theorem.' You cannot prove the general validity of a positive statement by pointing to a particular example or examples where the statement can be proven true. At most you can argue with particular examples that it might be possible to formulate a hypothesis that would seek for a general true statement of which the examples are deductive cases. The inverse is not true: you can disprove a general negative statement, e.g. "the hypothesis of the existence of gathering convictional intentional porous communities is not realistic" by providing *at least one* example where the general hypothesis is demonstrated. This will call for the reformulation and clarification of that hypothesis.

This will be my approach to query the realism of Jones' project by providing an example where his ecclesiastical vision works: the example of the Šarka Valley Community Church (SVCC). Never mind that Jones and his colleagues established this community in November 1998 according to this vision, or perhaps just because of that, the example proves that the vision is realistic and it can work;[47] community can be established. SVCC is an English speaking community and a member of the Czech Baptist Union (*Bratrská jednota baptistů*). It defines itself as

> a multicultural congregation seeking to be faithful disciples of Jesus Christ. We affirm the central truths of the Christian faith and seek to live those out in an intentional nurturing community, guided and built up by the scriptures and prayer. In our worship and in our daily lives we affirm that all believers, male and female, young and old, lay and ordained, are gifted for ministry by the Holy Spirit.[48]

The community practices believers' baptism and celebrates the Eucharist in an open communion at least monthly. While affiliated with the Bratrská jednota baptistů, SVCC is committed to co-operating with other Christians in ecumenical service and worship. It attracts its membership mostly but not exclusively among the faculty and staff of the International Baptist Theological Seminary of the European Baptist Federation in

[47] Jones himself refers to SVCC in exemplifying some features of communal life he is investigating, see "Towards a Model of Mission," pp. 16-17.
[48] Identity statement of SVCC, http://www.svcc.cz/about-svcc.php, (accessed 26 April 2013).

Prague.[49] It is instructive to consider briefly the context of the seminary first.[50]

The Seminary, originally located in the village of Rüschlikon, Switzerland, came into being on 4 September 1949 with Dr George W Sadler serving as first President and with twenty-eight students from sixteen nations from Europe, North America and Africa having enrolled in that first year. Some of the students who during the Second World War had stood on the opposing sides were brought together in this Christian community in an "experiment in Christian internationalism".[51] Working through those deep issues connected to nationalism and European history has been and continues to be a key part of the life of IBTS from the beginning until the present day. This is one of the enduring legacies of IBTS, of bringing people together from across the nations and cultures in a setting of reconciliation.

The school developed essentially under the Presidency of Dr. Josef Nordenhaug, a Swede. It is now fully owned by the European Baptist Federation (EBF) which consists of fifty-six Baptist Unions and Conventions throughout Europe and the Middle East. The Seminary is governed by a Board of Trustees elected through the EBF Council. It is a meeting place of students and scholars from cultures, ecclesial arrangements, socio-political realities and linguistic contexts from the British Isles to the Siberian Far East and from Scandinavia to the Northern parts of Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia. Due to traditional links with North American and Australasian regions, their contextual and theological concerns have also made important contributions to the vision and the legacy of IBTS community.[52] As far as I know, no other continental

[49] Since its relocation in Prague, the seminary has been validated by a British university and has State accreditation as a private college in Czech Republic. While the majority of students and faculty are Baptists, the seminary has an open policy of enrolment of students and employment of staff from among all walks of Christian faith, other faiths and no faith. Yet, it is determined to keep its broadly evangelical ethos by daily morning prayers and weekly Eucharist. The school expects that the students and faculty will be actively involved in the life of a worshiping community, but there is no requirement to join SVCC.

[50] This short summary follows my account in "Witness, Worship and Presence: On the Integrity of Mission in Contemporary Europe," *Mission Studies*, 24:2 (2007), pp. 305-32, here pp. 310-14, for which I am in debt to Keith Jones. See his "The International Baptist Theological Seminary of the European Baptist Federation," in *American Baptist Quarterly* 38:2 (1999), pp. 191ff. and his letter ("Epilogue: IBTS Prague") in John W. Merritt, *The Betrayal of Southern Baptist Missionaries by Southern Baptist Leaders 1979–2004*, private edition, 2004, pp. 199–200; cf. Petra Vesela, *Fit for the King: Tracing the History of the Czech Republic, Jeneralka and IBTS*, Prague: IBTS, 2004.

[51] Carol Woodfin, *An Experiment in Christian Internationalism: A History of the European Baptist Theological Seminary*, Macon, GA: Baptist History & Heritage Society, 2013; cf. Keith G. Jones, "Rüschlikon Baptist Theological Seminary," in Briggs (gen. ed.), *A Dictionary*, pp. 438-39.

[52] The IBTS story is also important, in my view, as a testimony to the Spirit-led missionary vision that survives in spite of the shortcomings even of its founders - the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) USA.

Christian fellowship apart from the EBF, has attempted to develop a deliberate multi-national, multi-cultural community such as the International Baptist Theological Seminary.[53] In spite of the fact that European Baptists saw dramatic development of national seminaries in various countries in the early 1990s IBTS remains unique in the world in its ownership and mission.[54]

Soon after the passing of the ownership to EBF, SBC de-funded the seminary and it faced considerable financial pressures which led to re-locating it from Rüschlikon to Prague in 1994 (with the first classes on Prague campus starting 1997).[55] In 1997 the EBF General Council meeting in Croatia set out a vision for the future of IBTS to give it a special place at the centre of the web of theological education throughout the whole EBF area.[56] The vision was entrusted to be carried out by the Rector Keith Jones and the faculty. The primary focus of the mission of IBTS now is to serve the Unions and seminaries of the EBF by taking promising students and offering them higher degrees in theology, which will equip them as Union leaders, missiologists and seminary lecturers.[57] With its balanced and predominately European faculty and deep roots in the life of the church, IBTS is able to prepare Christians with a strong sense of identity, well integrated into their context at home and capable of conversing with the sophisticated European academic and intellectual culture on equal ground.

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[53] Keith G. Jones "International Baptist Theological Seminary," in Briggs (gen. ed.), *A Dictionary*, pp. 269-70.

[54] For an overview of the Baptist theological education world-wide, see Lina Andronovienė, Keith G. Jones and Parush R. Parushev, "Theological Education in Baptist Churches – major trends, networks and documents," in Dietrich Werner et al., (eds.), *Handbook of Theological Education in World Christianity: Theological Perspectives – Religious Surveys – Ecumenical Trends*, Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2010, pp. 686-96.

[55] Similarly, under financial pressures of a more complex nature after the financial collapse in 2009, the seminary is moving now to Amsterdam following the decision of the EBF Council on 28 September 2012. It will become a college within the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam to offer doctoral degrees in theology in partnership with the Theology Faculty of the VU University.

[56] Under Keith Jones' leadership, IBTS facilitated the formation of the Consortium of European Baptist Theology Schools in Prague in 2001 as a covenanted organisation of educational institutions for partnership and mutual support in Baptist education throughout Europe. See Keith G. Jones, "Consortium of European Baptist Theological Schools (CEBTS)," in Briggs (gen. ed.), *A Dictionary*, pp. 118-19; check the *Dictionary* for a particular Baptist educational institution in Europe, *passim*.

[57] In 1998 IBTS became a validated institution of the University of Wales, at that time a large federal state university in Great Britain. It gained the right to teach Master of Theology and to supervise students for Master of Philosophy and Doctor of Philosophy degrees. This gives IBTS a special status amongst Christian schools on the mainland of Europe. It addresses concerns from the past to have a place accessible to all and to be able to help students obtain advanced qualifications in theology which are academically fully recognised within EU and beyond. A further development took place in the early 2000s when the Government of the Czech Republic granted IBTS accreditation as a higher education institution with the right to teach and award a degree of Magister in Theology which is recognised by the Czech State and thus, like the Wales degrees, throughout Europe. In 2011 a contract was signed between EBF, CBM, IBTS and Acadia University Divinity School in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada to offer in partnership a university-based International Doctor of Ministry degree fully accredited by the Canadian government.

Now it is commonly acknowledged throughout Europe that IBTS with its research institutes and networks is, indeed, at the centre of a web of Christian life. A constant stream of conference guests, students, visitors, those doing research in the school's large and well-equipped library and tourists, spending a shorter or longer time on campus, means that the Seminary complex is always throbbing with life. This constant flow of new missiological insights helps to define a dynamic and very complex picture of the living realities of the churches' daily experience on the continent of Europe and beyond. In a very real sense, IBTS is a theological laboratory examining the shifts in cultural and ecclesial life, particularly among Free Church traditions in Europe.

The seminary is not solely an academic institution for study and research. It is equally importantly a spiritual community centred on a pattern of daily prayer and weekly Eucharist naturally culminating in the Sunday service at SVCC and extended in social ministries of the community. Following the dynamic life of IBTS, SVCC is a pulsating gathering community of baptistic believers. Apart from a relatively small and stable core membership it attracts a number of visitors and temporary members in worship and social ministries for shorter or longer period of time. For providing those visitors who feel connected with the convictions and vision of the community with spiritual care and help, SVCC has established watch-care membership. This porous arrangement allows the temporary members to retain their membership in their home communities while fully participating in the life of SVCC for the period of their affiliation with the community. The community has around forty members and it intentionally seeks to encourage its members to test and to make the best use of their gifts in worship, social ministries and administration of the common life.

Is this a Baptist vision?

Now the second question is in order. If this vision is realistic, is a gathering intentional community a Baptist one? Is his ecclesiology genuinely Baptist? Where does Keith's ecclesiological vision properly belong? These are more complex questions partly because there is an immense diversity among Baptist bodies across the globe. On a number of occasions Jones humorously re-calls the saying of the late Morris West:[58] "The person who can speak for Baptists is not yet born and both her parents are dead."[59] My claim is that Baptist contextual distinctive is defined by the adjectives

[58] Dr Morris West was one time Principal of Bristol Baptist College and an ex-president of the Baptist Union of Great Britain. He was a noted authority on the Anabaptists in Switzerland and served many years on the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches.
[59] Keith G. Jones, "Do Baptists believe in Baptism? An Initial Exploration of the Theology of Baptism".

describing not only ethnic or regional geographical origin but also and primarily theological proximity to or counter-distinction from a dominant Christian or other religious tradition.

Nevertheless, there is a stated common Baptist theological platform at least in the context of a series of bilateral and multilateral ecumenical conversation of the leadership of the Baptist World Alliance (BWA) and European Baptist Federation (EBF).[60] The conversations of the BWA with the Mennonite World Conference (MWC)[61] in 1989-1992 provide the most interesting case of identity study of communities with a family resemblance.[62] The results of the conversations are reviewed and summarised by Fernando Enns[63] – a prominent Mennonite voice in the ecumenical activity of the WMC and long-standing member of the Central Committee of the WCC. Considering the common roots in the Radical Reformation, it is not surprising to find convergence and consensus on a number of points of their respective theological perspectives. They have a common beginning point in the common Reformation heritage of *sola scriptura* and *sola fide.*

> We hold much in common theologically, for example: a high view of the Church as gathered community, a love for the Scriptures, a keen sense of the importance of the liberty of conscience, a strong belief in the importance of the separation of the Church and State.[64]

From the perspective of Baptists and Mennonites it is the voluntary assembled local community of believers that constitute a free (or Believer's, or non-credal) church, which is congregationally structured and "clearly separated from the state."[65] Added to that:

> Baptist and Mennonites practice their baptismal faith (adult baptism) as a sign of the free answer of persons to God's free grace and forgiveness in Christ. Baptism includes becoming a church member and obligating oneself to a life of discipleship.

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[60] For years the BWA has carried on consultations with the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, bi-lateral regional conversations with the Anglican communion, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, the World Mennonite Conference, etc. EBF has carried on independently consultations with the Community of Protestant Churches in Europe. *Via negativa* the consultations made clear at least one thing: Baptists are not like anyone communion on the preceding list.

[61] Like the BWA and EBF, WMC is a global community of 243 Mennonite and Brethren in Christ national conferences from 83 countries on six continents tracing their origin to the Anabaptist tradition of the sixteenth century Radical Reformation.

[62] It is particularly relevant to compare WMC with the EBF, due to the similarity of their size, vision and mission. WMC's self-understanding is that it is "called to be a communion (*koinonia*) of Anabaptist-related churches linked to one another in a worldwide community of faith for fellowship, worship, service, and witness. MWC exists to (1) be a global community of faith in the Anabaptist-tradition, (2) facilitate relationships between Anabaptist-related churches worldwide, and (3) relate to other Christian world communions and organizations." http://www.mwc-cmm.org/article/vision-and-mission, accessed 26 April 2013.

[63] *The Peace Church*, pp. 195-202.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[65] *Ibid.*

> In both traditions the Lord's Supper is, in the first place, sign and symbol of the suffering and death of Jesus, and as such, an expression of union (*unio*) with Christ and with other believers (*communio*).[66]

The emphases on ecclesiology, believer's baptism, membership for discipleship and service in a local congregation and Eucharist at the centre of the life of a community define significant common ground of shared identity.

Building on the official statement of the conversations,[67] Enns notes some marked differences in Baptist and Mennonite views on the ethics of non-violence, the role of the community, discipleship and mission. Acknowledging the communalities, the differences are largely due to different sets of priorities. Baptists identified religious liberty, freedom of conscience and of individual interpretation of the Scriptures and the autonomy of the local congregation at the top of their value-list. To ground the freedom, the Baptists "hold more firmly to *orthodoxy* – 'right belief as related to the Scripture and confessions of faith'".[68] In relation to the social order, the Baptists as a rule will uphold the doctrine of just war allowing using force to maintain order. For the Mennonites, community and discipleship are at the head of their value priorities. Essentially they are peace communities, which engage the society in non-violent witness and socio-political responsibility for justice and peace. "In this sense, Mennonite tradition gives *orthopraxis* (right practice as faithful disciples) absolute priority over *orthodoxy*".[69]

While both traditions acknowledge the priesthood of all believers as a defining feature of their identity, it "receives a more radical application in the Mennonite tradition, with the corresponding focus on the gathered congregation as hermeneutical community. The community is 'the primary locus of discernment and decision-making'".[70] Both traditions agree on the local gathered community as the primary expression of the church. Very much along the lines argued for by Jones,[71] Enns admits that Baptists quite early were able to bring together the concepts of autonomy of the local congregation and the interdependence of local congregations in creative tension and recognising that different expressions of "interdependence of

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[66] *Ibid.*, p. 296.
[67] *Baptist-Mennonite Theological Conversation (1989-1992)*, Final Report (n.a: BWA and WMC, date not provided).
[68] *The Peace Church*, p. 197. The citation within the quote is of Enns from *Baptist-Mennonite Theological Conversation*, p. 16.
[69] *The Peace Church*, p. 197.
[70] *The Peace Church*, p. 198. The citation within the quote is of Enns without providing the source. For a careful examination of the practice of community hermeneutics among the Mennonites, see Heidebrecht, "Contextualizing Community Hermeneutics."
[71] *The European Baptist Federation.*

local congregations ... [are] having implicit ecclesial character."[72] The centrality of the community and the role of community discipline for the task of discipleship (Matt 18:15-17) however should avoid legalism in applying biblical norms. Learning from the regrettable misuse of the practice of church discipline within their tradition, contemporary heirs of the early Anabaptists have found that legalism "contradicts the concept of community of love and service."[73] This is similar to Jones' understanding of the *orthohexy* of the gathering community.

Turning to discipleship, Enns claims that both traditions "conceive of the Holy Spirit as the power 'who gives life to the Scripture' and as the continuing presence of Christ with his people."[74] This is the *orthopyre* dimension of the gathering community in Jones' vision. The somewhat different Christological emphasis leads the Baptists to "stress individual personal conversion, while for Mennonites the focus falls on personal obligation to discipleship in community".[75] Furthermore,

> 'Baptists are concerned about 'soul freedom' and individual accountability before God whereas Mennonites are concerned about accountability to God through community.' For Mennonites, collectivity is preferred above individuality; the vertical dimension (God-human) and the horizontal dimension (human-humans) are inseparably bound together.[76]

Such understanding of discipleship points to different reading of Scriptures with the synoptic gospels and the human life of Jesus and his disciples as guiding narrative. This is also Jones' hermeneutical strategy.[77] Baptists generally intend to "look primarily to the Johannine and Pauline sources."[78]

Finally, Enns looks at mission as an important aspect of the two traditions' ecclesial self-understanding as being *called-out* of and in distinction from the "world". Baptists and Mennonites affirm the Lordship of Christ over all creation, his unique role as the mediator of salvation and as the final authority and the norm for faith and life in the believing community free from state-sponsorship or coercion. "Thus bearing witness to Christ in word and deed is essential for the life of the church."[79] In carrying out the missionary task, there are also differences in emphases.

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[72] *The Peace Church*, p.199.
[73] *Ibid.*, p.198. For insightful analysis of Mennonite practice of church discipline, see Peter Smith, "Toward Understanding the Gospel in Peace Perspective: An Analysis of Violence in Mennonite Practice and Theology," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wales via IBTS, 2010.
[74] *The Peace Church*, p.199. The citation within the quote is of Enns without providing the source.
[75] *Ibid.*, p.200.
[76] *Ibid*. The citation within the quote is of Enns from *Baptist-Mennonite Theological Conversation*, p.16.
[77] "Around what do Baptists cohere?," p.2 and his "Towards a Model of Mission," p.7.
[78] *The Peace Church*, p.200.
[79] *Ibid.*, p.201; cf. Parushev, "Witness, Worship and Presence."

> While Baptist [missionary] identity is strongly marked by proclamation and evangelization, Mennonite understanding of mission is determined more by its servant character. The 'Great Commission' (Matt 28) is fulfilled primarily in *caritas*, in loving service and rendering help to the needy.[80]

Enns concludes his analysis by claiming that the most significant difference between Baptists and Mennonites lies in their view of community. For Mennonites community has the place of primacy in the life of the church and of the believer in clear distinction from the Baptist position emphasising individual responsibility of a believer.

Conclusion

If my assessment is correct, Jones's vision is both realistic and community centred. He has never claimed that his is an exclusively "Baptist" ecclesiology. He sides with McClendon and John Howard Yoder and feels at home within the wider baptistic tradition. Much like that of the descendants of the Anabaptist his is an ethically-oriented communal ecclesiology with important correctives – those of gathering and of porousness. His Baptist instinct guides him to balance the coercive power of the established gathered community with the need to open space for dynamic interaction and prophetic performance by Spirit-led believing disciples.

Jones' vision may raise one more worry that is implicitly present in discussions on Christian position *vis-à-vis* a culture of self-assertiveness. These are the matters of power. Will not small baptistic communities give up the power to be present at the political centres of power and to put Christian pressure for change? Don't Christian communities need power for achieving the desired transformation? For some seventeen centuries, Christians have tried to side with the powers, and still do, so that they will move the cultures in the direction of the Kingdom. If the current state of the moral life of Europe and North America is the measure, this project overall has failed. The scope of this paper does not allow for a detailed response to these legitimate questions. Elsewhere I have reflected on some of them.[81] In brief, one should not underestimate: 1) the long-standing and deliberately chosen social position of the communities of the Radical

[80] *The Peace Church*, p.201; Enns refers here to the assessment of the *Baptist-Mennonite Theological Conversation*, p.30. For recent evaluation of a Baptist position on the mission task, see Vyacheslav Tsvirinko, "Context and contextuality: towards an authentic mission perspective for the churches of Pacific Coast Slavic Baptist Association," Ph.D. Dissertation, IBTS-University of Wales, 2013.

[81] My papers at the Mainstream symposium, "Mission and the Powers," in Bristol, UK, 25-26 May 2010; at the Postgraduate Seminar of IBTS, 23 February 2011, in Prague and Director's Conference organised by the IBTS Thomas Helwys Centre for Religious Freedom, "'Despise not the Counsel of the Poor': Convictions on religious freedom, the power of the state and the state of powers," 30 January – 2 February 2012, Prague, Czech Republic; and at the "Theological education in changing society: history and present day" in Tallinn, Estonia, 14-15 September 2012.

Reformation – that of a prophetic witness from the margins;[82] 2) the strength of communal networking, particularly with contemporary means of social communication – and in the light of this Jones' contributions to the development of the concept of interdependency.

The related question is: How should small gathering communities relate to larger traditional Christian communities? In a recent paper,[83] I have presented a case for contextually dependent complementary common witness of Christian communities with established presence at the centres of political power and on the margins of the social establishment. Using McClendon's typology,[84] I argue for a three-fold joint witness that acknowledges the validity of correlation with the aspiration of the culture, the need for prophetic Christian critique of the culture's delusions and of authentic counter-cultural communal living out of Christian convictions. By investigating the essential features of faithful communal living, Jones' addresses this third form of Christian witness.

Taking a long look back at the story of the persecuted minority Anabaptist communities in different time and place, James Reimer comes to the conclusion that Christians of the gathering communitarian sort have only two options: a) To escape others into internal migration or sectarianism, "in which we see ourselves as standing theologically and culturally over against other traditions, cultures, denominations and religions for fear of losing our identity and particular forms of witness". b) The second option is to address contemporary cultures "as critical partners with other Christians and all believers in the search for what it means to be faithful today, not standing over against others but with others against all forms of injustice, militarism and violence".[85] Jones' vision for an intentional and convictional, yet gathering and porous *koinonia* of radical followers of the way of Christ operating even "in the domestic scale of things"[86] is an invitation to join with others of Christian faith to make a tangible proclamation of his Kingdom of justice and peace.

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[82] Wilbert R. Shenk, "An Anabaptist View of Mission," in Wilbert R. Shenk and Peter F. Penner (eds.), *Anabaptism and Mission*, Erlangen: Neufeld Verlag Schwartzenfeld, 2007, published in co-operation with IBTS), pp. 42-58, and his "Mission and Marginality," *ibid.*, pp. 227-46. Cf. Wilbert R. Shenk (ed.), *The Transfiguration of Mission: Biblical, Theological, and Historical Foundations*, Scottdale, PA / Waterloo, ONT: Herald Press, 1993.

[83] "Mission as established presence and prophetic witness in culturally Orthodox Contexts," presented at an international conference organised by the College of Theology and Education, Chişinău, Moldova on "Evangelical Mission in the Eastern European Orthodox contexts: Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova and Ukraine," 22-23 March 2013 (forthcoming in the proceedings of the conference).

[84] James Wm. McClendon, *Systematic Theology: Witness, volume III*, reprinted (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012; originally published in 2000), pp. 34-49.

[85] "Preface," in Enns, *The Peace Church*, p.xiii, for the two citations in this paragraph.

[86] Jones, "Towards a Model of Mission," p. 8.

Not Just A Disembodied Voice
Towards An Understanding Of Preaching As An Embodied Practice

Ruth Gouldbourne

It was a very moving experience. We had all been piled into cars and minibuses and taken to one of the local big hotels which had a swimming pool. There we were decanted into the pool room, and stood or sat around the empty pool. Then a young man in jeans and tee-shirt went into the water and stood there. And another joined him, in his robes. And there, in the water, without notes and with passion and power, Keith Jones preached to us about baptism, faith, discipleship and the grace of God.

I have heard and indeed have preached many sermons. I have been present at, and presided at many baptismal services. Often it has been moving. Frequently there has been power and grace. Normally I am deeply glad to be present. Some of them, like that morning in Prague, stay in my memory as particular moments of grace and presences of God. All of them in their own ways have been times when God has been active.

As Baptists we have a conflicted relationship with the notion of sacrament. We reject the theology of transubstantiation for the communion service, the conviction that at and through the words of consecration the bread and wine become something different. But we continue to celebrate communion, and to know that it matters profoundly. From our earliest days, and still, we have sought ways to speak of the presence of Christ in communion. We have refused the theology of *ex opere operato*; that the grace of the sacrament is conferred by the sacrament itself, rather than through the spiritual state of those taking part. We have insisted that there is a subjective aspect to this presence as well.

Similarly with baptism, we have struggled to find a language for the meaning of the rite; rejecting a theology of infant baptism and in particular of baptismal regeneration, (that in and through baptism we are "made Christian") yet still wanting to say that baptism matters, that it is not simply a dramatic form of personal witness. For most of our history and for many of us, we have tried to speak of baptism as something to do with God being present and meeting us. George Beasley-Murray's description in his book *Baptism in the New Testament* of baptism as a trysting place has been a particularly fruitful way of thinking this through. It has allowed us to speak of God's presence and action in baptism, without "limiting" it to regeneration; it is a gracious action, which matters, but which is God's free choice, not "compelled" by our practice of baptism.

Whatever we have said about baptism and communion, we have always – though sometimes inarticulately – affirmed the importance of the gathered community in these practices. We do not have a practice of individual communion or private baptism. These are meaningless to us. The practice of "private" communion – with only the celebrant present – depends on the theology that the offering of the bread and wine in the sacrament is an offering to God, not a community activity through which God graciously meets us. When somebody is ill, we do not take a "reserved" sacrament, so that communion can be made privately – we go, one or two or three of us, and celebrate together.

Our conviction is that it is in the gathering of the people, the physical presence of each other – where two or three are gathered in my name[1] – that we have above all affirmed the presence of God in our sacramental practice, (indeed, we have often used the word ordinance rather than sacrament exactly so that we make this distinction in conviction and practice clear). It is together that we know the presence of the Risen One among us; in the gathering and in the acting, and so in the physical reality of being together and getting wet or eating and drinking, we have known faith born, nurtured, made active in our ongoing lives. We see this, for example, outlined in our early statements of faith; thus, the London Confession of 1644 states

> That Baptism is an Ordinance of the new Testament, given by Christ to be dispensed onley upon persons professing faith or that are Disciples or taught who upon a profession of faith, ought to be baptised.[2]

For most of our congregations baptisms are a relatively infrequent event; certainly not every week. Neither, in many of our congregations, does the sharing of bread and wine happen every time we meet. They are not our normative practices. Nor is the recitation of the liturgy. As a visitor to an Anglican home, I was taken to the "regular" service at the parish church – matins. Scripture was read, prayers were offered, hymns were sung. And then we went home. There was no sermon – not even a 5 minute homily. That there was no baptism did not even cross my mind. That there was no bread and wine was quite normal.

But, as a Baptist of the Baptists I was at a loss about what we were doing, when we had not been offered a reflection on the words of scripture that were read, and there was no time and no invitation to think about and pray about the challenge and the promise. There was no communal space in which to pray and reflect about how to integrate what was offered to us in

[1] Matt 18;20
[2] William Lumpkin (ed.), *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, Valley Forge, PA : Judson Press, 2002, p. 167

Scripture in our lives and faith. This was strange in a gathering for worship - and would have been even stranger for me, had it been a baptismal or communion service.

Preaching is something Baptists do when we meet. It may be good, bad or indifferent, but it happens. It is one of the primary ways we test a calling to pastoral ministry. We ask of a candidate "can she preach?" It is the fundamental way we as congregations and ministers test a calling to a local church – in the UK, we "preach with a view [to the ministry]", and while the whole conduct of the service is under consideration, and there is plenty of time for conversation with others in the church, that sermon is of crucial importance in discerning whether this minister and this congregation are being called to walk together.

Preaching matters among us. It is a style of communication that is contested in our current context; a twenty minute monologue with no room for disagreement, offered (from certain pulpits at least) from 6 feet above contradiction. At its worst, or most caricatured, it is a pronouncement from on high, with no room for negotiation, no place for interaction, nothing of community about it.

Much has been written about the death of the sermon – but as Steve Holmes argued in his George Beasley Murray lecture of 2009[3] – it may be that it is not as dead as we might be being told. The role and power of rhetoric – not as a means of passing on information – but as a means of evoking a response, as a transformative activity, is by no means dead. Holmes' exploration of how it is shown to be alive, and how this might feed into our thinking about preaching is an important discussion in the face of the claims that preaching as a practice within the worshipping community has had its day and should be abandoned as we seek to live the reality of post-Christendom.

Much has been written also on how to work with the form in new ways that engage with a postmodern context, where people are not accustomed to listening to monologues and certainly not authoritative ones, and a great deal of it is helpful and significant.[4] The challenge to explore multi-voiced reflection and proclamation, articulated so clearly, for example, in Multivoiced Church[5] is very helpful, especially for those of us who are part of congregations which are convinced of the practice of the priesthood of all believers; we believe that the community is the place of

[3] http://www.spurgeons.ac.uk/Portals/2/GBM%20Lecture%20Apr%2009.pdf
[4] See for example Fred Craddock; *As One Without Authority*, St Louis, MI: Chalice Press. 2001.
[5] Stuart and Sian Murray Williams, *Multi-Voiced Church*. Milton Keynes: Authentic Publishing, 2012.

discernment and proclamation, and so hearing not just one or possibly two, but the voices of all of the community in reflection, prayer and insight.

I am going to suggest in this discussion that as well as reclaiming preaching, and as well as exploring new forms of preaching such as narrative, multi-voiced, visually enhanced and so on, as Baptists we might find help in considering the "sacramental" qualities of preaching; sacramental in Baptist terms of the presence of Christ in the gathered community, mediated to us not only through physical elements of water, bread and wine, as in the two ordinances, but also in the physical embodied presence of each other, and in particular the embodiment of the preacher and the hearers.

This is not a new assertion. For example, Brian Haymes in an article[6] has argued that without a robust sacramental theology, we are in danger of a severely diminished understanding and practice of preaching,

> …a theology that is sacramental produces a strong theology of preaching related to the world in which we live and a history in which God is at work, while, negatively, a non-sacramental theology diminishes preaching both in understanding, practice and effect.[7]

John Colwell has also argued powerfully for what he terms the "sacramentality of the word".[8] He argues that Scripture comes to us not simply as words on the page, but, authorised by the Spirit and brought to us by the same Spirit, it is a means by which the Spirit fulfils the divine promise to speak.

> And since the Spirit who is the mediator of the speaking of this Word is simultaneously the mediator of the Word, the Church with confidence can expect the reading and hearing of Scripture to be a performative and transformative event, a mediation of the gracious presence and action of God, a sacramental act.[9]

Ian Stackhouse in *The Gospel Driven Church*[10] is absolutely insistent not only that there is a sacramental quality to preaching, but that preaching is in itself a sacrament. Drawing deeply on PT Forsyth's thinking, and marshalling his argument in order to challenge the revivalist and what he calls "faddist" mood of much of the evangelical church, he sets out to insist that in rediscovering the high view of preaching, and in recognising its action as indicative and not imperative (announcing, not exhorting) the

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[6] Brian Haymes, "Towards a Sacramental Understanding of Preaching" in Anthony R Cross and Philip E Thompson (eds.), *Baptist Sacramentalism*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2003, pp. 263 ff.
[7] Haymes, "Towards a Sacramental Understanding…" p. 264.
[8] John E Colwell *Promise and Presence: An Exploration of Sacramental Theology*. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005, esp. pp. 88ff.
[9] *Ibid*, p. 97.
[10] Ian Stackhouse, *The Gospel Drive Church: Retrieving Classical Ministries for Contemporary Revivalism*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004.

preaching becomes a way of enabling encounter between church and Christ – a sacramental act.

I do not want to go all the way with either Colwell or Stackhouse. I think that there is a wisdom in staying with the tradition of the church that there are two sacraments. I want to suggest that preaching occupies a somewhat different position, that, while it has sacramental qualities, it is not a sacrament in the same way as baptism and Lord's Supper. It is 'sacramental', rather than 'a sacrament'.

I make this distinction because of the nature of the mediation of grace that takes place in preaching. In supper and pool, while human activity is involved, there is a particular level of objectivity that comes with the repeating of a particular form of narrative – the account of the last supper, the questioning and answering of the baptismal vows – and with the employment of physical objects, bread, wine and water. This is, I suggest, different in a significant way from the activity of preaching. There is a sense in which preaching is – has to be – a repeating of a given narrative. Preaching is the telling again of the gospel story in all its richness and challenge. There is a way in which it involves an objective physical object; the words on paper that make up scripture. But there is also in preaching a profound presence of a subjectivity – both that of the preacher and the hearers in ways that are qualitatively different. Also significantly important for what is happening, there is a difference between the sermon and the pool and table. In my discussion, I intend to reflect both on the sacramental quality and the place of this subjectivity in the mediation of grace.

The discussions among Baptists of the nature of sacrament, when we have used the word, have been many and various, and are by no means over; much has been written recently about sacrament as a term that we can – or cannot – use, and need or do not need in order to speak effectively of our faith and in particular, our Baptist identity within it.[11] As said above, we have on the whole rejected the theology of *ex opere operato*, yet we have still a theology of real presence. We locate it not within the bread, wine and water, we do not limit it to the particular ministry of a person within a certain hierarchy or recognised in a particular role. The presence of Christ, the operation of the grace of God is, for us, to be found in the gathering of the community, undertaking to act in gospel ways. We encounter grace when, as the intentional people of God – that is, knowing ourselves called into a gathering community by the call and promise of God in Jesus – we tell again the story and respond to it. And in baptism and

[11] See for example Cross and Thompson (eds.), *Baptist Sacramentalism* and *id.* (eds.), *Baptist Sacramentalism 2*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008; and Stanley Fowler, *More Than a Symbol: The British Baptist Recovery of Baptismal Sacramentalism*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 2004.

communion we do this in particular ways, trusting in the promise of God that God will be present. Our action and words in these events do not make God present in grace, but we trust in the promise of God that, when we say these words and do these things in faith, God is graciously present.

One of the consequences of this is that sacrament is an event not a thing; God graciously meets us and acts among and within us. Grace is not an object that God passes on to us through bread, wine and water. Rather, God acts with grace towards, and within us when we undertake these actions that involve these physical elements. The physicality of the elements is important. As Haymes argues "There are no a-historical or a-material expressions of grace in the biblical witness".[12] Or, as he puts it elsewhere in his article: "The only God known in the Christian story is the one who "loves and uses matter".[13]

Since God is creator, and since at the heart of our faith we encounter the Incarnate One, we cannot expect God to meet us in ways other than in what Haymes calls "history and stuff" – the reality of the world in which we live, and the history through which we move. We ourselves are physical, created from the dust and related always to the dust.[14] To meet us, God comes to us where we are. Thus bread, wine and water are not incidental to the gracious activity of God, they are the means of the gracious activity of God, as are the actions and words with which the whole event of the sacramental encounter takes place. It is in the physicality of our beings and the incarnating of our speaking that the sacramentality of preaching is located.

When preaching happens, bodies are involved; there is the voice of the preacher and the ears of the listeners. There are the sound waves and perhaps the visual or tactile accompaniments. There is the comfort or otherwise of the seating, there is the success or otherwise of the sound-system or the preacher's unaided voice. There is a physical aspect to the experience of preaching. And, because we trust in the promise of God, we dare to believe that when, in faith and hope, the message of the gospel is announced, and is listened to, God graciously acts for our transformation and the transformation of the world. There is an act of grace. Thus far, thus sacramental.

There is a physical aspect to the experience of preaching. The Great Tradition of the church has held the conviction, without trying to define it too far, that sacrament is to do with a physical reality being a site of

[12] Haymes, "Towards a Sacramental Understanding…", p. 265.
[13] *Ibid*, p. 264.
[14] Genesis 2;7, Genesis 3;19

gracious activity. This is what Augustine called an outward and visible sign of an inward invisible grace. If we share this, then in preaching as an activity – the voice of the preacher, creating something emerging from the physical object of Scripture and apprehended by the ears of the listeners, we have the possibility of understanding this having a sacramental quality.

And if, as Baptists, we continue to reflect on our conviction that the place where grace comes to us in sacramental practice is in the gathering of the community, and therefore in the physical presence of one another, and our meeting in that embodiment, then, for preaching as well, thus far, thus sacramental. When the community gathers intentionally and confessionally, then we depend on the promise of Christ to be present, and that is as true of the words of preaching as of any other part of the gathering. As the words spoken physically and heard "embodiedly" engage with, re-present the story held for us in Scripture, we look for the gracious action of God the Spirit to act within us and among us graciously, to transform us.

Lest we forget

It is or at least was a frequent explanation of the practice of communion that Jesus knew we were forgetful, and so left us the aide memoire of bread and wine to re-present to us the story of the cross, and continually draw us back to the truth of Calvary. I do not wish to deny the importance of recollection as a discipline of discipleship. To retell the story, to re-encounter the meaning is vital for our maintaining and being nurtured in the ways of the Lord, to sustain us for life in a world in which these ways are not easy to hold to at times. It is of course, far too diminished a meaning to be the only meaning of the supper. But insofar as it is true, it is not only true of bread and wine, and the memory of the cross.

We are prone, as believers, not only to forget Calvary and our life rooted in it, but all too easily forget our selves as embodied beings, and what that means and can mean for faith and practice. As believers, we are aware there is much that caters to our minds and to our souls or spirits or inner selves or however we want to term it. There is much too that militates against our remembering ourselves as embodied and goodly physical beings. Indeed, there is a strong strand – lessened now, but still, I suspect present - of suspicion of body *per se*. And there is certainly much that suggests our bodies are of secondary importance; that which, in good gnostic fashion,[15] we look to escape from, and to keep in its place until that time.

[15] For further discussion, see, for example, Riemer Roukema, *Gnosis and Faith in Early Christianity*, London: SCM Press, 1999.

On the other hand, in our wider society, unshaped, or at least, not awarely shaped by the Christian gospel, there is an interest in and attention to body that is not always healthy; from the over-sexualisation of the images on show, through the objectification of especially the female body, the continuing emphasis on the body as a "problem area" with questions about obesity and an emphasis on over-thinness as beauty. There is also the increasing problematizing of physical experience among the "worried well" – the continual discovery of ever more syndromes and allergies and ways of attaining continual good health, driven largely by a loss of any confidence that there is a life beyond this life, and a goodness that is not entirely dependent on physical beauty or a certain kind of desirability. Bodies are, within and outside the church, areas of anxiety, and negotiating our way as embodied beings in ways that both honour our reality as created beings and do not idolise our flesh is never straightforward.

If bread and wine in one aspect is there to remind us of the events of Calvary – and indeed its physical reality – then what would happen if we also took seriously the embodiment of preaching, or rather, preaching as an embodied reality? What gifts would we discover if we were to consider preaching as having, among other things, the capacity to call us all, preacher and hearer alike, to the remembrance that we are embodied beings? What would we encounter if we were reminded that we are created as embodied beings, that our God has come to us as the Incarnate One and that bodies – not just physical matters as a whole, but human bodies in particular – are one of the sites of God's intended gracious revelation and action?

When we baptise or are baptised, when we share bread and wine, we are offered opportunities to meet with the gracious God through and by our embodied selves. Graciously, God encounters us in ways that are beyond words and ideas and meets us on deeper levels than we can articulate. Sometimes in the moment, often through long-term practice, we become transformed through these gracious meetings into people who are more aware, more engaged, more alert to the presences of God, more responsive to the callings of God.

Preaching that is healthy, graced and faithful can be another of the places where God graciously blesses and transforms us. And when that preaching is fully embodied; that is, when the preacher is centred in and trusting of her embodiment as a place of God's grace, then it becomes a deeper reminder of who we are, a fuller proclamation of the whole gospel, not simply a disembodied gnostic distortion.

This has implications beyond the individual remembering and discovering of the gracious presence of God in the full experience of being human. When we encounter God as committed to embodiment, and graciously acting in and through bodies, we are also made more aware of – and can respond more fully and creatively to the call to engage with – the desire of God to redeem the creation and bring the kingdom into reality in and among people.

Calls to social action and involvement that echo through the gospel – to justice, to renewal, to love in action – are made more real when we are open and opened to a fuller sense of the grace of embodiment. In our commitment, for example, to fair trade, to working for the freedom of prisoners of conscience, to taking seriously our stewardship of the created order, tackling questions of climate chaos, we are better equipped when we are shaped by convictions about grace active on bodies, when the sacramental quality of flesh and blood as well as water, bread and wine is part of an experience of encountering the saving God in worship.

A preacher who is deeply rooted in her own embodiment and able to communicate embodiment as a grace in itself, and as a site of grace for others is more able to be the site of the gracious activity of God in changing the world.

Redemption and renewal

In the sharing of bread and wine, in the baptising in quantities of water, we have always resisted the notion that the water, bread and wine become something different from the water, bread and wine that we meet, use and delight in in everyday life. Indeed, we are more likely to say that, in sharing of these, and encountering grace in the sharing and the telling of the story that they bring to us, we discover that we are sensitised to the grace and goodness of God in all our eating, drinking, washing – to meeting God in the whole of our lives and not only in the set-aside times. The “sanctifying” of one set of these encounters becomes a way not of setting these encounters apart, but of challenging us to be open to the sanctifying of the whole of life. We live in contexts in which body is an area of anxiety, a place of conflict, exploitation, deep anxiety, and indeed self- and other-hatred.

In such a world the gracing of bodies in preaching – that is, the preacher’s body as the place where the Word is made present, the hearers’ bodies as the place where the Word is received – can become the context in which the possibility of the renewal and the redemption of the bodies that are so often objectified, abused, hated or disempowered can be explored. In this theology of preaching, the action of the gracious God is acknowledged

to be present in and through the embodiment of those who speak and those who hear when the Word is active. Therefore, I suggest such gracious acting can also be looked for and recognised in other bodies. Other bodies can also become the sites where grace can be encountered. Thus the capacity to mistreat these bodies must be diminished, while the intention to honour and revere the bodies of those in whom there is the potentiality of gracious action will be made real.

Individuality

In preaching, we believe that in the voice of a person, we can, because of the gracious activity of God, hear the word of God to us and for us and the world. It is important, I suggest, that we take seriously the conviction that this particular gracious action is embodied and made present to us in the voice of a particular person. This is not simply about the recognition that there are those who have a gift for speaking well in public. It is true that there are people who have a command of rhetoric and expression, whose physical presence is powerful, whose skill at setting imaginations alight, minds racing, capturing and communicating vision and hope – that they exist in all sorts of contexts, and that Christian preachers are among them. And it is true that Christian preaching can be well served by the godly dedication of such gifts.

However, in the gracious action of God the sacramentality of the act of preaching is not dependent on the gifts of the preacher any more than the graciousness of the rite of the supper is dependent on the good flavour of the bread. Haymes argues that "[t]he charism of preaching is not in the particular gift of the preacher but in the activity of God by which the hearers know themselves addressed by God".[16]

I want to take this further and suggest that it is not, as this might allow us to fantasise, that the person and personality of the preacher is bypassed by the Spirit's activity, but it is in the humanity – and that means both strength and weakness, both infinite intention and limited capacity of any individual – it is in and through that humanity that God graciously acts to love, transform and recreate through the act of preaching.

To start with the place of the preacher in this discussion, it is probably important to say that I am in no way condoning ill-prepared or slapdash preaching. To be called to be "a servant of the Word" is a privilege which may not be dismissed lightly. Nor am I suggesting that preaching should always – or for most of us, often – depend on the "inspiration of the moment". There is the promise and expectation of the

[16] Haymes, "Towards a Sacramental Understanding…", p. 269.

Spirit's presence in the study as the preparation of what is to be offered is undertaken. There is work to be done in understanding the text, in understanding the context in which the preaching is to be offered, in understanding the use of language – and other means of communication – through which the preaching is explored.

But I have said above that I do not want to go the whole way with either Stackhouse or Colwell in identifying preaching as sacramental in the same way as supper and pool. I suggest that there is in the act of preaching an aspect of subjectivity that is not present in baptism and Eucharist. When I baptise, I use words that are given. We may vary them, we may adapt them to the context of the candidate and of the congregation, but at heart, we are asking questions which elicit a confession of faith and a commitment to discipleship.

When I celebrate at the table, I tell the story and offer prayers in ways that are given. There may be variations in phrasing, and there may very well be a variety of ways in which prayer is expressed. But the account of the Last Supper, the words of institution, the intention of thanksgiving for the meaning and outworking of the story, and, above all, the distributing, eating and drinking are given. It will be done in my way, but there is an experience of objectivity to it; no matter how I feel, no matter what I am actually thinking, no matter what the state of my own life of faith and discipleship, if I am faithful to the words and actions, I am held by something that allows those who are with me to meet the promise of the gracious action.

In preaching however, this objectivity is, I suggest lessened. It is true, it is deeply true, that I am not free to do whatever I like in preaching. Preaching is a visiting of the text in order to hear the Word, and then to speak in the words in the hope that, graciously, the Word is spoken and heard. But there is no escaping the fact that it is me as me that visits the words to hear the Word, and that I will hear and speak it differently from somebody else. (This was reaffirmed for me profoundly recently when I remarked to my colleague that never in a million years of trying would I have heard what he had heard in the passage for the day – and even if I had heard it, I would never have anticipated communicating it as he did). As Philip Brooks said, preaching is communication of truth through personality.[17]

I believe that this is deeply important for us. It is why we pay so much attention to preaching as central to ministry. We are convinced that it is as 'who we are' that God calls us to role of preacher, and not simply as

[17] Lyman Beecher Lectures, 1877

those who are automata. We are mistrustful of preaching that is basically the reading of somebody else's words; this may be edificatory in its own right, but it is not the preaching that we look for when we meet in worship; the immediacy of the communication of words from a person to a community of persons is the place and context in which we expect to hear the Word. Indeed, there remain times and communities among us in which even preparation of what is to be said is regarded with some suspicion, since this could be interpreted as importing that which is not of the gracious Word. Dependence on the immediate inspiration of the Spirit, present in the gathering community is seen as evidence of a true presence of the Word – a claim of which I have to say I remain highly sceptical in most cases. However, it does highlight the conviction, often unarticulated among us, that there is something important in who the preacher is when we are thinking about how we hear the Word in preaching.

And at the heart of who we are is our body. I experience who I am profoundly within my physical being, and I express who I am through my bodily expression – words, actions, dress, presence. Now, if this is the case, if significant in the act of preaching and God's gracious acting in it is the reality of being embodied beings, then the preacher must be in touch with her embodiment and take it seriously as the site of discipleship and service.

When we are taught to preach, we are encouraged to take seriously certain aspects of our embodiment; the ability to speak clearly and loudly, for example. We are challenged to avoid unhelpful mannerisms, and to ensure – especially if we are women – that we dress appropriately; all of this matters. We are also, when we are well cared for and nurtured in our place as preacher, encouraged to take proper physical care of ourselves – not to become over-tired, to take seriously our embodied need for nourishment, rest, recreation and physical care.

Most of this, however, is instrumental; it is how we ensure that our body, as the means by which we allow the sermon to happen, is in the best condition that we can manage. However, if my argument thus far is correct, that preaching has a physical or sacramental quality as well as any other reality, preachers are doing more than simply "using" their bodies as tools. It must also mean *being* our bodies, knowing ourselves as embodied, and recognising that reality as one of the sites of God's gracious activity.

When Keith stepped into the water to preach at the baptismal service, it was not simply a dramatic gesture, nor was it because that was an easier or more appropriate place to preach from. It was appropriate of course, in that, standing in the water, with the candidate was a dramatic and powerful enactment of the meaning of the words. But it was also more than that. By

engaging his body with his message, by presenting his words, in the hope and faith that he would offer the Word, in a way that was unavoidably physically present, he allowed his own body to be known as the place where grace was acting, and as such, invited those of us who were present to become aware of and affirm our own bodies as sites of God's gracious action.

Doing this means that a preacher must not be afraid of her body, not be guilty about her body and not be disconnected from her body. All of these (and of course others) are ills of the body to which we are prone. But part of the formation of preachers, and part of the ongoing discipline of preachers, if I am right that the embodiment of preaching is significant, needs to be accepting that body is God's intention, and one of God's chosen sites of action.

And this requires a particular commitment to trust and hope. Our social context is one which challenges our comfort and trust in our own bodies (we are always too fat, too thin, not the right shape, size, colour, sex - there is so much that can be wrong with our bodies). Our church context can, if we are not careful easily alienate us from our bodies. In such situations, it takes determination to continue to trust that God's intention challenges all of this and for the preacher to stay deeply embodied and committed to such a trust; to recognise her body not only as an instrument to use, but also as in and of itself in graced reality, a place where God is active.

Hearing

As remarked above, the speaking of the preacher is only one part of the act of preaching. As a completion of the gracious action of God it is in the human hearing and resultant transforming action – with its resistances, reinterpretations and inattentions - that preaching has its final home. Preaching that does not become part of the transformation of our lives and of the world has not fulfilled the gracious intention of God. And that transformation while it has an "inner" aspect, and is sometimes deeply hidden from a watching and judging world, it also has an outer reality which is embodied; living differently, reacting and interacting with more love and justice, making a difference in the world. All of this is embodied if it is real, and it is one of the ways in which we know that grace is active among us.

This is one of the realities of embodied preaching; that it has to be heard and received to be preaching. To quote Haymes again

> …the purpose of preaching is not fundamentally the giving of information. It is a different yet related task to that of teaching. It is not an act of memorialism, the re-

> calling of a history alone. It is a work of God effecting a divine encounter, a meeting….Thus a sermon is not a lecture. It is an event. It happens where there is attention given by the preacher and hearer to Scripture, tradition and the present. The preaching "moment" is God's gracious presence in our midst, enabling the preacher to speak and the congregation to hear.[18]

But I want to go further than Haymes does; preaching is not only the preacher and hearer paying attention to scripture, tradition and presence – it is doing it through one another, which involves attention to one another as physically present.

Preaching is an event. It is an event that happens between people, between bodies who are aware of each other and affirming of each other's physical presence. Sermons that are published and read elsewhere can be helpful; sermons that are transmitted through one of the many means of communication now available to us are often sources of blessing. As Barth puts it, God can act graciously even through a dead dog.[19] We cannot and dare not limit God's gracious presence to the ways that we prescribe and control. This is precisely the sacramental theology that we reject. However, with a conviction about the presence of Christ among the community, it is right that we expect a particular presence of God in grace when we meet, body to body around the Scripture to listen for the Word.

And there is a deep theological truth behind this; the deepest presence of grace. The fullest revelation of love, the most challenging call of faith comes to us in the Incarnate One – in these last days God has spoken through his son.[20] At the heart of any sacramental theology is the conviction that God has created stuff and time, *and has entered it*. And so when, as those who exist in stuff and time, we seek to meet God in the way that God has most graciously and fully chosen to meet us, we do not have to look beyond stuff and time, and we do not have to, indeed, we dare not, abandon our reality of being stuff and time. Receiving the Word, coming to us through the mediation of the physical presence of the preacher, we then live by the graciousness of God's presence and call, in our own bodies, and living it out in our actions. The hearing of the Word in the words has a physical presence in the world as and when we respond in obedience and trust, by our bodily actions. This is the completion, the fulfilment of the promise of the preaching. And here again we see why preaching may be sacramental but is not sacrament. It is incomplete without its fulfilment in action and transformation. It points us towards, transforms us into –

[18] Haymes, "Towards a Sacramental Understanding…", p. 270.
[19] Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* Vol 1 Part 1, no. 3.
[20] Hebrews1:1

something that is to be worked through in our continuing physical life in the world of stuff and time.

It may be that this way of reflecting on preaching is one that is prompted by being a woman who preaches. It is impossible to be in that position and not reflect on what it means to be embodied as a preacher, and the relationship between physical presence and presence in the pulpit. It is a well-known reflection that, when the norm is unchallenged, then aspects of that norm are never reflected on. Thus, when the norm of preaching is male, the physical presence of male does not require much in the way of consideration. However, when, by virtue of physical reality, one is an oddity, one is led inexorably to consider that physical reality in new ways. The presence of a female body in the pulpit, the sound of a female voice in the space between speaker and listener, the expression of being human then is a female physical reality – all of this raises questions of embodiment in new and insistent ways. I suggest that this is one of the gifts that women as preachers bring to the wholeness of the church. Men as well as women have bodies and are embodied as they preach. Men as well as women have bodies and are embodied as they listen. Men as well as women have bodies and complete the gracious action started in preaching as they live transformed and transforming lives. If women in the pulpit bring nothing else to the consideration of preaching but raising the issue of embodiment, then, in this way at least, there will have been blessing.

We value preaching as a gift from God, and those who preach for us and among us as gifts of God to the people of God. Within the life of faith, we are blessed with many means by which God acts graciously among us, and offers transformation and renewal. We know preaching as one of the ways we learn, are challenged, are convicted. And preaching is also a means by which God's grace is embodied within and among us. Discovering this sacramental quality – the place of embodiment, and the grace of God in meeting us in and through the practice of speaking and listening as well as in the practice of baptism and eating and drinking at the table – we will speak of something that is one of the distinctives of Baptists and that we would do well to reflect on more and so be able to offer in its glory to the wider church.

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Various Christian Traditions in One Ecclesial Body[1]

Ivana Noble

Among the things which pleasantly surprised me when I came to IBTS was an interest in liturgical symbolism and the centrality of the eucharist. It has interested me how those coming from a non-conformist background, identifying themselves with a conviction-oriented communitarian spirituality, can at the same time embrace the tradition that, whether in Western or Eastern Christian provenience, emphasizes that all our lives are included in liturgy.[2] The liturgical year, according to which the church celebrates the main scriptural events as mysteries in which we participate, gives a dynamic and structure to Christian life. The symbolism, including the elements of the earth, colours, as well as different ritual actions, accompanies the Word of God. In the church celebrating the eucharist, it is believed that by the power of the Holy Spirit the Word becomes alive, healing, active, and gives us language for understanding who we are and what we are sent to become – always together with others, and ultimately with the whole of God‘s creation. It has intrigued me to see what transformation such a correlation between the non-conformist and the liturgical tradition, historically two distinct forms of Christianity, can bring to both, and how they can be lived together in one particular ecclesial body. As a sign of gratitude for this experience, and particular gratitude to Keith Jones and others who gave it space and cultivated it at IBTS, I would like to offer a couple of theological reflections on such a quest.

I come from the Czechoslovak Hussite Church,[3] so I will look at an analogous process there. The first part of the article will sketch how in the movement of Catholic Modernism, out of which the church was born, a

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[1] This study is a part of the research project **“**Symbolic Mediation of Wholeness in Western Orthodoxy”, GAČR P401/11/1688.

[2] See, e.g., *Sacrosanctum concilium* 10 (*Vatican II: Constitutions, Decrees, Declarations*, Northport: Costello Publishing House, 1996; following the conventional method for citing conciliar documents, I give the name and the relevant paragraph number); cf. Alexander Schmemann, “Liturgy and Theology”, in T. Fisch (ed.), *Liturgy and Tradition: Theological Reflections of Alexander Schmemann*. Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1990, pp. 51-2.

[3] The current name of the church, the Czechoslovak Hussite Church, was adopted by the VIth General Council in 1971. The hitherto Czechoslovak Church explained the addition of “Hussite” as follows: “By including the characteristic ‘Hussite’, not only a spiritual identity and self-consciousness has been expressed, but also a task of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church ...”. “Sněmovní rezoluce”, in *Usnesení VI. Řádného sněmu církve československé husitské* [Decrees of the VIth Regular Council of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church], ÚR CČSH, Praha, 1983, pp. 4-7, here p. 4. The church does not have a historical connection to Jan Hus or the Hussite movement in the 15th century; rather it declares a wish to follow in its spiritual heritage. A detail description of the process of the Czechoslovak Church’s foundation is given in Rudolf Urban, *Die tschechoslowakische hussitische Kirche*, Marburg/Lahn: J.G. Herder-Institut, 1973.

kind of existential synthesis of various Christian traditions was made and how it underpinned the programme of church reform. Then, following the conflicts and the processes of consolidation within the church in the first decades of its life, I will ask how much variety one ecclesial body can accept, and why the need of unity was combined with constructions of enforced identity, inevitably reducing the original plurality. In the third part I will briefly comment on the sources the church could draw on in the times of crisis, during the World War II and during Communism. The concluding part will bring back the quest for unity in plurality, which re-emerged after the fall of Communism, and I will offer a couple of theological reflections on this quest, which I hope can be of use also to those living in other church communions.

While my argument will follow the historical flow, I will be unable to offer an in-depth history of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church's experience affording equal value to the various perspectives at any one time. I will limit myself to just a couple of historical remarks while pointing the reader to the available relevant sources in the footnotes.

The Modernist Synthesis

The movement of Catholic Modernism brought to the church and society of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century a desire to reinterpret traditional Christian teaching in the light of the discoveries of modern sciences and developments in the fields of philosophical, historical, and psychological research. Its representatives pleaded for the freedom of conscience, and opposed the increasing centralisation and absolutisation of church authority. Among the most notable figures connected to the movement were the French biblical scholar Alfred Loisy, the British Jesuit George Tyrrell, Baron Friedrich von Hügel, Italian priests and scholars Ernesto Buonaiuti and Giovanni Semeria, the novelist Antonio Fogazzaro, and others.

Rome felt endangered by their effort to transpose tradition into modernity, and thus reacted by suspending or excommunicating certain priests and scholars associated with the movement and placing their works on the *Index of Forbidden Books.* In 1903 the Pontifical Biblical Commission was formed to monitor the work of Scripture scholars, and in 1907 formal condemnations followed with the papal encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* and the decree *Lamentabili Sane Exitu.* However, the very attempts to combine liturgical spirituality and a commitment to the life lived according to the freedom of the conscience, informed by Scripture and Tradition as well as by modern science and culture, which were rejected at the beginning of the 20th century, contributed to the theological

revival and eventually to the *aggiornamento* of the Second Vatican Council sixty years later.[4]

In Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, which were up till World War I part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the movement of Catholic Modernism had a specific shape. First, it was connected to the striving for the revival of the native cultures and gradually also for political independence of the nations that had an unequal place in the Empire, including Czechs and Slovaks. Second, there was a strong social aspect, an awareness that if the church were to remain an important part of the lives of modern people, it had to reach them in the urban, often poor working class, settings, and stand on their side in the times of need.[5] Karel Farský (later first Patriarch of the Czechoslovak Church) records that part of his religious transformation was occasioned by the fact that, for example, the Roman Catholic hierarchy of his time forbade the clergy to bury people shot during demonstrations, that it was not interested in issues of social justice and did not seek to reach pastorally the large percentage of the population that had moved from the country to the cities to work in the factories and who lived in conditions of exploitation and extreme poverty.[6]

The political and social reality which called for an adequate Christian response, both in terms of action and of theological reflection and liturgical and sacramental hospitality, to those in need, coexisted with a romantic understanding of the nation, of the goodness of human nature and the tragedy of human destiny, which would find expression in the literary works of this period, linked to an Enlightenment notion of rationality and belief in progress, which would eventually find its way to theology. In their quest to return to the sources of Christian tradition in order to find inspiration for facing the modern challenges, Czech and Moravian Modernists drew on Sts Cyril and Methodius and St Wenceslas, which led them on one hand towards an appreciation of the local heritage and on the

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[4] See e.g. Rosino Gibellini, *Panorama de la théologie au XXe siècle*, Paris: Cerf, 2004; Mark T. Schoof, *A Survey of Catholic Theology 1800-1970,* Paramus: Paulist, 1970; Karl Rahner, "Basic theological interpretation of the Second Vatican Council", in *Theological Investigations* 20, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1981, pp. 77-89; .Nicholas Lash, "Modernism, aggiornamento and the night battle", in Adrian Hastings (ed.), *Bishops and Writers*, Wheathampstead: Anthony Clarke, 1977, pp. 51-79; I have dealt with this in more detail in Ivana Dolejšová, *Accounts of Hope*: *A Problem of Method in Postmodern* Apologia, Bern – Berlin – Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2001, pp. 112-32.

[5] There have been a number of collective studies dedicated to this theme. See e.g. Pavel Hradilek and Ivana Dolejšová (eds.), *Budoucnost modernismu?* Praha: Síť, 1999; Roman Musil and Aleš Filip (eds.), *Zajatci hvězd a snů. Katolická moderna a její časopis Nový život (1896-1907),* Praha – Brno: Argo – Moravská galerie, 2000; Pavel Marek (ed.), *Česká Katolická moderna,* Olomouc-Prostějov: Filozofická fakulta a Muzeum Prostějovska, 2000, Zdeněk Kučera and J.B. Lášek (eds.), *Modernismus. Historie nebo výzva? Studie ke genezi českého katolického modernismu,* Brno: L. Marek, 2002; Zdeněk Kučera, J. Kořalka, J.B. Lášek (eds.), *Živý odkaz modernismu* , Brno: L. Marek, 2003.

[6] See Karel Farský, *Přelom*, Praha: 1921.

other towards a conversation, and for some later even affiliation, with the Orthodox Church.

At the same time special attention was given to Jan Hus, the Hussite Movement, and the Moravian Brethren, again representing the local Christian tradition, while leading sometimes towards affinity, or sometimes conflict of interpretations and interests with Czech Protestantism. These traditional sources of inspiration were complemented by two modern ones, liberal Protestantism and a non-dogmatic anti-institutional type of Christianity gathered round Free Thought. Later all of these strands could be identified as foundations of the church that separated from Rome in 1920.[7] But before moving there, let us follow how these sources coexisted in the Modernist synthesis.

Czech and Moravian Modernists organised themselves in the Clergy Union in 1902. Its church reform manifesto was first expressed in the Přerov Programme (1902), and included allowing the lower clergy and lay people to participate more actively in the life and decision-making of the church, the celebration of the whole of the mass in the vernacular and the right of local churches to participate in the decision concerning the nomination of the bishop. Later these points were developed with the addition of optional celibacy.[8] The Union was forbidden in 1907, and after a period of clandestine activities was officially renewed after World War I, at which time it included about half of the clergy in the region.

After the founding of the independent Czechoslovakia in October 1918, the representatives of the Clergy Union went to Rome in May 1919 to negotiate. They moderated their initial document "The Renewal of the Catholic Church in the Czechoslovak Republic", requiring the following; (i) new bishops instead of those who collaborated with the Austrian authorities and who had lost moral authority; (ii) the Archbishop of Prague should have much a stronger position, comparable to the position of Methodius (initially they wanted to speak about a Czech Patriarchate); (iii) as in the times of Cyril and Methodius, the whole of the worship, including

[7] See the sources which are declared as binding for the church in its doctrinal document "Základy víry" [Foundations of Faith], issued by the Main Council of the church in 1958 and accepted at the VIth council in 1971. It includes, besides the Scriptures, the early creeds (Apostolic and Nicene-Constantinopolitan), the Four Articles of Prague, in which the church saw the expression of the spirit and the programme of the Hussite Movement, and the Czech Confession from 1575, which was to express the common faith of the Czech Reformation. See "Základy víry církve československé husitské", in *Usnesení VI. Řádného sněmu církve československé husitské* [Decrees of the VIth Regular Council of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church], Praha: ÚR CČSH, , 1983, pp. 11-83, here point A, p. 12

[8] See Peter Hofrichter, "Modernismus in Ősterreich, Böhmen und Mähren", in Erika Weinzierl (ed), *Der Modernismus*. Graz: 1974, pp. 175-97; Pavel Marek, "A Programme of the Czech Catholic Modernist Movement: A Defense of the Church or a Path to Heresy?" *Cosmas* 16:2 (2003), pp. 59-69.

the daily office should be in the vernacular and on special occasions in holy places in old Slavonic; (iv) moderation of the demand for celibacy.

The delegation was not well prepared and it ended in a fiasco. After that the Clergy Union divided and its radical wing, presided by a priest, Karel Farský, decided to do the reform *via facti*. Some of the priests got married, and thus they broke the requirement of compulsory celibacy. At Christmas in 1919 a number of parishes led by the radical Modernist clergy celebrated the whole mass in Czech. An open conflict with the hierarchy was inevitable, and it led to further division within the Clergy Union, to the founding of the independent church on 8 January 1920,[9] and to depriving Czech Catholicism of the strength of a big part of the life-giving dissent for several generations.[10]

From Synthesis to Consolidation

After the split with the Roman Catholic Church the new ecclesial body was presided by a temporary commission headed by Karel Farský. Two main streams could be discerned in it, with different visions concerning the question of apostolic succession and mission in the modern world: the radical modernist, gradually more and more influenced by the liberal ideas and the pro-Orthodox. The liberal influence can be found already in the Proclamation to the Czechoslovak nation of 10 January 1920, where freedom of conscience is named as the foundational principle of the Czechoslovak Church, and democratic principles are required in the church. In other aspects of the church life, it adopted Roman Catholic

[9] There were disagreements about its name. The initial proposal Czech Catholic Church was changed into Czechoslovak Church because of the protesting Slovaks (who did not become part of the church in the end). Not all of the members of the radical wing entered the new church, as schism was seen (quite rightly) as unwanted. Joining the Old Catholic Church (the closest option) did not happen because while the Old Catholic church in the region recruited from the German-speaking population, the reform movement in the Czechoslovak church recruited from the Czech-speaking population, and the national identity was seen as very important.

[10] For various interpretations of this part of history by Roman Catholic authors, see, for example: Anastáz Opasek, "Úvahy o Katolické moderně a jejím poslání", in *Slovo a naděje*, Rome: Křesťanská akademie, 1978, pp. 11-19; Jiří Hanuš, *Mezi tradicí a reformou, rozhovory o moravském katolicismu ve 20. století*, Brno: CDK, 2002; Josef Karola, "Ke kritice apologetického profilu Katolické moderny", *Filozofický časopis* 30:4 (1982), 591-613; Pavel Marek, *Apologetové nebo kacíři?* Rosice u Brna: Gloria, 1999; *České schisma, Příspěvek k dějinám reformního hnutí katolického duchovenstva v letech 1917-1924*, Olomouc – Rosice: Gloria, 2000; *Český katolicismus 1890-1914, Kapitoly z dějin českého katolického tábora na přelomu 19.a 20. století*, Olomouc: Gloria, 2003; *Církevní krize na počátku první Československé republiky (1918-1924)*, Olomouc: Gloria, 2005. Pavel Marek, Vladimír Červený, Jiří Lach, *Od Katolické moderny k českému církevnímu rozkolu*, Rosice u Brna: Gloria, 2000; among the Hussite sources, see, e.g., Miloslav Kaňák, *Z dějin reformního úsilí českého duchovenstva* Praha: Blahoslav, 1951; *Z dějin světových zápasů o pokrok na poli náboženském. (Katolický modernismus)*, Praha: Blahoslav, 1961; David Frýdl, *Reformní náboženské hnutí v počátcích Československé republiky. Snaha o reformu katolicismu v Čechách a na Moravě*, Brno: L. Marek, 2001.

canonical and liturgical regulations, with some alterations taken from the Modernist reform programme.[11]

The pro-Orthodox wing, gathered round Matěj Pavlík, convinced the church to enter into negotiations concerning affiliation with the Serbian Orthodox Church. As a result, in 1921 Pavlík was consecrated by the Orthodox in Belgrade as the first Czechoslovak bishop, and received the name Gorazd. Two other planned consecrations, of Karel Farský and Rudolf Pařík, did not occur. The reason was the Catechism Farský wrote in 1922 together with František Kalous, and which was for the Orthodox heading more towards Free Christianity than Orthodoxy.[12] In 1924 bishop Gorazd Pavlik after a long-term conflict within the church left the Czechoslovak Church and started the Czech Orthodox Church under Serbian jurisdiction.[13] The links to Orthodoxy became a minor stream, though they continued unofficially both in terms of spirituality, theology, and during the Communist times even in terms of double canonical affiliation.[14]

After this period which the victorious wing of the Church would call "the Orthodox Crisis", the first Council of the Czechoslovak Church was held, in 1924. In the changed preamble of the church constitution accepted there, we can track the reduction of the initial plurality of foundational sources: "The Czechoslovak Church consists of Christians who struggle to fulfil (*sic*) the contemporary moral struggles and scientific knowledge by the Spirit of Christ as testified in the Scriptures, in the ancient Christian interpretations, and for the Czechoslovak nation in particular kept in the Hussite and Brethren movements".[15] The Council transposed the Modernist reform ideas into Czech religious history, but now more selectively.

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[11] It said that the Czechoslovak Church until formulating its own regulations "accepts the regulations of the Roman Catholic Church, renewed, however, in the spirit of democracy". Likewise Roman Catholic liturgical and sacramental tradition was accepted with two changes, that the services are optional and in the vernacular. It saw "freedom of conscience as its foundational principle". The constitution of the Czechoslovak Church was formulated in 1921. See Ferdinand Prášek, *Vznik čs. církve a patriarcha G. A. Procházka*, Praha: Tiskové a nakladatelské družstvo CČS, 1932, p. 66.

[12] See Karel Farský and František Kalous, *Československý katechismus - učebnice pro mládež a věřící církve československé*, Příbram: Ant. Pelz, 1922.

[13] For the roots of the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia, see Pavel Marek and Volodymyr Bureha, *Pravoslaví v Československu v letech 1918-1953*, Brno: CDK, 2001; Pavel Aleš, *Pravoslavná církev u nás*, Světlo světa, Olomouc, 1996; Gorazd Vopatrný, *Dědictví otců. Osudy svaté pravoslavné víry na území bývalého Československa*, Knižní dílna Rubato, Praha, 1999; Kateřina Bauerová and Tim Noble, "Cesty od diaspory k místním církvím", in Ivana Noble, Kateřina Bauerová, Tim Noble, Parush Parushev, *Cesty pravoslavné teologie ve 20. století na Západ*. Brno: CDK, 2012, pp. 195-257, here pp. 214-16.

[14] There were priests who in the situation of need asked an Orthodox bishop for help, and there were cases of double ordination, Hussite and Orthodox. This part of the history of the Czechoslovak Hussite church has not yet been documented; however some of the eyewitnesses are still alive.

[15] See Bohdan Kaňák, "Budování církve (1924 – 1939)", in *90 let Církve československé husitské*, Praha: CČSH, 2010, p. 44.

The process of changing allegiance to the new church by many Roman Catholics, the understandable but still negative response to this by the Roman Catholic authorities and at times also local churches, brought further estrangement of the Czechoslovak Church from the Catholicism out of which it arose. Hence, now especially those parts of the Czech religious history which were not seen as Catholic were emphasized, and thus the tradition of St Wenceslas was downplayed. The early Modernist desire to seek for creative continuity with the mission and the church of Sts Cyril and Methodius moved to the background both because of the new confrontations with Catholicism but also because of the failed negotiations with the Orthodox.

While identifying the new church with what was understood to be the Czech reformation, it reformulated the teaching on the sacramental episcopacy. The Church Council agreed that they would practise what the Moravian Brothers did and what would resemble a priestly succession common in the Middle Ages. Farský, who was much loved by the people for his personal integrity despite the times of struggle, was elected the first patriarch of the Czechoslovak Church: other priests (still with Roman Catholic ordination) and lay representatives laid hands on him, as well as later on other bishops.[16]

The church remained liturgical and sacramental. Farský translated and modified the Roman Catholic mass in 1924 and the council accepted it and the Sacramental. Seven sacraments were kept, even if their theology varied among different groups within the church. The church organisation was now based on a combination of episcopal and synodal principles.[17]

Farský died in 1927 and was succeeded by Gustav Adolf Procházka. The church rapidly grew in numbers to become before the war the second largest church in the country. From the beginning of the 1930s its leadership worked towards a doctrinal consolidation, which displayed still further the distance of the believers from their Roman Catholic roots. In 1931 a new document was accepted, "The Teaching of Christian religion for Czechoslovak believers". It was prepared by Alois Spisar and František Kalous, the co-author of the Catechism that had proved too liberal for the Orthodox. The variety within the church was reduced but not extinguished, despite the fact that a new identity of the church based on a reduced

[16] This perspective is elaborated in, for example, Miloslav Kaňák, *Církev československá v historickém vývoji a přehledu*, Praha: Blahoslav, 1946.

[17] See František Kovář, *Deset let československé církve 1920-1930.* Praha: Blahoslav, 1930; Miloslav Kaňák, "Stručný nárys dějin Československé církve vzhledem k jejímu vzniku a půlstoletému vývoji", in *Padesát let Československé církve. Sborník studií pracovníků Husovy fakulty, věnovaný k půlstoletí CČS.* Prague: ÚCN, 1970.

synthesis of traditions was proclaimed and at times enforced.[18] The dominant wing gradually lost strong ties even to Catholic Modernism and relied on a combination of popular ethno-philetism and liberalism.[19] At the same time, it sought to strengthen its position by regaining apostolic succession as understood by its theological opponents, through negotiations with the Old Catholics.[20]

The church invested much energy into social work and youth work in particular. It found its strength in organising various club activities, in gathering various people together with some clear and generally helpful aims, which were not necessarily explicitly Christian. Thus on the one hand it managed to interact with the largely secular population, sceptical towards religious institutions, anticlerical and unwilling to accept a religion of miracles. On the other hand, it welcomed this secularisation inside the church, often reducing the church to a kind of club, depriving it of its sacramental foundations. As we will see, this played a negative role in the coming times of persecution, when church members were often easily convinced that they could live a good life and do good things without church affiliation.

What to Draw Upon in Times of Crisis

The Czechoslovak Church had less than twenty years' independent existence and time to struggle with its teen-age problems of who it was in the eyes of others as much as in its own before Nazism and then Communism took away the liberty of the nation with whom the church so strongly identified itself, and brought various forms of open and hidden persecution. In these times the church was faced with what sources to draw upon.

Before moving to this period, one more influence impacting on the combination of sources within the Czechoslovak Church needs to be mentioned. Between 1935 and 1950, with the exception of the war years when the universities were closed, the Czechoslovak seminarians studied at the Protestant Faculty, where they had their own small section. The encounter with and formation by Protestant theology moved the next generation of the Czechoslovak clergy and theologians to a new territory,

[18] For the doctrinal synthesis, see, e.g., Alois Spisar, *Ideový vývoj církve československé*, Praha: Blahoslav, 1936.

[19] In 1930 the church came in contact with the World Union of Free Christianity, and till World War II took part in its activities. This later delayed its acceptance into the World Council of Churches till 1964, after explanation of its position with regards to the trinitarian and traditional Christianity.

[20] In 1931 bishop Ferdinand Stibor and the patriarch G.A. Procházka secretly received Episcopal consecration from the Old Catholics in Paris, after they had been installed according to the rules of their own church. While there are still witnesses to this memory, letters and other documents testifying to these events did not survive in the church archives.

further away from Catholic Modernism, Orthodoxy, and Liberal Protestantism, to embrace a Protestant Biblicism, and the heritage of the Bohemian Reformation interpreted through Protestant lenses, which prepared the way for later reception of Dialectical Theology. But there were still notable exceptions to this unreflected shift, such as František Kovář, first marginalised by the circle of Procházka, later elected as his successor, who tried to broaden Czechoslovak theology and Church practice through the now almost forgotten elements of Catholic Modernism; these included a liturgical spirituality that sought in each generation to draw afresh on the traditional sources, a positive – if critical – relationship to culture and science, and social and political engagement on the side of the disadvantaged.[21]

Especially the last emphasis played a significant role during the World War II, when Kovář was among those who helped to reject the advantages promised by the pro-Nazi German Christian movement to the Czechoslovak Church as a price for cooperation.[22] Kovář, an educated man with a broad horizon,[23] drawing upon the requirements to seek the truth and to live, speak and act according to one's conscience, published analyses of the theological and political positions of the German Christians in which he openly criticized their anti-Judaism and nationalism, while distancing his church from such temptations. After the war, when in 1946 he became the third patriarch of the church, his memory of the dangers of popular ethno-philetism led him to re-interpret the church's history and mission in the light of this experience. The same, however, cannot be said about the encounter with the subsequent totalitarianism. While Kovář was aware of the atrocities done in Bolshevik Russia after the revolution, he did not have the strength to oppose the Communist regime when it came to Czechoslovakia with equal force and sophistication.[24]

After 1948 the left-wing orientation of a number of clergy and lay people within the church led too quickly into either people leaving the church or into a compromising contact with the new communist regime. The Communist government discussed two possible strategies towards the Czechoslovak Church. The first, which they tried at the beginning of 1950s, was to exploit its nationalist orientation, anti-Catholic sentiment and left-wing inclinations, and initiate shifts of other Christians into it, as a kind

[21] See Jaroslav Hrdlička, *Život a dílo Prof. Františka Kováře: Příběh patriarchy a učence*, Brno: L. Marek, 2007, pp. 218-30.
[22] See ibid , pp. 257-77.
[23] Among Kovář's academic writings are (in Czech): *Philosophical Thought of Hellenic Jews* (1922); *Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (1923); *Synoptic Gospels* (1938); *Interpretation of the Gospel according to Mark* (1946).
[24] See Hrdlička, *Život a dílo Prof. Františka Kováře*, pp. 337-464.

of transition between Christianity and atheism, while using it to weaken the position of the Roman Catholic church. The second strategy consisted in starting to liquidate the church, taking advantage of the fact that it did not have strong support abroad.[25] This strategy became dominant in the 1970s, but elements of it were employed earlier, when the Communist authorities did not gain willing support of the clergy in particular.[26]

Patriarch Kovář, who had sufficient experience with the German Christians, did not buy the Communists' nationalist argument, but he was more open to their promises of social reform, despite the fact that he knew the situation in post-revolution Russia.[27] It must be acknowledged that he was unable to avoid enforced proclamation of support for the new regime, placed upon the church representatives as a condition for state recognition of their churches. His health broke over this situation in which he did not see a good solution. The church members were fed enforced propaganda not only by the state but also by the church, without sufficient warning voices about what was going on. Moreover, emphasizing humanism without the need of mediation through the church institution, the spirit of democracy, and the desire to struggle for social justice and world peace made the expressions of loyalty to the Communist ideology look like continuity with the liberal ideals which the church had embraced in the late 1920s and 1930s. As a result, during the first waves of Communist persecution in the 1950s, more than half of the members left the church.

The negotiations with the Communist regime at the highest level were undertaken increasingly also by Miroslav Novák, who since 1946 had been bishop of Prague and in 1961 succeeded Kovář as patriarch. Novák was closer to the Communist regime than Kovář.[28] Being known and well received in the international ecumenical circles made him an attractive option for the Communists. Novák had also previously taught at the theological faculty, and together with Kovář was active in its emancipation.[29] In 1950 when the theological faculties were expelled from

[25] See *ibid*, p. 367; cf. Karel Kaplan, "Státní církevní politika 1948-1950", and Jiří Hanuš, "Mezi martyriem a kolaborací. Několik poznámek k dějinám církve zdola v roce 1950", both in Jiří Hanuš and Jan Stříbrný (eds.), *Stát a církev v roce 1950*, Brno: CDK, 2000, pp. 10-20 and 110-23.

[26] See Martin Jindra, *Strážci lidskosti: dvanáct příběhů příslušníků Československé církve (husitské) vězněných po únoru 1948*, Praha: Náboženská obec Československé církve husitské na Starém Městě, 2007.

[27] See, e.g., Kovář's introductory speech at his installation in October 6 1946, entitled "The Czechoslovak Church in the service of progress", re-published in Marek Čejka and Jiří Hanuš (eds.), *Křesťané a socialismus: Čítanka textů: 1945-1989, Díl 2*, Brno: CDK, 2009, pp. 34-43.

[28] In 1945 Novák even joined the Communist Party, but he left when the Party made leaving the church a condition for membership. See Jaroslav Hrdlička, "Československá (husitská) a římskokatolická církev. Léta 1920-1991", *Církevní dějiny* 2 (2008), pp. 12-36.

[29] See Jaroslav Hrdlička, *Patriarcha Dr. Miroslav Novák: život mezi svastikou a rudou hvězdou*, Brno: L. Marek, 2010.

the university and turned into church seminaries, the faculty was divided into two seminaries, the Protestant (Comenius) and the Czechoslovak (Hus). The new generation of teachers at the Jan Hus seminary was divided into two camps. One, represented by Zdeněk Trtík,[30] Otto Rutrle or Jindřich Mánek, already had, unlike Kovář or Novák, a Protestant formation, and from there they sought to develop their biblical theology and reconnect it with the Catholic Modernist heritage. Later this group produced the doctrinal document called Foundations of Faith.[31] The other wing was represented by more pro-regime figures such as Ladislav Šimšík or Anežka Ebertová, but was supported also by Novák and at times even by Kovář. They produced the document "Foundations of the Social and Ethical Orientation of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church".[32]

Church life gradually weakened, and despite the fact that there were people and small centres engaged in opposition to Communism who struggled to live an authentic Christianity, the church structures were badly hit both by persecution and by the infiltration of the Secret Police into its structures. The hardships led a number of clergy and lay people into much closer contact with Christians of other confessions. This was despite the fact that official ecumenical organisations like the Czech Council of the Churches or the more explicitly pro-regime Christian Peace Conference were supervised by the secret police and largely mistrusted by believers. The choice of those with whom the Hussite clergy and lay people cooperated happened more existentially – depending on whom they met

[30] Apart from Kovář, Trtík was another theologian appreciated for his erudition and insights both within the more intellectual circles of the Hussite church and outside the church. Perhaps his most influential work, *I-Thou Relationships and Christianity* (1948), introduced personalism into Hussite theology.

[31] In 1955-1957, under Patriarch Kovář, the group led by Zdeněk Trtík had to cooperate on creating this document with the Doctrinal Commission of the Main Council of the church. Both the state authorities and their interests and the church leadership and their interests impacted upon its formulation. And while it was praised in its time for its theological precision, and with broadening the sources the Czechoslovak Hussite Church needed to draw on, with the distance of time some vital elements can be seen as deficient, in particular the concept of the Spirit of Christ as a norm rather than person, or the interpretation of Christ's resurrection which is a residuum of Liberalism. The document was published by the Main Council of the church in 1958 and officially accepted by the church at the first meeting of the Sixth Regular Council in 1971. See *Usnesení VI. Řádného sněmu církve československé husitské* , pp. 11-57.

[32] This document was written by a collective of authors presided by Anežka Ebertová, and it was officially accepted by the church as its norm in the second meeting of the Sixth Regular Council in 1981. The document adopts Marxist terminology to speak about contemporary social realities, and makes apparently unproblematic links between the biblical heritage and Communist ideology. Theologically, it disputes with the desire of the authors of the previous document to reconnect the church more strongly to the mainstream Christian tradition, and recovers still further the liberal strands. In a largely unattractive text, there are some important themes addressed well, like ecological responsibility or the need of further reflection on the role of work in Christian spirituality. See *Usnesení VI. Řádného sněmu církve československé husitské*, pp. 97-145.

and could trust and find mutual understanding – than doctrinally. Thus often, at the grassroots level the most unlikely combinations appeared.[33]

Two other impulses which helped to recover good and warm relationships with others were Taizé spirituality which created small house groups of prayer and sharing, including people of different confessions or none, and which flourished especially in the Communist times when they were forbidden, and the Decade of the Spiritual Renewal introduced in 1987 by the Roman Catholic Cardinal Tomášek, but open to other Christians.[34] Tomášek acted at this time as a shepherd of a number of other Christians, including Hussites, who were estranged from their bishops or other church leaders who were compromised with the secret police, and so concerned with maintaining church structures and their positions in them that they sacrificed care for people in need.[35]

The mutual love and trust rediscovered with others also had its theological expression. With state control of the theological seminaries, alternative theological education emerged, and people met in seminars in flats and shared smuggled literature, also across the confessional spectrum. The need to draw on different strands of Christian tradition was thus back in circulation.[36]

The theological formation in the Hus seminary towards the end of the Communist period remained of Protestant orientation, however without being revitalized, even by the new movements within Protestant theology. Most of the teachers remained distant to Roman Catholicism, and untouched by the fact that the reform of Vatican II had not only rehabilitated some of the modernist efforts in theology, liturgy and church structure, but offered a way forward with them. There were exceptions, but because of their fear of the state and the church authorities and various personal agendas, they did not have much impact on the students or the

[33] I still remember with gratitude meetings hold regularly in Beroun, the first parish I served in after my ordination, with the Roman Catholic priest, the Seventh Day Adventist preacher, the Charismatic preacher and me. Once a month we met for breakfast together, talked about our ministries, gradually shared help to some people in need, prayer, first by ourselves, later with our communities, then common youth work, and even common services.

[34] Before it was publically announced, Cardinal Tomášek offered to Patriarch Novák to include the Hussite church among its organisers. Novák, however, out of the fear of political consequences, refused. See Hrdlička, *Patriarcha Dr. Miroslav Novák.*

[35] Several of my friends told me about their secret visits to the cardinal, who would listen to them, trying to help, without a desire to convert them to Roman Catholicism. One of them was so desperate at the situation in the Hussite church that while being a Hussite priest he wanted to convert to Catholicism himself. The cardinal advised him to stay where he was looking after his people and offered that he can come and talk to him whenever he needs.

[36] I have dealt with this period in more detail in Ivana Noble, "Czech Churches in Transition", in Katharina Kunter and J.H. Schørring (eds.), *Die Kirchen und das Erbe des Kommunismus*, Erlangen: Martin Luther Verlag, 2007, pp. 67-81 and "Memory and Remembering in the Post-Communist Context", *Political Theology* 4 (2008), pp. 455-75.

church in large. After the fall of Communism, the contact with our oldest roots – now the post-conciliar Catholicism – was seen as threatening, and the situation in the church and at its theological faculty discouraged a number of decent, creative and engaged people because of the lack of credibility in the church, or because they were simply pushed out as undesirable elements.[37]

The Velvet Revolution found the church in a weak and divided state. It took more than a decade to change the collaborating bishops for new ones and the Hussite church underwent inner conflicts and struggles for power, in which time it lost many of its active members who desired that its life and healing might continue.[38] Many short-sighted decisions were taken to gain temporary advantages for the particular individuals or groups who held power.[39] Again, the church underwent a kind of consolidation process, now much weaker than in 1920s, and the intermediate results of that process mirrored that fact. Within the church the 1990s was a time of oppression of alternatives, persecution of the pro-Catholic and pro-Orthodox tendencies and the charismatic renewal. A group of liberals who embraced once again a national church dream and an a-historical self-identification with the Hussite movement dominated at least for a decade.In the last two decades, the longest continual politically undisturbed life since the 1920s, the church has, however, gradually been learning to live with the plurality within its own body, and to discern a direction that would be organic and truthful to who the church has been.

Conclusion: The Quest for Unity in Plurality

When a church draws on various traditions, which to different degrees is always the case, questions arise as to how much diversity the local

[37] As the people I am writing about are still alive, I will not name names negatively, though some of the good things which happened at this time can be recorded. A useful attempt to re-introduce some Orthodox as well as other chants and prayers was made by Milan Salajka in 1985, when he printed for internal use at the seminary a collection called *Morning and Evening Prayers for the Seminarians of the Hus Czechoslovak Theological Faculty.* While as a dean of the faculty he was loyal to the regime, at the same time he employed people from Charter 77, and helped students to organise their trips abroad. J.B.Lášek, who was forbidden to teach at the faculty, but kept in touch with the seminarians privately, helped in smuggling in books by Fr Alexander Men and other authors, and made himself available both for pastoral and theological conversations to those whom he knew. The teacher of modern languages, Jiří Holub, who did not claim to have any church affiliation, befriended students, went with them to demonstrations, invited them to his home, and encouraged them to study and to seek for and keep links with their colleagues in the West.

[38] For a theological reflection on this slow process of consolidation, see my previous study, Ivana Noble, *Theological Interpretation of Culture in Post-Communist Context: central and East European Search for Roots,* Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2010, pp. 112-16.

[39] Examples might include the way in which newly ordained clergy were uncaringly placed in often impossible situations which forced them from the ministry, the forging of alliances with other churches apparently for financial gain, without any thought of theological closeness, and the disastrous policies in the restored Hussite Theological Faculty in the mid- to late 1990s, from which it only now recovering.

communities are able to handle, and how much difference the church is able to accept among the different local communities that constitute its communion. As we have seen, diversity brings with it sometimes complementary but often also conflicting loyalties to other communions where the traditions drawn upon have their home. Such situations can tear a communion apart, as we saw with the Czechoslovak Church in the 1920s. But an alternative, that would cut off access to life-renewing sources and establish an artificial independent identity, is equally unsatisfactory and unhelpful, as we saw in following some aspects of the consolidation process in the Hussite Church. By reducing the Spirit-given plurality which is at the root of ecclesial life, this life is eliminated from the church, and what replaces this makes believers either starve or leave. The quest of seeking for unity in plurality that I sketched at the end of the previous section needs to be accompanied by a theological conversion in how we perceive the sources.

Thus when liturgical spirituality and practices are embraced by Protestant or Non-Conformist communities, but also when Catholics meet for Bible studies and offer Alpha courses, or when Hussites practice the Jesus Prayer[40] or Baptists make an Ignatian retreat[41] – not only theoretical possibilities, of course, but actual realities – the following challenges may need to be taken on board.

In order to seek for right relationships to other aspects of tradition and their homes, we need to appreciate that what is life-giving in Christian tradition, in any of its representations, comes from the Holy Spirit. It is as a gift that opens the sources of Christ's salvation more broadly and deeply, and calls for participation not in this piece of the tradition or that, but in the one theological reality the tradition represents.[42] Relationship to the Giver of tradition does not exclude the precious contribution of those who

[40] The Jesus prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner", sometimes also called the prayer of the heart, refers to the desire of acquiring the gift of unceasing prayer that the apostle Paul writes about in 1 Th 5:17, and which was practised in Hesychast Orthodox monasticism. It included prayer with the mouth as well as uniting breath, the rhythm of the heart, mind, the whole of human efforts in prayer, which gradually leads to conversion in all our relationships and to participation in God. See, e.g., Kallistos Ware, *The Power of the Name*, Fairacres, Oxford: Cistercian Publications – SLG Press, 1989; Lev Gillet, *Jesus Prayer*, Crestwood: SVS, 1987; or Michael Plekon, "Becoming the Jesus Prayer", http://www.incommunion.org/2005/01/17/becoming-the-jesus-prayer/ (downloaded 12/4/2013).

[41] Ignatian retreat refers to the practice of spiritual exercises introduced by St Ignatius of Loyola. A combination of silence, biblical meditations, and conversation about one's inner life aiming at a deeper conversion towards the following of Christ, made such retreats popular also among Protestants and Evangelicals. For more, see, e.g., David L. Fleming, *What is Ignatian Spirituality?* Chicago: Loyola Press, 2008, available free online at http://www.ignatianspirituality.com/ignatian-voices/21st-century-ignatian-voices/download-a-free-book-what-is-ignatian-spirituality-by-david-l-fleming-sj/ (downloaded) 12/4/2013).

[42] See 1 Cor 12.

formulated it and in passing it on preserved its life, but does not see grateful relationship with them in isolation.[43]

While the plurality of tradition enables its wealth to be approached from many different sides, the unity of tradition excludes reduction of tradition to any of its elements.[44] This does not mean that any person or church community will be able to embrace the Christian tradition in its full breadth, but that through what we have accepted we are connected with others who might participate in the one reality of Christian tradition through forms that are alien to us, be it Marian piety or veneration of the Saints for the Protestants, or celebrating gay partnerships in the church as an expression of the solidarity with the outcast among the Scandinavian Lutherans for the Catholics, or mass evangelisations of the Billy Graham type for the Orthodox. Not understanding the other in circumstances where we feel justified in our own positions still does not mean that the other does not authentically participate in the one reality of Christian tradition, which we, judging on the basis of "our" elements of tradition taken in isolation, do not recognize as authentic.[45]

In borrowing and appropriating from others the elements of tradition which were long-term or temporarily lost in our own communion, we need to have some sense of a common heritage and with that a common belonging that would include love for each other and responsibility for each other. I cannot, for example, participate in the rite of the beautiful Roman Catholic Easter Vigil while separating myself from their communion and from the responsibility for the past, and claiming that, e.g., the inquisition has nothing to do with my church as it did not exist then. If we draw on the common heritage that continued to evolve and give fruits after the schisms of the church, then we have to accept as our own also the unattractive parts of the tradition of the other. It does not mean giving up discernment, but giving up any sense of superiority, and searching for ways of bearing the burden and seeking the healing with the other as much as we enjoy sharing in each other's treasures.

Such a notion of common heritage also presupposes that whatever we have received from God cannot be just our own. This attitude of solidarity and non-possession can contribute towards healing the historical schisms.[46] While the attitude towards other Christian churches should not

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[43] Yves Congar speaks of the Spirit as a transcendent subject of tradition, which lives and is passed on in the living body of the church. See Yves Congar, *La Tradition et Les Traditions II: Essai théologique*, Paris: Fayard, 1963, pp. 101-8.

[44] See Congar, *La Tradition et Les Traditions II*, p. 213.

[45] We already find this challenge in the New Testament, see Mk 9: 38-40; Lk 9: 49-50.

[46] The concept of non-possession I borrow from Mother Maria Skobtsova, "The Poor in Spirit," in *Essential Writings*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 2003, pp. 104-6, here p. 105.

be marked by a messianic complex or any sense of superiority, nor should there be any sense of unhealthy inferiority, for their benefit as much as ours. This would place the other in one of the worst temptations, namely that of pride.[47] The attitude of solidarity and non-possession, or to use another theological category - of *kenosis*,[48] includes the care for the other, and restoral of healthy relationships among Christians and their Churches enlightened and penetrated by the love of the Giver of the Christian tradition not only to some but to all. Such unity in plurality is a call and a promise that needs to be permanently purified of our power interests, romantic images and sentimental simplifications.[49]

Thus, as I hope that the rich life of IBTS drawing on the wealth both within and outside of the baptistic traditions will continue even if in a new format, I hope the reflected historical experience from another church communion can help it in finding sound attitudes while facing the challenges mentioned above.

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[47] St John Climacus identifies pride as the worst vice, which can alienate from God even the one who has acquired all other virtues. See John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1992, pp. 121-31; 209-10.

[48] See Phil 2: 6-11. Yves Congar speaks not only of the *kenosis* of Christ – who did not cling to equality with God, and in giving himself up brought us salvation, but also to the *kenosis* of the Spirit, who gave up its visibility and glory in order to enable a bond of love between people and God and among people. Both are, according to him, part of the divine philanthropy the church is called to imitate. See Yves Congar, *Je Crois en l'Esprit Saint* I-III, Paris: Cerf, 1979-1980, here *II*, p. 28; for further discussion see Elisabeth Teresa Groppe, *Yves Congar's Theology of the Holy Spirit*, Oxford – New York: OUP, 2004, pp. 9, 57, 74.

[49] See Yves Congar, "Eglise de Pierre, église de Paul, église de Jean: Destin d'un théme écumenique" in Andrew Blane a Thomas Bird (eds.), *The Ecumenical World of Orthodox Civilization: Russia and Orthodoxy III: Essays in honor of Georges Florovsky*, The Hague – Paris: Mouton, 1974, pp. 163-179, here p. 173.

Baptists and Ecumenical Engagement

John Briggs

The adjective 'ecumenical' derives from the Greek *oikoumene*, which means the whole inhabited world. Its older usage was to describe those councils of the church which have been accepted as authoritative for all the ancient strands of Christianity. However the number of councils so accepted varies from church family to church family. Thus the Oriental Orthodox churches [Armenians, Copts and Syrian Orthodox] only accept the first three, disagreeing with the way the Council of Chalcedon [451] spoke of the person of Christ, whilst the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches accept the authority of the first seven councils.

A Shattered Christendom

These ancient divisions in the church were compounded by the Reformation, which in the first place led to the establishment of a series of national churches, and then, under the impact of the Radical Reformation, different confessional groupings within any given territory. These breaches in Christendom did not occur without attempts to counter such a fragmentation of Christian witness. In 1541 theologians and their political backers met in the so-called Colloquy of Regensburg [Ratisbon] to see what theological consensus could be achieved between those who remained loyal to the pope and the newly emerged Protestants, and in fact they reached remarkable agreement on original sin, free will, and justification, though soon stumbling over papal authority and the nature of the sacraments. Differences of interpretation in this latter area had also kept Saxon and Swiss reformers apart at their meeting at Marburg twelve years earlier in 1529, with the Lutherans contending for a real presence in the sacrament and the Reformed for a presence that was essentially spiritual or even symbolic. Indeed, the Swiss themselves were not altogether agreed on their theology of the sacrament until, after Zwingli's death, Calvin and Bullinger approved the Consensus of Zurich in 1549.

Separate But Not Sectarian

Although the Reformation shattered the unity of Christendom as a practical reality, it was never lost sight of as an ideal. Thus the English dissenters of the seventeenth century, though firmly committed to their particular doctrines, were seriously concerned, separate from the state church as they might be, not to be seen as sectarian. Thus, the warning of the Congregationalist, John Owen:

> That particular Church which extends not its Duty beyond its own Assemblies and Members, is fallen off from the principal end of its Institution. And every Principle, Opinion, or Persuasion, that inclines any Church to confine its Care and Duty unto its

> own Edification only; yea, or of those only who agree with it in some peculiar practice, making it neglective of all due means of the Edification of the Church Catholick, is Schismatical.[1]

Whilst Baptists greatly respected Owen, whose ecclesiology had wide support amongst them, for many churchmen in the seventeenth century they were the most schismatic, since their denial of the validity of any baptism other than that of believers by immersion as practiced almost uniquely by themselves, seemed to many to un-church – or at least to depopulate – the rest of Christendom, where baptism was seen as the essential sacrament of Christian initiation. At the very least this meant that they had to work hard to establish their 'catholic' credentials, that is to say the recognition that they were part of the worldwide Christian body, and not isolated from it.

Thus the Particular Baptist confession of 1677 speaks of each church [congregation] being "bound to pray continually for the good and prosperity of all the Churches of Christ in all places", whilst the Orthodox Creed of the General Baptists of the following year made similar affirmations. This is in fact the only Baptist Confession of the seventeenth century to make direct reference to the ancient creeds of the church, the products of those councils so often called Ecumenical. Article XXXVIII affirms that the "Nicene creed, Athanasius's creed and the Apostles creed….. ought thoroughly to be received and believed". Ministers were to instruct their flocks on their contents, whilst parents were to make them the subject of catechetical instruction within their families "for the edification of young and old, which might be a means to prevent heresy in doctrine and practice", containing as they do "all things in a brief manner, that are necessary to be known, fundamentally, in order to our salvation".[2] The emerging issue was how to uphold distinctive Baptist understandings of the nature of Christian commitment, the church and the sacraments, and at the same time recognise the presence of Christ in companies of Christian believers who upheld different beliefs and practices. Whilst separating from what they regarded as a corrupt state church, they were well aware of the dangers of lapsing into sectarianism.

Individuals expressed similar concerns. The influential seventeenth-century General Baptist messenger, Thomas Grantham, is on record as making two significant comments, interesting in themselves, but doubly interesting when set side by side. As early as 1678 he wrote,

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[1] John Owen, *The True Nature of a Gospel Church*, 1689, p. 251, cited by E.A Payne, *The Fellowship of Believers*, London: The Carey Kingsgate Press, 1952 [Enlarged Edn.], p. 32.

[2] W.L. Lumkin and B.L.Leonard, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Second Revised Edition), Valley Forge: PA, Judson Press, 2011, pp. 337-8

> When it shall please God to put into the Hearts of the Rulers of the Nations, to permit a Free and General Assembly, of the differing Professors of Christianity, for the finding out of Truth, we trust that some of the Baptized Churches will (if permitted) readily make their appearance with others to help on that needful work.[3]

But he also wrote, "I could wish that all congregations of Christians of the world that are baptized according to the appointment of Christ would make one consistory at least sometimes to consider matters of difference among them".[4] In this way he identifies the two issues of inter-confessional and inter-national relationships.

Revival and Unity

In the following century the Evangelical Revival brought the dissenting denominations closer together in work and witness, and also served to reduce the divide with evangelicals in the state church. Brian Stanley speaks of the BMS being founded "in a spirit of ecumenical idealism tempered with a liberal dose of denominational realism". Thus William Carey writes in his *Enquiry*, that 'in the present divided state of Christendom, it would be more likely for good to be done by each denomination engaging separately in the work, than if they were to embark on it conjointly".[5] But this did not stop him proposing decennial meetings of all those engaged in overseas missions commencing with a meeting in Cape Town in 1810, the proposal that Andrew Fuller called Brother Carey's 'Pleasing Dream' which he judged wholly impractical. Failing to gain his support, it never took place, but is nevertheless seen by historians of the famous Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 as one of the inspirations for that meeting.[6]

Relating to other Christian Confessions has proved a difficult subject for many Baptists, for whilst other churches often look upon them as the 'awkward squad', many Baptists have been suspicious of ecumenical endeavour as necessarily leading to theological compromise, and a dilution of Baptist principles in particular. Co-operating with like-minded evangelicals in common mission was one thing, but developing that generosity of Spirit which recognised the presence of Christ in the witness of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches for many proved more difficult. But in some respects Baptists have been pioneers in ecumenical activity, as, for example, in the co-operation across ecclesiastical divides in issues of

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[3] Thomas Grantham, *Christianismus Primitivus*, 1678, Book 2, Part 2, p. 143.
[4] Thomas Grantham, *A Sigh for Peace*, 1671, pp. 132-33.
[5] Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992, pp. 20-1. The thesis concerning the emergence of a pan-denominational evangelical movement for religious improvement at this time has been classically propounded by W.R. Ward in his *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850*, London: Batsford, 1972, e.g. pp. 45ff .
[6] R. Rouse and S.C. Neill (eds.), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, Vol 1, 4th edn, Geneva: WCC, 1997, pp. 355.

Bible translation and distribution, the production of religious literature, and the promotion of Sunday Schools at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[7] Where a common evangelicalism was part of the platform, co-operation may have appeared easier, as for example within the counsels of the Evangelical Alliance, though here divisions soon emerged over issues of practice – such as the owning of slaves.[8]

Nevertheless it has been argued that it is in such movements that the roots of the modern ecumenical movement, with its concern both to encourage the unity of the Christian Church and to provide a means for the various denominations to speak unitedly on issues of common witness, are to be found, later to be developed in the activities of the YMCA/YWCA, and the student volunteer movement.[9] Such a concern to work together was fortified by the emergence of the modern missionary movement which highlighted the irrelevance to the modern world, especially the non-European world, of many historic ecclesiastical divisions within the churches of Europe and America.[10]

Grindelwald and the Free Churches

By the end of the nineteenth century, concern was growing about divisions within the church. Under the patronage of Henry Lunn, a Methodist of catholic outlook, two initiatives were taken. First he established the Review of the Churches as an ecumenical periodical with five sub-editors representing the main Christian denominations in the UK, Dr John Clifford of Westbourne Park serving for the Baptists. Then he had the idea of gathering leading churchmen together in a holiday surroundings. Initially the idea was to invite a number of Christian leaders including Clifford to share in a cruise to the Norwegian fjords, but when one and then another ship booked to carry the party sank before the departure date, Lunn settled for Switzerland as a safer and more suitable destination. Initially Baptist representation seems to have been unbalanced. Richard Glover from Bristol, a tireless worker for the BMS and a clear-minded theologian made an important speech challenging the necessity of the episcopate in ordination, challenging "the exclusive claim of bishops to transmit the Holy Spirit to ministers' at the July Conference." The maverick demagogic

[7] *Ibid*, pp. 119, 150, 328, 612. All three of these activities found focus in the life of the Revd Joseph Hughes,[1769-1833], pastor of Battersea chapel, who was founder and first secretary of both the Religious Tract Society, 1799, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804, whilst he was involved with the founding of the first Sunday School in Scotland as an undergraduate at Aberdeen [See Oxford DNB entry on Hughes].
[8] *Ibid*. pp. 255, 318ff.
[9] *Ibid* pp. 327ff. Note the comment of George Williams, Congregationalist founder of the YMCA on the movement's origins: "Here we are, an Episcopalian, a Methodist and a Baptist, and s Congregationalist – four believers but a single faith in Christ. Forward together!"
[10] *Ibid*, Ruth Rouse, 'Voluntary Movements and the Changing Ecumenical Climate', pp. 309-52.

preacher, C.F. Aked, of Pembroke Chapel, Liverpool, soon to leave in 1906 for a pastorate in New York and eventually for Californian Congregationalism, was the Baptist representative at the September Conference.[11]

Uncertainty as to the presence or absence of J.H. Shakespeare, who in 1898 became General Secretary of the Baptist Union, and Clifford is frustrating. Ruth Rouse speaks of Clifford's presence, though his biographers make no mention of this, save that Bateman does indicate that the Grindelwald talks were one of the few issues on which Clifford had a different judgment from the Methodist leader, Hugh Price Hughes, commenting "Dr Clifford never ventured to hope that the Grindelwald 'picnics' would pave the way to the reunion of Christendom".[12] Roger Hayden, supported by Peter Shepherd, offers the judgment that Shakespeare shared in the 'holiday parties arranged by Henry Lunn which were composed of representatives of various churches, though the dates of the evidence he offers are earlier than those of the conversations normally referred to.[13] Two things of significance emerged from those talks. News that the Bishop of Worcester had given communion to non-conformists provoked an Anglo-Catholic backlash amongst Anglicans, underlining that there could be no quick fix to the divisions between the churches, whilst the free-churchmen present realised the need for more decisive action with regard to their own unity of belief and commitment. In fact in the same year, 1892, moves were taking place to give organisational shape to the Free Church movement.

A preliminary meeting was held in Manchester in January 1892 at which the proposal to hold a first Free Church Congress was moved by Alexander McLaren who later in a long life stated that this was an action which in remembrance gave him the greatest satisfaction. Clifford spoke passionately at that congress, claiming that those gathered were "making history,… a new chapter not only in the history of the Free Churches, but in

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[11] Whilst Aked is often described as the leader of the Baptist delegation, it was Glover C Oldstone-Moore, *Hugh Price Hughes, Founder of a New Methodism, Conscience of a New Nonconformity*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999, pp. 231-2.

[12] C.T. Bateman, *John Clifford, Free Church Leader and Preacher*, NCEFC, 1904, p. 291; C Oldstone-Moore,, 'The Forgotten Origins of the Ecumenical Movement in England' *Church History*, 2001 pp.73-97

[13] R. Hayden, 'Still at the Crossroads, - Revd J H Shakespeare and Ecumenism' in K.W. Clements (ed.), *Baptists in the Twentieth Century*, London: Baptist Historical Society, 1983, pp. 42-3. Peter Shepherd writes, 'Shakespeare's interest in ecumenism was boosted by his involvement in Sir Henry Lunn's seminal conferences in Grindelwald, Switzerland, during the late 1880s'. Lunn was however serving in India as a missionary, 1887-8, and did not conceive of the Reunion Conference idea until 1890 when serving as Chaplain at Regent Street Polytechnic. There is also the added difficulty of the different personnel present at the day-long conference in July and the week-long September Conference in 1892. The 1893 Conference was removed to Lucerne but there were further meetings at Grindelwald in 1894 and 1895.

the history of religion, the history of the nation and the history of humanity". More quietly McLaren presided at a closing joint communion in which he said "all were concerned to a consensus in clinging to the incarnate and dying Son of God, as King, Saviour, All in All …".

This movement was an independent movement arising directly out of the life of the churches in their local contexts without reference to the governing bodies of the several Free Church denominations. Because of this, Shakespeare established a second body, the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, which comprised delegates directly appointed by the several denominations which held its first meeting in August 1919 with Shakespeare as its first moderator but the establishment of the Council fell well short of the hopes of Shakespeare's aspirations. As General Secretary of the Baptist Union, he had given a new structure to the denomination to enable it to rise to the challenges of the modern world. He was also partly responsible, along with his brother-in-law Dr Whitley, for the organisation of the first Baptist World Alliance Congress. But his vision could not be confined by denomination: for him the establishment of the Federal Council was preliminary to the establishment of a United Free Church, and this as a stage on the road to establishing a reunited church in England.[14]

The two councils existed side by side until 1940 when they amalgamated. Up to that date Baptists had provided the two bodies with three secretaries and fourteen presidents/moderators.[15] Though often underplayed, this union represents a deeper mutual commitment than many ecumenical partnerships, embracing as it does a widespread acceptance of one another's ministries together with the sharing of communion across denominational boundaries without problems, not just the offering of guest communion.

Edinburgh 1910 may have been granted in retrospect more significance than it truly deserved – for it was the third of three similar conferences and not a new beginning, its two predecessors enjoying rather larger attendances. Edinburgh 1910 was essentially a meeting of executives of British and North American mission executives [including representation of the BMS] who accounted for 1000 of the 1216 official delegates. Its concern was limited to consideration of "propagating the gospel among non-Christian people", a formula which deliberately excluded missions in Latin and Eastern Europe, and South America which, with the Roman

[14] J.H. Shakespeare, *The Churches at the Crossroads*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1918 and Peter Shepherd, *The Making of a Modern Denomination: John Howard Shakespeare and the English Baptists, 1898-1914*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 2001.

[15] E.K.H. Jordan, *Free Church Unity: History of the Free Church Council Movement, 1896-1941*, London: Lutterworth, 1941.

Catholic or Orthodox commitment of these countries, were deemed parts of Christendom, a necessary concession to keep Anglo-Catholics involved.

Whilst the BMS was unable, like other British societies, to respond to the invitation to nominate and fund 'native delegates', American Baptists did better with five out of the seventeen Asian delegates nominated and funded by the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society. One of these was serving as a missionary to the sugar-cane workers in the Natal, one of only two non-white delegates representing Africa, to which vast continent only one session was devoted. Accordingly, it has to be concluded that this much vaunted conference was essentially a talking shop for Anglo-Saxon mission executives concerned with mission in Asia.[16] But this is not to deny the plurality of concerns that flowed out of Edinburgh. The issue of common witness, following the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910 was addressed by a number of separate movements such as Life and Work [1925], Faith and Order [1927], the International Missionary Council [1921] and the World Council of Christian Education.[17]

Life and Work

Whilst international concern for peace and justice had existed before the First World War, that catastrophe made the task so much more urgent. Accordingly some 90 representative Protestant leaders met in Geneva in August 1920 to plan such a world conference under the leadership of the Swedish Archbishop Söderblom of Uppsala. Invitations were sent to all churches for a meeting in Stockholm in 1925 with the hope that those that gathered there would "formulate programmes and devise means… whereby the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all peoples will become more completely realized through the church of Christ". The organizers gave insufficient weight to the problems faced by post-war society and they had realistically to confess "the world is too strong for a divided church".[18] The motto, "doctrine divides while service unites", led them too easily to put theological issues on one side.

This mistake was remedied at the second Life and Work Conference held in Oxford in 1937, at which valuable work was done in seeking to relate the ideal of the kingdom of God to the sinful world of human experience. Dr Aubrey and the Revd P.T. Thomson of Leicester, President

[16] Brian Stanley, "Edinburgh, 1910 and the *Oikoumene*", Chapter 4, pp. 89-195 in Anthony R Cross (ed.), *Ecumenism and History: Studies in Honour of John H Y Briggs*, Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002.

[17] See also E.A. Payne "Baptists and the Ecumenical Movement", *Baptist Quarterly* 18 (1960), pp. 258-67; Anthony Cross, "Service to the Ecumenical Movement: The Contribution of British Baptists" *Baptist Quarterly* 38 (2000), pp. 107-20, and David Thompson, "Baptists and the World Fellowship of the Church" in JHY Briggs (ed.), *Bible, Church and World: A Supplement to the* Baptist Quarterly *in Honour of Dr D.S. Russell*, London: Baptist Historical Society, 1989.

[18] N Karlström, "Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work, 1920-1925" in Rouse and Neill (eds.), *History of the Ecumenical Movement*, vol 1, pp. 541-2.

of the Baptist Union at the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, represented the Baptist Union alongside delegates from the Baptist Union of Wales, the German Baptists and from the National Convention, the Northern Convention and the Southern Convention from the USA.[19] But representatives of the Lutheran Church had been denied visas to attend and Pastor Niemöller was already in prison because of his opposition to the Hitler regime. Because of this the Conference was intent on sending a message of solidarity to the Evangelical Church in Germany, making specific reference to the afflictions and the steadfast witness of the Confessing Church, that is those who challenged all attempts by the National Socialists to interfere in church life, an action that greatly embarrassed the German Baptists.[20] Oxford 1937 revealed just how difficult it was for the churches in the context of militant Marxism and a strident fascism to engage with the secular agenda.

Life and Work, in emphasizing the contribution of the Christian layman and his daily experience, broadened the ecumenical agenda and rooted it in the problematic life of human society. Something of that emphasis which dated back to John Mott's enthusiasm at Edinburgh 1910 was the establishment of laymen's missionary organisations which men like the Northamptonshire Baptist, W Parker Gray, were anxious should enter into Baptist life. Accordingly, this led to the establishment of the Baptist Laymen's Missionary Movement [forerunner of the Baptist Men's Movement] under the patronage of Dr Fullerton of the BMS and the distinguished surgeon, Sir Alfred Pearce Gould.[21] It is because of the pioneering work of Life and Work that the World Council of Churches, when founded in 1948, took on to its agenda issues such as international relations, racism, economic justice, human rights and religious liberty.

Faith and Order[22]

Alongside the Life and Work movement, Faith and Order was another of the several strands of ecumenical activity, flowing out of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910, enabling the churches to explore their common mission. Persuaded by Bishop Charles Brent, the effective father of the movement, the American Episcopal Church campaigned to obtain the support of other churches in the setting up of a commission to prepare for the convoking of a first Faith and Order Conference, which met in

[19] E.A. Payne, *The Baptist Union, a Short History*, London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1959, p. 200.
[20] Bernard Green, *European Baptists and the Third Reich*, Didcot: Baptist Historical Society, 2008, pp. 52ff
[21] Stanley, *History of the BMS* , pp. 372-3
[22] For a fuller account of this topic see W.M.S. West, "Baptists in Faith and Order – a Study in Baptismal Convergence" in Clements (ed.), *Baptists in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 55-75 and the literature on the Louisville Consultation appearing in the *Baptist Quarterly* 28 (1980), pp. 225-239 and pp. 275-92

Lausanne in 1927, bringing together churches of the Reformation, the Orthodox and those of the Anglican Communion.

At the beginning, Shakespeare and the Principal of Regent's Park College, George Gould, had been appointed to the Faith and Order Executive, and a large delegation appointed by the Baptist Union Council to attend the first World Conference but the First World War occasioned delay. At the same time the Baptist Union, as a corporate body, became distinctly less ecumenical in outlook after Shakespeare's resignation from its secretariat, and decided not to be officially represented at the Lausanne conference in 1927, though a number of North American conventions were represented as were the German Baptists. However, Dr W.T. Whitley, who had done more than any other to establish and cherish the historical identity of British Baptists, attended at his own expense. His contribution to Faith and Order culminated in 1932 with his editing of *The Doctrine of Grace: A Report and Papers of a Theological Committee of the Faith and Order Movement* (SCM Press). Another who continued to be involved was the Revd Dr J E Roberts, Alexander McLaren's successor in Manchester, and president of the Baptist Union in 1918. Roberts, who had represented the Baptist Union at a preliminary meeting in 1920, was appointed to the continuation committee of the Faith and Order Movement, a position taken over by Dr Aubrey on Roberts' death in 1929.

Whilst a wide degree of agreement between the churches was identified, there were also areas where serious disagreements remained, affirming a unity which is both gift and goal. In 1937 British Baptists sent a strong delegation, embracing Aubrey, J.H. Rushbrooke, Dr Gilbert Laws, the Revd Hugh Martin and Mr C.T. LeQuesne, to the second Faith and Order World Conference, in Edinburgh. At this conference Faith and Order agreed to unite with the Life and Work movement to seek to form a council of churches which came into being after wartime delays in 1948, a development in which Dr Aubrey played a vital part as a member of the "Committee of Thirty-Five" charged with developing the architecture of the new body.[23]

The continuing Faith and Unity movement now has a semi-autonomous existence within the World Council. Technically, its staff are employed by the WCC which also funds its activities, but it has its own separate membership which since 1968 has included the Roman Catholic Church, together with an increased representation from the Orthodox Churches and from the non-western world. It operates through a standing commission [30 members], and a full commission [120 members], which

[23] Payne, *The Baptist Union*, pp. 12, 177f, 187, 197f, 200, 250; Ian Sellers, "W.T. Whitley: A Commemorative Essay", *Baptist Quarterly* 37 (1997), p. 171.

meets approximately every four years, with world conferences being held more intermittently. It constitutes the world's most representative theological forum.[24] The third world conference was held at Lund in 1952, at which there was full Baptists representation. Principal Dykes and Mr CT LeQuesne, QC, were the official Baptist Union representatives whilst the Revd H Ingli James represented the Baptists of New Zealand. Baptists in Burma, Ontario and Quebec, Denmark and the USA also sent delegates to a conference of vital importance to Baptists as Baptism and Communion were central to its agenda.

Some of its more recent work has been a programme entitled, 'Towards the Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith Today', the production of its consensus document on *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* [1982] and the associated Lima Eucharistic text, in the preparation of which Dr Morris West of Bristol played a vital part. This document was extensively studied by churches both within and beyond the membership of the WCC. The diverse responses received have been carefully recorded and published in a series of volumes edited by Max Thurian, so that Baptist attitudes are easy to study, whilst the Lima Liturgy has been used with appreciation in a number of ecumenical settings. More recently following world conferences in Montreal [1963] and Compostella [1993], the commission has been exploring the theme of 'The Unity of the Church as Koinonia' to see how this can help a divided church come together.

The International Missionary Council [IMC]

A third outcome of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, the International Missionary Council, was founded in 1921 under the influence of such leaders as John Mott and J.H. Oldham. Its aim was to assist churches, national and international mission boards and societies in their essential missionary task of sharing with people everywhere the transforming power of the gospel. It encouraged the growth of national Christian Councils in the several mission fields. Here the principal players were churches newly established as a result of missionary activity. Thus the Council played a vital part in the transfer of decision-making from mission boards in the north to newly independent emerging churches in the south. The work was in part to encourage co-operation, co-ordination and where possible united action, in part educational to undertake well-researched study and to disseminate best practice and proficient missiology through conferences, consultations and the periodical, *The International Review of Missions.*

Charles Wilson, Secretary of the BMS, a former Indian missionary, was present at Edinburgh in 1910. His colleague, B Grey Griffiths, says

[24] For a very positive Evangelical Baptist evaluation of the work of Faith and Order see G.R. Beasley Murray, *Reflections on the Ecumenical Movement,* BUGBI, 1965.

that his full commitment to ecumenical activity "won over many who were doubtful". Brian Stanley himself affirms that "Under Wilson's leadership, the BMS saw no contradiction between wholehearted ecumenical involvement and an unequivocal commitment to the absolute imperative to preach the gospel". Those remarks are necessary, for in the Baptist constituency, placed as it was between the ecumenical and the evangelical worlds, the ecumenical agenda had constantly to be fought for. Wilson's commitment to the IMC for whom he travelled extensively was supplemented by his work for the Conference of British Missionary Societies, which he served for several years as joint honorary secretary and later as chairman of its standing committee. He also represented the BMS at the IMC's Jerusalem Conference in 1928 alongside Charles Pugh from the Congo and John Reid from India. Brian Stanley judges "It was above all his attendance at Jerusalem which convinced Wilson of the pre-eminent importance of the issue of devolution of control from Western missions to the younger churches".[25]

By contrast with Edinburgh, its first conference held in Jerusalem in 1928 had half the 231 delegates coming from the south - some have in fact called it the first global meeting in human history. There were, however, already tensions over widening definitions of mission to embrace newer social emphases. Later the Council had to face the issue of the relationship of Christianity to non-Christian religions, an issue faced by Hendrik Kraemer in his *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* which stressed the discontinuity between Christianity and other faiths. The Council played a crucial part in the formation of the World Council of Churches, with which, after considerable reluctance from some of its constituents, it merged in 1961. Many members of the IMC, including some Baptists, feared a loss of cutting edge in evangelism whilst some member churches of the WCC, particularly the Orthodox, were worried lest the integration of the two bodies be seen to give a license to proselytism at their expense.

Two Baptists who served the IMC were the Revd Gwynneth Hubble, one of the early women to be ordained into the Baptist ministry. After service with the Student Christian Movement, she served as Principal of Carey Hall in the Selly Oak Colleges where women trained as missionaries and as deaconesses for service with the LMS, BMS and the English Presbyterians from 1945-60. During this time she attended the IMC meetings in Willingen and Ghana and the Evanston assembly of the WCC. A growing reputation led her being invited to join the IMC which she

[25] See Stanley, *History of the BMS*, pp. 277, 283ff, 369-72, 375f, 385-8, 399, 503-5 and *passim.*

served after its integration with the WCC first in New York and then in Canada before an early death from cancer.[26]

An intellectual high-flyer the Revd Victor Hayward, whom Brian Stanley describes as "A Prophet of Change", having trained at Mansfield and Regent's Park Colleges, went as a missionary to China in 1934, completing his service there as British Secretary to the National Christian Council of China. From 1951-9 he served as Foreign Secretary of the BMS. In January 1952 he outlined policy in a statement entitled "Prophetic View and Apostolic Spirit". 'A searching and remarkably perceptive address' it was clearly too radical for Baptists in the 1950s though what he was saying has now become "accepted missiological dogma even in conservative evangelical circles".

In his address Hayward made three points – first the need to accept the world as it was in a post-imperial age with a rising anti-western outlook; secondly the recognition of missionary complicity with imperial interests with the protection of Western governments, and sometimes a confusion between the gospel and western cultural expressions of it. In particular Baptist institutions were stronger than the church which lacked leadership and was heavily dependent on external funds. Beyond these salutary warnings Hayward stressed the true prophet's confidence in the purposes of God who was leading the Church onward from mission-dependency into a new period of partnership in which a new stress on unity was vital to the effective proclamation of the gospel; 'a divided Church will never be able to preach Christ's Gospel properly to a divided world'.

When he resigned from the BMS Hayward went to Geneva in March 1959 to become Executive Secretary of the Department of Missionary Studies before becoming in 1969 Associate Secretary of the WCC charged with fostering relationships with national and regional councils of churches and with those emerging centres for the study of non-Christian religions. In 1972 he returned to this country and became Research Secretary to the China Study Project, during with period he secured his PhD.[27]

Counter to those who had argued against the integration of the IMC with the WCC was the contention that integration would put mission at the very heart of the work of the WCC. Whilst the work of the former IMC has continued within the work of the WCC through the Division [later Commission] of World Mission and Evangelism, the criticism has been made that mission within the context of the WCC has received too broad a definition so that it all too easily becomes 'everything the church is called to do'. As a consequence there have had to be periodic reminders within

[26] *Baptist Union Directory, 1973-4*, p. 291.
[27] *The Baptist Union Directory, 1989-90* , and Stanley *The History of the BMS*, pp. 396-400.

the councils of the WCC of the need to foster the specifically evangelistic task, for the churches to engage the specific proclamation of the message of salvation. Such concerns led to the production of *Mission and Evangelism, an Ecumenical Affirmation,* approved by the Central Committee of the WCC in 1982, to which the Baptist missiologist, Raymond Fung of Hong Kong, made a major contribution. In retrospect it is the judgment of the author that this is a volume that has not received the attention it deserved, being rather eclipsed by *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* which was published in the same year

World Council of Christian Education

A fourth stream of activity which feeds into the work of the WCC was the World Council of Christian Education, which arose out of the World Sunday School Association of 1889. Baptists had played an important part in the foundation and development of the Sunday School movement and associated youth movements such as Christian Endeavour and the Boys Brigade and the Girls Life Brigade which, driven by an increasing concern for educational professionalism, inevitably demanded strategies that crossed both denominational and national boundaries.[28] Integration of its work with the World Council took place in 1971, firmly placing education within the World Council's agenda.

The World Council of Churches [WCC]

In July 1937 representatives of Life and Work and Faith and Order met in London and agreed to merge to establish a World Council of Churches. A committee meeting in Utrecht in 1938 set up a provisional committee for "a World Council of Churches in process of formation", under the chairmanship of William Temple [England] with W.A Visser t'Hooft [Holland] as secretary. Their hopes for convoking a first assembly in 1941 were delayed by the Second World War until 1948 when 147 representatives from all the main ecclesiastical traditions except the Roman Catholic Church assembled in Amsterdam. Its first aim, according to its bylaws, is "to call the churches to the goal of visible unity in one faith and in one eucharistic fellowship, expressed in worship and in common life in Christ, and to advance towards that unity in order that the world may believe".[29]

Already facing ecclesiological questions consequent upon its foundation, the Council's Central Committee meeting in Toronto in 1950 adopted what has come to be known as the Toronto statement which emphatically denied any intentions of the Council aspiring to any churchly

[28] Stephen Orchard and John Briggs, *The Sunday School Movement: Studies in the Growth and Decline of Sunday Schools,* Carlisle: Paternoster, 2007, especially chapters 3 & 4.
[29] Compiled Ans J van der Bent, *Rules, By-Laws, Mandates and Programmes,* Geneva: WCC, 1987. p. 1.

status and certainly not to operate as a super-church. Nor would it challenge the church claims of any of its member bodies, or demand that they recognize other members as fully churches, thereby affording confidence to its Orthodox members. Only churches were to be allowed membership and the Council was given no power to legislate on their behalf. Such actions as it took and statements that it issued depended on their intrinsic truth and value for acceptance.

Contemporary WCC concerns can be deduced from the chapter titles of the recently published third volume of *A History of the Ecumenical Movement.* Faith and order issues major in several chapters dealing with issues of Unity. In "From Missions to Mission", the dropping of an 's', focuses attention on the movement away from a world divided into 'senders' and 'receivers' with missionary societies the main agents to an emphasis on mission as the task of the whole church. "Interfaith Dialogue" represents a newer programme whereas "Ecumenical Formation" picks up the Council's historic concern with education. "The Contemporary Search for Spirituality" and "The Bible in the Ecumenical Movement" indicate parts of the council's work not often reported in the press. "Inclusive Community", "Ecumenical Social Thought" and "Justice and Peace in a World of Chaos" indicate that the old 'Life and Work' agenda continues. "Science, Technology and Ecology" addresses a range of increasingly complex ethical issues whilst a chapter on "Diakonia" tells the quite remarkable story of the Council's compassionate ministry.

The council brings together, not without difficulty, a wide diversity of Christian traditions, the principal being Orthodox, Eastern and Oriental, Anglican, Protestant, Pentecostal and African Instituted. That said, a number of major traditions do not belong. The Roman Catholic Church, which is often to be found in National and Regional Councils of Churches, argues that its catholicity claims would be compromised if it were to join a worldwide fellowship of churches as just another member. Because of this the Council relates to the Vatican through a joint committee which discusses matters of mutual concern. Many in the evangelical tradition find it difficult to relate to a body that does not comprehensively share all their doctrinal affirmations and is perceived by some to be over-concerned with political actions, placing too little emphasis on evangelism. Evangelicals are, though, divided on the issue, and there has always been an evangelical presence on the staff and in the governing bodies of the WCC. In like manner the number of Pentecostal churches in membership of the World Council does not represent the movement's global strength. In recent years the WCC has initiated a series of meetings with these traditions involving both its own members and those outside.

The weight of council membership, now some 350 churches, has significantly moved towards the churches of the southern hemisphere and away from Europe and North America. Figures appearing in the Council's 2006 *Handbook of Churches and Councils* are instructive. Of the 348 member churches 25 are Baptist representing 7.2% of the whole. If the statistic used is membership then with some 23 million members of affiliated churches that percentage falls to 3.9% – a figure just 0.3% behind the Methodists – because of the vast birthright membership claimed by the Orthodox churches.[30] Because the WCC is a council of churches, parachurch bodies, though clearly crucial to worldwide Christian witness, are denied membership. In 1998 a start was made in establishing a Global Christian Forum capable of overcoming all these deficiencies, bringing together a broader spectrum of Christian organizations but without any commitment in membership. Its first meeting, which embraced Roman Catholics, Pentecostals and Evangelicals as well as the churches already in fellowship with one another through the World Council of Churches, took place in 2007.

The basis of the WCC itself points to certain fundamental agreements for ecumenical fellowship. As amended in 1961, it states that the WCC "is a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the scriptures, and therefore seek to fulfil together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit".[31] Accordingly it insists on a theology which is Biblical, Trinitarian, Church-focussed and Missionary, with its vocation focusing on Jesus Christ as God and Saviour: that is to say, it centres on the incarnation and atonement. For many Evangelicals it lacks defining detail, but on the other hand it makes an essential statement about the Christian churches in worldwide fellowship without imposing a credal statement on any church at the behest of an external council. That said, the Council has in recent years, partly out of concern for the consciences of its Orthodox members, but also in recognition of the concerns of evangelicals, introduced mechanisms to ensure that member churches take the basis seriously.

Whilst ecumenical theology seeks to be faithful to the inherited apostolic faith it also seeks to relate this to the contemporary scene in both word and action. Thus its wide-ranging diaconial ministry represents its understanding of Christ's concern for a needy world. Seriousness about the

[30] Compiled Huibert van Beek, *A Handbook of Churches and Councils*, Geneva: WCC, 2006, p14

[31] van der Bent, *Rules, By-Laws, Mandates and Programmes*, p. 1. It is interesting that the Baptist World Alliance in its foundation document declares, "Whereas in the providence of God, the time has come when it seems fitting more fully to manifest the essential oneness in the Lord Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour, of the Churches of the Baptist order and faith throughout the world", thus deploying the same Christological phrase used in the so-called Paris formula of the International YMCA in 1855 as was later to be used by the WCC.

coming of God's kingdom is seen in its concern to promote peace and justice and to be effective stewards rather than ruthless exploiters of God's good creation. Thus, traditional concerns for social justice and peace are now supplemented by the promotion of a green agenda in the context of the biblical doctrine of creation, whilst increasingly difficult ethical issues in biotechnology claim attention. In all such programmes the theological sources and resources are critical, providing the essential defences preventing such concerns declining into feverish activism fuelled by mere political ideology.

More concerned these days with Mission than missions, the *Missio Dei* is now seen as God working through all his people in every nation. Interfaith Dialogue appears on the ecumenical agenda with new urgency, but there is no one agreed theology of dialogue. As over against the view that the WCC is only concerned with a political agenda it is theologically concerned to explore the nature of spirituality. Discussions of the church as an Inclusive Community are essential for some churches but contentious for others.

Because ecumenical theology is a theology which champions the oneness of Christ's church, it will necessarily want to place all divisions and differences within the context of that unity which is Christ's gift to the church, distinguishing between a legitimate diversity of understandings, and that sectarian temper which unchurches all other than itself. A theology of unity certainly does not mean uniformity; rather it celebrates legitimate diversity – ethnic, cultural, historical – within an essential unity, within a recognition of Christ's presence in different Christian groups In this respect it is important that it is the church as a body which patiently undertakes the theological task, never surrendering it to articulate individuals who, heedless of the corporate voice, by their action privatise theology.

Dr E.A. Payne and Dr D.S. Russell

Nobody contributed more to the work of the World Council than Dr E.A. Payne, who uniquely served two periods as Vice-Moderator of the Central Committee of the Council [1954 -68] and *de facto* as its Moderator at the Uppsala Assembly since the moderator died shortly before this critical meeting. From Uppsala to Nairobi he served on the Presidium of the Council, and again found himself in a difficult position since the moderator of the Finance Committee, the Earl of March, was unable to attend and Payne was called upon to substitute for him which he did with great ability His rich contribution has been ably recorded by Dr Morris West in his memoir of Dr Payne, *To be a Pilgrim*, [London: Lutterworth 1983]: in many difficult circumstances he spoke with thoughtful dignity in the best traditions of the Evangelical Free Churches.

If Payne operated from within the central councils of an officer of the WCC, David Russell[32] as his successor spoke more from the peripheries of the Council as an ordinary member of the Central Committee from Uppsala [1968] to Vancouver [1983], albeit one who was listened to with increasing respect, not least because of his concern for Christian witness in Eastern Europe. He was particularly concerned about the use of the Special Fund in Support of the Programme to Combat Racism, to which his own denomination did not contribute, a programme about whose detail Payne, whilst agreeing the need to challenge racism, had shown hesitation.

Russell was concerned to monitor particular grants to ensure that they were only used for humanitarian purposes whilst proponents of the Fund believed that they should be given in trust, a trust which would be undermined by the insistence on such monitoring processes as Russell as a representative of a church from the rich north was suggesting. A different kind of monitoring was at the heart of Russell's concern for religious liberty in eastern Europe working through the Churches Human Rights Programme for the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, work which Roger Williamson describes as "one of the best examples amongst contemporary church leaders of an effective concern for the Christians of Eastern Europe' [33]

Recent Baptist Contributions

It is perhaps appropriate for the author to conclude this section with personal testimony derived from his own involvement in the work of the World Council which spanned the period from the Nairobi Assembly in 1975 to the eve of the Harare Assembly in 1998, serving on the Central Committee from 1983-1998 and the Executive from 1988-98, during which period he undertook a number of administrative tasks such as moderating the Credentials Committee at the Canberra Assembly, moderating the Audit Committee, the Committee on the General Secretariat and the Standing Committee on Relations with the Council of European Churches, serving on the Pension Board and the Finance Committee of the Central Committee, humdrum but necessary tasks for the good ordering of the Council's work.

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[32] For his personal reflections see D.S. Russell, *In Journeyings Often*, 1981, BUGBI; "The World Council of Churches: a Worm's Eye View", *Baptist Quarterly* 30 (1983), pp. 103-11; "Church/State Relations in the Soviet Union: recollections and reflections on the 'Cold War' years", *Baptist Quarterly* 36 (1995), pp. 21-8; "Baptists in Central and Eastern Europe in the Post-War Years", *Baptist Quarterly* 37 (1997), pp. 193-201.

[33] See Briggs (ed.), *Bible Church and World*, esp. Revd G.W. Rusling, "David Syme Russell, a Life of Service", pp. 4-20 and "The Defence of Human Dignity: Dr David Russell and the Ecumenical Commitment to Human Rights" pp. 33-45 For a warm personal appreciation of the European dimensions of the contribution of this lively Baptist statesman see that by the subject of this Festschrift on the IBTS blog.

More programmatic were his several visits to East Timor as co-moderator of the WCC's task force on that situation, his moderating of the Working Party on the Terms of Membership, and acting as Rapporteur to the Special Commission on Orthodox Participation in the WCC, together with his editing of volume three of *A History of the Ecumenical Movement.* Significantly the Foreword to his festschrift *Ecumenism and History* [ed. Anthony Cross] was provided by Georges Lemopoulos, Orthodox Deputy General Secretary of the WCC. He also took a leading part in the working group of Evangelicals within the membership of the WCC concerned to make their voice known particularly as they related to that which seemed to challenge basic theological beliefs, supporting the Orthodox in such concerns.

During his period of service many Baptists were making significant contributions to the Council's work. Faith and Order benefited from the contributions of Gunther Wagner from Switzerland and Glenn Hinson from the Southern Baptists and Keith Clements from the United Kingdom prior to his becoming General Secretary of the Council of European Churches, whose first secretary was the Welsh Baptist, Dr Glen Garfield Williams. Horace Russell from Jamaica served as Vice Moderator, whilst Paul Fiddes [UK] and Neville Callam made important work to the commission's study of baptism. Mrs Ruby Gayle from Jamaica served on the joint committee with the Vatican Secretariat on Christian Unity. Dr Osadolar Imosogie from Nigeria served as Vice Moderator of the Programme on Theological Education as did the Revd Dr Michael Taylor [UK].

Baptist members of Central Committee have included Pastor Joele of the Italian Baptist Union, Pastor Carlos Sanchez from El Salvador, representatives from the American Baptist Churches and the three black Baptist conventions. Pastor Bischkov was a long standing member of the Central Committee which has also had representation from the Hungarian Baptists. At Harare the author was replaced on the Central Committee by the Revd Ruth Bottoms who as Moderator of the Commission was responsible for planning the World Conference on Mission and Evangelism in Athens in 2005. She was replaced on the Central Committee by Dr David Goodbourn, who served as General Secretary of Churches Together in Britain and Ireland. Rasmus Hylleberg of Denmark also served on the Central Committee. In recent years there have been a significant number of Baptists serving on the staff of the Council. Raymond Fung [Hong Kong] has made thoughtful contributions to the Council's work in missiology, whilst the American Baptist, Revd Dr Paul Abrecht, made an enduring contribution in Church and Society. Jean Stromberg, also an American Baptist, served as personal assistant to the General Secretary. The Revd Myra Blyth served for eleven years, first helping to reshape its diaconal

work before becoming Director for Relationships, Simon Oxley was widely respected for co-ordinating work in Education and Ecumenical Formation from 1996-2008, Deborah Robinson and Jean Sindab both from the USA served with the Programme to Combat Racism.

Clearly as a world family Baptists have been divided in their attitude to the Ecumenical movement, many preferring to make their 'ecumenical' investment in specifically evangelical organisations – the ecumenism of joining with those who are 'like us'. Others have been excited by discovering that generosity of spirit which recognises the presence of Christ in communities 'very unlike themselves', perceiving in the spirituality of a Catholic or Orthodox believer a kinship in prayer and witness which they are bound, without compromising their own beliefs, to acknowledge as a precious gift from God. Accordingly there are other Baptists who have been convinced of the need to explore life in the wider family of faith and to make their contribution within that wider fellowship of churches, whose labours it has been the concern of this article to trace.

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Teaching Penguins To Fly: Baptistic Leadership into the Future

Anne Wilkinson-Hayes

I once asked a group of pastors "*if your church was an animal, what would it be?*" One of the answers that stayed with me was "*A penguin – it can't fly, but it's good at surviving in cold and inhospitable places*". It seems as if survival as a church is the best that many of us can hope for in the current era. It also seems that we have many Penguin-Pastors leading our churches. We can't fly but we can keep our heads down and plod on stoically against the icy blasts of secularism, and thus will we win our crowns. I do not believe that Penguin-Pastors will enable the church to be revitalised, to begin to transform society nor to be Jesus to a confused and wary younger generation. We need a different kind of pastor/minister for the present time, and I wish to begin exploring what new skills and abilities our leaders will need to both fly and flourish in today's context, and how we can best nurture them in our training process.

I write as a Baptist minister, who for the last 25 years has sought to support and equip fellow-pastors to do ministry. I was asked to provide reflection on Leadership in baptistic communities which might suggest a rather more learned theological reflection on the nature of Baptist ecclesiology, and the role of leadership within Baptist churches. I did start down this track, but there are others, much better equipped than I am, to do this, and I wanted to be truer to what I know of Keith Jones. He has always had an eye on the horizon, and an openness to how the tradition can be reinterpreted for the present and future. As a Seminary Rector he has had the formation of Christian leaders on his agenda for a long time, and it is with humility that I venture into this area as I am not an academic in that formal sense.

I write as Keith's friend and former colleague at the Baptist Union of Great Britain, and I know that he understands and shares my heart and passion for the church to be a truer reflection of the Body of Christ, and my love for, and commitment to those who seek to lead and serve that Body. As I question and critique the institution we both love, and at times despair of, I am critiquing myself and my ministry, for I do not put myself apart from the prison of Christendom thinking that constrains our ability to become aligned with God's mission in our post-Christendom societies. The suggestions made here should not be seen as negative, but rather in the spirit that Keith has always encouraged, of pushing and challenging boundaries. I hope this is a small contribution to the kind of prophetic

outside-the-box thinking that Keith has sought and embodied, and for which we are deeply grateful.

The challenge

There is no arguing that the church is declining in post-Christendom societies, but it appears that we are not taking this seriously enough in rethinking how we prepare Baptist ministers and pastors for the work ahead of them. Our colleges and seminaries are doing fantastic work despite immense financial and institutional pressures. Far-reaching changes have already been made, and there is a deep desire to continue to change with the times. However the crisis in leadership for the church in the future is something that goes beyond the academic institutions and is one that the denomination, unions/conventions, associations and churches need to face together.

At present I do not believe that we have raised the level of anxiety sufficiently to make some of the drastic changes necessary. At present the churches are content to receive well-educated pastor-teachers to care for the congregation and inspire them on a Sunday, so the seminaries can feel as if they have done a good job in providing theologically literate pastors who can communicate well and who have the pastoral and administrative skills to maintain the church organisation. This *has* been done well – I am in awe of the abilities of young pastors to engage in theological reflection; to defend the faith; and to respond to the needs of the congregation. Sadly, however, this alone will not arrest the decline of the church or birth imaginative responses to a new context.

Leaders of mission require a different skill set. If the church is to find a new place in society, we need leaders who stand in a new place also. We need missioner-pastors who, by their own modelling, empower the congregation to re-orientate around the mission imperative of the scriptures.

Before identifying some of the skills we need for this task, I need to recognise some paths which perhaps need exploring, but which cannot be done in this specific context. The theological nature of Baptist leadership may need to be re-visited. This was my starting point as I considered the topic given to me, as many have questioned the validity of ordination in our current climate, particularly with respect to its missional effectiveness. However, I re-read Paul Fiddes' seminal article – *A Leading Question*[1], in which he distinguishes between the *charismata* and the 'calling to office' of *episkopos* and *diakonos,* and felt re-convinced by his argument.

[1] Fiddes, Paul, *A Leading Question: The Structure and Authority of Leadership in the Local Church,* 1986, www.baptist.org.uk/theological-reflection/theology-archive/doc_view/568-a-leading-question.html

I decided that this debate was perhaps a red herring, because we need effective missional leaders who are called and gifted by God, whatever we name them, and however we recognise them. There are, however, assumptions embedded in the way we ordain men and women, within the baptistic family, to be 'Ministers of Word and Sacrament', which perhaps need to be re-examined and reinterpreted for a mission context. Fiddes argues that it would be assumed that some of the charismata would be exhibited by those who sense they are called to office. He writes "It is likely that someone called to be *episkopos* will exercise gifts at least of pastoral care, teaching, and 'presiding'".[2] This needs to be counter-balanced by more recent writing of people such as Frost and Hirsch who argue for the lost gifts of apostle, prophet and evangelist becoming more normative for clergy and leaders of a mission-focused church.[3] This will be returned to in a limited fashion, and we will also consider whether it is less ordination, and more the current model of local church-funded ministry that is actually inhibiting mission.

What I wish primarily to focus on are the main skills that leaders in a Baptist or baptistic congregation need as the church faces and seeks to reverse its decline. Aligned with this skill set, I will seek to articulate how these new skills are consistent with our understanding of Baptist ecclesiology.

The Pressure for Change

Much has been written about the current context in westernised society. I will not add here to the needs and demands of Post-Christendom – suffice to say that the design of the church and its leadership in a Christendom context will not be sufficient for this new era. We live in secular, multicultural, multi-faith societies that no longer value the institution of the church, except possibly as architecture, museum or repository of something nostalgic. The church is largely discredited in the public mind and media by its failures to live up to its calling and by its resistance to social changes that are perceived by the majority to be liberating and in line with social justice.

Without significant reinvention, communities will not be able to see and respond to the person of Jesus. Jesus, and the Gospel he embodies, remains good news for many, but the current form of church cannot be the only vehicle for this truth. Church leaders need to be assisting congregations to face up to this disconnect, and to find new ways to

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[2] *Ibid*, p16

[3] Michael Frost and Alan Hirsch, *The Shaping of Things to Come: Innovation and Mission for the 21st-Century Church*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003. Chap10.

overcome the cultural chasm between the church and its wider community. It is in this sense that leaders need to be missioners, missionaries or missional leaders –helping the congregation to understand its context and act appropriately.

There are also significant pressures from within the church that make the current role of leadership particularly unsustainable and in need of change. It is not only the declining numbers that are an issue. Even within growing churches there is a declining amount of time that church participants are prepared to invest in church life. Across the spectrums of size and theology, I hear reports that people are attending church less often, and are increasingly unwilling to take responsibility for church life by taking on positions or committing to activities. The management of a range of programmes, led by a decreasing number of volunteers, means that the 'paid' staff are consumed by increasing amounts of administration and managerial activity. Added to this, congregants are increasingly unsure of their faith and standing in this hostile secular environment and are demanding more of their pastor – more exciting worship experiences, more programmes to retain their children, more pastoral reassurance, whilst often putting in less and less themselves.

However much a pastor is inclined to lead the church in mission and connect with the community, there is often simply not time, even if the person were to be fully equipped. The package of expectations is becoming unviable for many younger pastors, who are often clearer about their boundaries than their predecessors, and we are losing some of our most able and insightful young ministers. We are desperately trying to equip our trainee pastors for something that is fundamentally unsustainable, and I wonder about the integrity of this? This is part of the reason why we need an integrated approach to the issue. There is no point in the academies providing excellent training in mission if the churches and the denomination are not ready to receive such gifts of leadership. We need consensus about the situation we find ourselves in.

For too long our training patterns have been shaped by Christendom models. 'Success' as a Baptist pastor is to oversee a staff team serving a sizeable congregation which has the capacity to provide a range of programmes to attract a broad range of people. The key skills in this model are communication, largely by inspirational/motivational preaching, and good management ability. Whilst these models continue to hold sway, most of our larger church pastors recognise that they are not baptising any more people proportionally to their size than much smaller churches, and that much of their growth comes from the conveyor belt of dissatisfied Christians that move from church to church in search of something more

tailored to their needs. Again the current model is not sustainable into the future if we want continued impact in our society.

In addition to these negative forces, it is also important to note that the current situation gives us the possibility of rediscovering a more life-giving way of living the Christian faith. Many of my generation attend church out of a sense of duty, but confess to a deep dissatisfaction. Younger people exhibit less 'duty', and have lower tolerance for anything that does not give life. Recovering a missional imperative is not merely about survival, it is about finding a biblical, life-giving way of living as the followers of Jesus that is suited to the contemporary realities of our lives today. This could be the cusp of an exciting missional Reformation, if we can begin to implement some significant changes to our life and practice.

Three Foundational Planks

1. A missional hermeneutic

If church life is to be oriented around mission for the next season, then there needs to be an intentional shift from the apologetic hermeneutic we have applied to ministerial formation to a missional hermeneutic. Any bias is never the whole truth, but if we are to arrest church decline, a bias towards mission, at this time, is necessary. This will involve reading the Bible as the story of God's mission in the world. The missional hermeneutic will be applied to our approach to ethics, to our understanding of the human person and how this implicates pastoral care, and to our ecclesiology. Baptists have always championed missionary endeavour overseas, and have been at the forefront of much evangelistic effort in the home context. It is therefore true to our origins to take this further step and do our theological training primarily through the lens of *missio dei.*

2. A Jesus-centredness

Jesus is the model for all mission – *As the Father has sent me, so I send you* (John 20.21). We are to do mission in the same way as Jesus did it, and a Christology that looks at how Jesus was sent, and the nature of his ministry with an application that we live in the same way is central to formation. We need to arrest the overly-divine understanding of Jesus in our churches – perpetuated by many of our worship songs – and restore an understanding, current in the early church and in Anabaptist communities, that it is normative to do what Jesus did. Because Jesus is still compelling to people who hear about his life and ministry for the first time, we also need a Christological focus that asks, not only "who is Jesus for me?", but also "what does Jesus mean for my community?": "In what ways is Jesus good news for this particular group of people in this particular situation?".

Relating the life and work of Jesus to our context is a core skill for future mission.

3. A congregational or multi-voiced approach

Central to a baptistic understanding of church is the concept of the priesthood of all believers and the significance of the gathered church in discerning the mind of Christ for the direction and practice of the local community of faith. This implies that any believer within a gathered community can be instrumental in being a channel of God's grace to the church and beyond. The charismata are not concentrated in the persons of leaders, but are distributed widely within the community and the role of leaders is to affirm and release these gifts in ways that build up and strengthen the church and beyond.

Since the Reformation, Baptist churches defined themselves in opposition to hierarchical forms of church, where practices were imposed from bishops or institutions unrelated to the specific local community. They strove for the right for the local community of believers to practice indigenous forms of liturgy, doctrine and mission dependent upon the gifting and leading of members of the community. The role of the leader was to oversee the activity of the community of faith; to ensure that activity took place within the biblical tradition of faith, and to encourage and empower the congregation to make their contributions in orderly and helpful ways.

Unfortunately this multi-voiced approach to congregational life has been lost over time and often the pastor becomes the primary voice heard in the context of worship. The pastor has become the primary performer rather than the 'curator'.[4] Stuart and Sian Murray Williams argue that a church in revival mode tends to be much more multi-voiced than a church in survival mode. In survival mode professionalism tends to substitute passion and, they argue, this ultimately reinforces the disenfranchisement of the congregation and further threatens survival.[5]

As well as unbiblical, this monologue approach is alien to contemporary forms of learning, and another disconnect between church culture and the surrounding culture. Mission-focused churches require a participatory approach to worship, learning, discernment and decision-making, and so those who lead such churches need to be equipped as those

[4] To coin a phrase popularised by Mark Pierson in *The Art of Curating Worship: Reshaping the Role of Worship Leader*, Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2010.
[5] Murray Williams, S & S, *Multi-voiced Church*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2012.

who empower others; those who can facilitate the involvement of others; those who can flex with the demands of a situation which cannot be entirely controlled. Ministers and pastors need to be trained in different forms of dialogical preaching, and learn to lead discussion in such a way that knowledge is still imparted, but people are enabled to interact with ideas, facts and possibilities. This is both true to our baptistic heritage and essential as we consider serving the church of today and tomorrow.

In addition, as we have already recognised, our churches are not yet willing or able to reorientate themselves for mission, so any ministerial or pastoral formation must involve the congregation that a student is set within. The methodology of learning needs to be communal, so that pastor and congregation share the journey of change together. The mission paradigm requires a team approach which supports the taking of risks. A wise missionary has said "Often, faced with the possibility of making mistakes, an individual may well be less inclined to really think 'outside the box'". It is therefore crucial that learning is shared. Something like the Delta model of training that was used in the UK some 10 years ago, could be adapted for this process. Here a group of churches in an area get together for a series of evening classes held at one of the churches. These classes are facilitated by a mixture of internal and external leaders, and the pastors and the congregants learn together. Within the classes, as well as cross-fertilisation between churches, there is opportunity for those from any given church to get together and apply the learnings to their specific context. In this way it is more likely that learning will gain traction within a church, and assist cultural change.

A Caveat

One of the sacred cows of Baptist and baptistic churches is that the local congregation pays the pastor. A more centralised system of allocating ministry resources has not been seriously explored, as far as I am aware. Yet in my experience in Britain and Australia it is the initiatives of Home Mission and Ministry Partnerships between a local community and a church that have often enabled the more imaginative mission-focused initiatives. I have been impressed by some Uniting Church ventures, arising from a more centralised payment system, that have enabled, for example, team ministry in an area, and a local mission focus that has been less dependent, in the early days, on the agreement of the congregations. People rarely embrace what they cannot see, so in pioneering new approaches we need to model them so that people can begin to see the new possibilities. Our central bodies are often so depleted of resources that we are not able to fund new ventures.

Many Baptist pastors feel deeply constrained in their ministry by the fact that their congregation pays their wage and owns their house. This can limit the ability of a leader to 'upset the apple cart'. It certainly constrains church planting ventures, as congregations are unwilling to further dissipate their resources, and mission-minded pastors can be deeply frustrated by the intransigence of their congregation. Could it be that it is this funding model that limits creative mission engagement? There needs to be a tension held between the importance of recognising the need for communal congregational approaches and the need to embody some models of alternative mission in the shorter term. It would seem that we need a strategy to release more resources centrally in the short-term to enable the development of some effective local mission ventures, which can then be multiplied as people catch a new vision of what is possible. Although counter-intuitive, this is actually a strategy that enables those in a congregation who are most willing to engage with mission to be empowered to do so, and become the leaders of a renewed mission-focussed community. This can also be another collaborative initiative with the seminaries in creating communities of learning in particular locations, so that places where we are able to invest people and resources become centres for wider learning and dissemination. Whilst power (and money) remains in the hands of more conservative members of our churches, we cannot birth the communities that are needed for the new paradigm.

Selection Processes for Ministry

This is the starting point for training future leadership, and a significant area for reform. I have sat on Ministerial selection panels in both hemispheres and watched as the safe and predictable candidates have sailed through, whilst those who feel called to a slightly different form of ministry, or those come from a different form of church, or those who question the absorbed wisdom in some way, are scrutinised and probed unrelentingly. In this way the more colourful characters, who might rock the boat, are often lost to the denomination. I have occasionally rudely protested about a potential plodder (or Penguin-pastor)- "but he's so boring! Is this how we want to promote the gospel?" and have had the response "yes, but the churches will like him". It appears that Baptist selection processes ironically are particularly good at weeding out the non-conformists! We reward those who most think and act like us.

If we are selecting people to lead the church into a new future; if we are selecting people to be missioners in the secular community; if we are selecting people who will revitalise the Christian community, do we not want those who think differently from us? Do we not need people who are comfortable with thinking outside the square? We need entrepreneurs and

dreamers. We need psychometric testing not only for personality stability and pastoral sensitivity, but for the ability to take risks and upset the status quo. We need people who are resilient when opposition to change comes. We need to unearth those who can flex to meet the demands of new situations; those who have the capacity to improvise and move with the flow.

We need to major on the mission questions at these interviews rather than simply on call, doctrine and ecclesial and denominational awareness. These other questions still have relevance, but the apologetic hermeneutic for ministry is no longer the only lens we need to look through. There is no point in being able to defend the faith winsomely if no one is asking the questions in the first place.

If we are committed to supporting people in leading the churches into mission, then we need to major on teasing out their vision for mission in the local community. We need to assess the capacity of candidates / potential pastors to 'read' a local area and engage with real life issues in the social sphere. Do they read a paper? Can they voice opinions on what might be in the popular mind this week? Are they involved in secular groups? How many unbelieving friends do they spend time with on a regular basis? Do they recognise a disconnect between church and secular culture, and how do they describe this?

If we want change sooner rather than later, we should be showing a bias to those who exhibit skills in mission, and those who reflect a desire to challenge the status quo.

New skills required

1. Self-awareness and spirituality

Os Guinness quotes a Japanese businessman "whenever I meet a Buddhist leader, I meet a holy man. Whenever I meet a Christian leader, I meet a manager".[6] People in the post-modern, post-Christendom world are looking for spiritual experience. They are much less interested in a rational justification for faith. They are no longer persuaded by argument, but are persuaded by integrity, by passion, by lifestyle, by inclusion and involvement. We need leaders who live the talk. Who we are can no longer be hidden beneath what we say or teach. The person we are in Christ is not only the starting point but the continuation of the journey.

This has always been so, but it is critical to the future well-being of the church. We have been so compromised by our failures of the past and the ability to compartmentalise our faith separately to our lives, that the

[6] O, Guinness, *Dining with the Devil*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker,1993, p. 49.

spirituality of church leaders is paramount if we are to correct the perception. We need to be holy men and women. In a climate when it is increasingly difficult to uphold a faith, we need the spiritual disciplines, reinforced by living them in community with others, to maintain the Jesus-centredness of gospel living. Only time in meditation and silence can enable us to both be aware of the dominating impact of our ego, and to begin to find our true selves in God deeper within.

The rediscovery and reinterpretation of the monastic tradition and the importance of maintaining rhythms of spiritual disciplines in many of the newer churches are encouraging signs that this is being taken seriously in mission-centred communities. True monasticism has never been about a retreat from the world. Thomas Merton viewed his monasticism as embracing both inner searching of the soul and deep engagement with the world: "the monk abandons the world only in order to listen more intently to the deepest and most neglected voices that proceed from its inner depth".[7]

People have flocked to the Buddhist tradition and found the meditative practices there to be life-giving, but we have been much less inclined to offer the Christian contemplative tradition as a way into the Christian life and practices, yet it is a rich seam. Sri Lankan evangelist Ajith Fernando urges that we need to really know God's love for ourselves. He warns: "Christians who do not know the joys of lingering in the presence of God will be at a loss to know how to respond when people speak of serenity through New Age disciplines like transcendental meditation".[8] What is our experience of God that we can authentically share?

It is encouraging that there has been a revival in Christian spirituality amongst many lay people, but unfortunately I have heard many pastors note, with discomfort, that those in their congregations most attracted to retreats and spiritual direction are often those who tend to be self-absorbed or with limited people-skills, and who become a poor advert for the exercise! True Christian spirituality is not about individualised piety, but it is a communal process involving careful listening to God together as well as alone. In recent years in Victoria we have tried to increase our churches' skills in corporate discernment, as this is at the heart of our Baptist understanding of the gathered church.[9]

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[7] Thomas Merton, *Contemplative Prayer*, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1969, p. 23.

[8] Ajith Fernando, "The Uniqueness of Jesus Christ," in D. A. Carson (ed.), *Telling the Truth: Evangelizing Postmoderns*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000, p. 133.

[9] *Open to God, Resources for Decision-making in Church Communities,* Camberwell: Baptist Union of Victoria Publications, 2009.

We gather to discern the mind of Christ, but we need leaders who believe in the ability of their congregation to discern God's will and who can facilitate these listening processes. We need pastors to lead by example, and find ways to help the congregation earth the teaching of the Word in the transformation of their lives. When people find a genuine way to meditate that is not escapist, they have something to offer to the wider community who hunger for peace, stillness and the integration of their lives. Time spent in silence needs to be part of every student's day, as well as on-going accountabilities aimed at increasing self-awareness.

Christian Scharen argues that this kind of spirituality is essential for a mission-mindset. He quotes Rowan Williams, in support of a *practice of dispossession* "mission is a matter of dispossession. Jesus is God's giving away, a holding of nothing back: all the Father has is given in Jesus".[10] In the same way we are sent, and pour ourselves out: "an authentically self-forgetting practice that allows and nourishes the otherness of others".[11] Only persistent sitting before God in silence and contemplation can enable us to begin to let go of all the false securities we cling to, and genuinely give ourselves to others in ways that are in their best interests, rather than ours. In addition to stillness, Bruce Sanguin recommends that theological reflection, compassion and creativity are the core skills for a missional pastor.[12] I affirm these and add some more also.

2.Theological Reflection

This is a discipline that has growing traction in many colleges, and is a core skill to be able to practise communally. If we are to move away from sermon monologues we need to take the congregation on a shared process of theological reflection, and enable them to become familiar with the processes of looking at the context, then at the text and then back to the context in the light of the test. This is a key life/discipleship skill, but it is also a missional tool – enabling people to naturally reflect theologically in the context of the secular world at work, school or play. Making connections between faith and life is a significant part of the mission task. If we are to shift the self-understanding of churches and change the ecclesiological mindset there is a huge amount of theological reflection going to be needed. Helping people to read the Bible with their mission-

[10] Christian Scharen, "Practices of Dispossession: The Shape of Discipleship in a Church Taken, Blessed, Broken and Given", in D.J. Zscheile (ed.), *Cultivating Sent Communities: Missional Spiritual Formation*, Grand Rapids, Mich/Cambridge UK: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2012, p. 120.

[11] *Ibid*, quoting Williams R, *A Ray of Darkness: Sermons and Reflections*, Cambridge, MA: Cowley, 1995, pp. 229-31

[12] B, Sanguin, *The Emerging Church: A Model for Change and a Map for Renewal*, Kelowna, BC: CopperHouse, 2008, (Chap 9)

lenses firmly attached and then apply their learnings in imaginative ways is critical to the mission adventure God is calling us to.

3.Compassion

Sanguin defines compassion as "the opening of one's heart through the expansion of one's mind. The basis of all authentic love is an increased capacity to take multiple perspectives".[13] Compassion is at the centre of Jesus' response to people in the gospels, and we need to be forming compassionate leaders who have the capacity to listen to the perspectives of others and to feel with them. Jesus models compassionate inclusion in the gospels, as the basis for his mission, rather than the condemning exclusion the church has so often been criticised for. Without compassion, mission becomes an exercise in colonisation, and without compassion a leader merely begins to manage people to get a desired outcome, rather than empower them to engage with the world around them.

4.Creativity

This tends to be associated with the arts and we think of poets, artists and musicians. These are essential to the church in today's mission and we need to foster their skills and encourage their faith as they can lead us in the essential business of making connections. However creativity can be something more modest. Sanguin argues that we all live with a set of myths and stories that shape our lives and that to evolve we need to gain new perspective on these so that we are freed to shape our lives more consciously. This he says is a primary act of creativity. "As we gain perspective we acquire the capacity to think, act and love *outside the box*."[14]

> *You can't depend on your eyes when your imagination is out of focus* – Mark Twain[15]

Formation for leadership needs to encourage the imagination of students for this is a skill the church requires if it is going to find new ways to relate to the society around. The formal academic approach tends to impose strictures on assignment submissions, but could paintings, poems or dramas be considered appropriate? Can we assist people to develop the backstories to Biblical characters or situations? Do we provide creative contexts for stimulating the imagination? When some colleagues and I were writing a resource for churches (about getting them to think outside the box) we deliberately experimented with meeting in different contexts to stimulate

[13] *Ibid*, p. 134
[14] *Ibid*, p. 137.
[15] Mark Twain, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, 1889.

more creative responses.[16] Getting students into art galleries; race courses; theatres, prisons and factories is all part of the 'gaining of perspective' and fostering new connections.

5. Reading the Context

In *God Next Door*, Simon Holt, Baptist Minister and lecturer in Spirituality, analyses how suburbia and community in Australia have changed in our time, explores the biblical mandate of neighbourliness, and suggests practices for engaging neighbourhood as part of spirituality and mission. Holt recommends practices like dawdling in the street, learning to exegete the area or location, celebrating with neighbourhood parties and liturgies, being countercultural with stability, prayer walking, and experimenting with house church or table church. He urges nurturing the best of what we find in our local playgrounds, cafes and trouble spots.[17] Being genuinely spiritual and caring as neighbours, writes Darren Cronshaw, in our Australian context, where most people do not go to church, is a prime example of a missional and engaged spirituality. [18]

To be genuinely neighbourly in this way means first being able to observe, listen to and analyse the culture of a community; a particular people group; a cafe; a neighbourhood. It demands a high degree of attentiveness and an ability to recognise the points of connection and disconnection between the observed culture and one's own culture. This is a practised skill which can be learned. Missionaries travelling overseas are taught the skills of contextualisation, but sadly it is assumed that most pastors are automatically familiar with the culture that they are working in. This is one of the reasons for the failure of so much recent outreach and evangelism and even some community ministry.

Churches make the assumptions that people around the church are the same as them. In fact in most Australian cities and probably most European cities also, our neighbourhoods are thoroughly multi-cultural – ethnically and culturally diverse. Inner-city, suburban and rural contexts are incredibly different – even two ends of a street can have very different cultures. People in our neighbourhoods around our churches are not like us, and leaders need the skills to attend to these differences. Community audits; neighbourhood surveys; identifying the key community gatekeepers are all skills pastors need to be familiar with and able to equip the congregation to do this kind of analysis.

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[16] *Out of the Box: An Invitation to Move into New Forms of Mission and Ministry*, Camberwell: Baptist Union of Victoria Publications, 2011.
[17] Simon Carey Holt, *God Next Door: Spirituality & Mission in the Neighbourhood*, Brunswick East: Acorn, 2007.
[18] Darren Cronshaw, "Reenvisioning Theological Education and Missional Spirituality", *Journal of Adult Theological Education* (2012)

Osmer calls this the first stage of understanding the descriptive task and states that the skill required is that of *priestly listening*. Based on reflective practice he uses the hermeneutical circle to develop a process of understanding and responding to a new situation or culture, and is at pains to point out that the process need not be led by a pastor, but the skills are those of an *interpretive guide*. However, this seems to be a good summary of a set of the skills a pastor requires in a mission context.

Interpretive practice is then the next step in the process of understanding – requiring *sagely wisdom,* and asks the question why is this going on? He then suggests we ask the normative question – what ought to be happening? Where is God in this? What is God saying? And this requires *prophetic discernment.* The last set of questions is around the pragmatic task – how might we respond? This Osmer calls *servant leadership*.[19]

Michael Frost takes this further, by noting that our society is getting increasingly 'excarnational' and the church is following suit despite its alleged commitment to following Jesus in being incarnational.

> It's not just about us getting out more into the neighbourhood but it's about us asking ourselves, 'What habits, or liturgies, should we be building into the lives of believers to help countermand all the secular rituals and habits that are present and which lull us into a sense of the bifurcation of life into a de-fleshed, excarnational, non-contextual or hypercontextual understanding of community, neighbourhood, and knowledge?'[20]

6. Cross-cultural skills

There is no point in understanding the culture around us, unless we can learn to cross the cultural divides and learn to relate in appropriate ways to people who are not like us. Thankfully our young people are growing up increasingly familiar with people of different ethnicities and different cultures and as this is normalised in our cities, we will be less constrained by our current WASP assumptions. However I am continually surprised by pastors who have not been to areas of our city which are dominated by Asian or African communities. It would seem to be essential for those in training for ministry to do a placement in a non-Anglo setting, whether this is overseas or across the city.

I once listened to a pastor of one of our larger churches describe his congregation as multi-cultural. I asked him if he did anything to affirm the different cultures people came from. He looked at me blankly "No, they're happy with the way we do things." Later I preached at the church and led a

[19] Richard R. Osmer, *Practical theology: An Introduction*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008.

[20] Quoted in *Vista, Quarterly bulletin of research-based information on mission in Europe*, Issue 12, Jan 2013

prayer for the war in Iraq. A man came up to me afterwards "Thank you so much for praying for Iraq – I have never heard my country mentioned in this church and I found it so moving." If this man is to bring his friends to church, he needs to know that his culture will be affirmed.

Aspirant assimilation is not a recipe for missional success. Pastors need to understand the difference between high-context and low-context cultures and the resulting implications for processing information, decision-making and dealing with difference. Developing cross-cultural skills enables these skills to be applied in different cultures, that may not be ethnically diverse, but be of different socio-economic, educational or aspirational cultures within one's own ethnic context.

In addition we need to understand other faiths. In Europe most children gain a rudimentary understanding of a range of faiths, but in Australia the secularisation of education means that there is no standardised ground for gaining an appreciation of what people believe and why. It would seem that this is something we should be lobbying for in order to further greater tolerance and understanding. But Christian leaders and those in churches need to be aware of what the major faith groups within their society stand for, so that meaningful dialogue can be entered into.

We can no longer perpetuate the separate training of missionaries and pastors. We are all in a mission context and need the appropriate cross-cultural and contextualisation skills. This notion is not new; Leslie Newbigin pioneered a change in our thinking through the Gospel and Culture movement, urging pastors to see themselves as missionaries, and affirming the potency of the local congregation as the primary demonstration of the gospel, "the only answer, the only hermeneutic of the gospel, is a congregation of men and women who believe it and live by it."[21]

Conclusion

I can see College and Seminary Principals throwing their hands up in frustration at my naiveté in assuming that all this can be added into the already straining curriculum. With most students rightly learning in context, and so studying part-time, it can already take people 10 years to get a degree. If we further fill the curriculum, people will be graduating when they draw pensions! I think that this is why we need a collaborative approach to training for a mission-context. It may be that we try to do less at the initial stages in Theological College, but then strengthen a post-graduate, accredited on-going learning system which allows pastors and leaders to hone their practical skills, and allows more opportunity for the

[21] Lesslie Newbigin, *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989, p. 227.

congregation to participate in the learning process. This would be done in collaboration with the colleges so that on-going learning builds on the foundational skills taught earlier on. We need to work more closely with our mission agencies so that we draw on the experience they have gained over the years, and enable pastors to benefit more widely from this. There needs to be a constructive dialogue that recognises the need for new models of formation, and a collaborative approach that is experimented with sooner rather than later. The decline of the church will not cease while we perfect our approach so we need, as unions or conventions, to begin to show the same courage we are asking for in our pastors – the courage to take risks and be willing to fail in our bid to be faithful to God's call to Mission.

Returning to the picture of the pastor as penguin, we need to ask what sort of animal should we be forming as we look into the future? No one example seems sufficient, as all have their limitations. The most obvious biblical example might be the eagle. We need pastors who will soar high with strength and fortitude – see the big picture and keep broad horizons. However eagles land and rip the heads off smaller beings! We need pastors who can relate well within and beyond the community. Therefore we also need pastors to be a little like Labradors – warm, friendly, loyal and optimistic. We need chameleons, who retain their distinctive identity, whilst adapting to and blending with the surrounding environment. We need communitarians like ants. The Bible praises the ant for its industry, but the ability of the ant to also work with others and endlessly adapt as a community to new situations is exemplary. Our hybrid pastors will be strange looking creatures, but we face strange and alien times that call for very different responses and a wholly new style of leadership.

What kind of animal do you want your pastor to be?

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Leadership as a Virtuous Practice: Reflections on Women and Stained-Glass Ceilings

Lina Andronovienė

Leaders speak things into existence.[1]

Writing on the theme of women in leadership is not the easiest of tasks, at least for me. When will the time come when a theme such as this will be no longer relevant? Why should one, as we say in my home country of Lithuania, have to prove that one is not a camel, i.e., to argue that women *can* be leaders, that women *are* leaders, and that, for the sake of the whole church, women *ought to be* consciously encouraged and respected as leaders?[2]

And yet, reluctant as I am, I know that the task of writing on this theme is necessary, and I, for one, have to contribute to it, because my own life witnesses to the difference that an encouragement to exercise leadership can make. Having decided I had no interest in spending my life bumping into stained-glass ceilings, I nevertheless responded to a call to exercise the gifts such that I had, because there were those who kept speaking my leadership into existence. The ceiling, of which I will talk below, can loom large, sometimes despairingly so, and seems to need multiple efforts of demolishment. Keith Jones has been one of the most encouraging examples of persistent and selfless efforts at such demolishment – the effects of which I both had felt personally and observed in the lives of other women – and that is another reason why a piece on women in leadership is absolutely necessary in the present collection.

What I hope to do, therefore, in the following pages, is to reflect on the nature of leadership as a practice, then to look at the experience of that stained-glass ceiling which many women in ministry encounter, and finally to consider how the virtuous potential of leadership may help to tackle it.

The 'What' of the Practice

So what do I mean by referring to leadership as a 'practice'? The word 'practice' can be used in a variety of ways, such as referring to playing in a band, making a living as an ophthalmologist, or a regular attendance at

[1] Mary Pierce Brosmer, *Women Writing for (a) Change: A Guide for Creative Transformation,* Notre Dame: Sorin Books, 2009, p. 224.

[2] For a moving example of a similar reluctance to argue the obvious, see a blog entry of a British Baptist, Steve Holmes, 'Why I can no longer defend the ministry of women in the church'. http://steverholmes.org.uk/blog/?p=6867 (accessed 8 March 2013).

church services. The way the term 'practice' will be used here follows the usage of the concept as described by Alasdair MacIntyre. The definition he provides is a demanding one to grasp, yet helpfully concise given the complex nature of the subject. According to MacIntyre, a practice is

> any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realized in the course of trying to achieve those standards of excellence [that is, virtues – L.A.] which are appropriate to, and partially definitive of, that form of activity, with the result that human powers to achieve excellence, and human conceptions of the ends and goods involved, are systematically extended.[3]

One of the parameters of practices is their historical and contextual grounding, making them therefore necessarily intricate – that is, involving activities aimed at certain goals and requiring a considerable degree of expertise gleaned from other participants, past and present, for achieving those goals. Developing in such expertise is what makes one a genuine participant of a particular practice. Practices, therefore, are not merely habits, such as brushing one's teeth twice a day, reading before sleep, or even greeting one another with the holy kiss in the church. These do not presuppose progress and growth in the particular action, and thus do not qualify here as 'practices.' However, similarly to habits, practices are an inseparable part of one's personal life. They are the 'stuff' without which any talk of individual personality is essentially meaningless.

That said, the way people engage in various practices reflects varying distances from other people and communal life as such. The 'lone rangers' and the mavericks are just as much a part of this communal framework as those at the core of the community's activities. People take part in the practice of leadership whether they support the leaders or resist them. People at the margins may have a prophetic role to play; the critique they provide for the particular practice may be extremely valuable. Yet for them, as much as for other members, community of some sort is an indispensable web[4] in which particular skills, or virtues, can be cultivated in their narrative connectedness.

Narrative connectedness presupposes that practices always belong to a certain tradition – in MacIntyre's words, a certain "historically extended,

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[3] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984, (2nd Ed.), p. 187. There are numerous works exploring the meaning and the implications of this complex definition. To focus on the benefit of MacIntyre's argument for the further development of the Christian tradition, see especially Nancey Murphy, Brad J. Kallenberg, and Mark Thiessen Nation (eds.), *Virtues and Practices in the Christian Tradition: Christian Ethics after MacIntyre*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997, and James Wm McClendon, *Systematic Theology: Ethics, Volume I*, Revised Edition, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002, pp. 167-91.

[4] This web will have an institutional expression of one sort or another: see MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, pp. 194-5.

socially embodied argument".[5] What the 'argument' is about is the 'goods' which constitute the tradition; in other words, the goals which the tradition deems worth pursuing. These goals may be adjusted over time; they "themselves are transmuted by the history of the activity."[6] The goal of the practice of leadership can be expressed in terms of vision: discerning an appropriate and workable vision, articulating it, inspiring (or influencing)[7] others to embrace that vision, and showing how a particular community can work towards, can embody such a vision. Of course, other goals can be identified too, or expressed with a different emphasis: the shaping of identity, community formation, productivity (whether in terms of evangelism or "production of tractors"[8]), and so on, but they all seem to stem out of the vision embraced by that particular community. This is also reflected in a typical identity declaration of many institutions: it is all about the 'vision', and the task of leadership is to ensure that vision is embodied through the organisational 'mission'.

Participants of the practice internalise, in various ways, the developing story of why this vision is appropriate, and how it can be reached. The 'how' is reflected in the virtues which become associated with the practice; in other words, certain skills, or personal and communal qualities, which are recognised as needed for a successful participation in a practice.[9] These virtues are intrinsically linked to the particular context in which a practice takes place and the narrative which provides it with the meaning and links it with other practices. The virtue of courage for a Greek warrior is something very different from the courage of Jesus Christ in his death on a cross.[10] This would go for any other virtue: the same word may presuppose a different quality for different forms of life, even if they all use the same word. It can be argued, therefore, that the Christian practice of leadership and its virtues may look very different from some other versions of the same practice: "You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones are tyrants over them. It will not be so among

[5] MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, p. 222.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 194.
[7] 'Influence' is another word frequently used in defining leadership; see fn 21.
[8] Here I should let the reader in an inside joke which Keith regularly employed when, as an Academic Team, we were faced with frustrating demands of detailed reporting for an accreditation or validation body which seemed to miss the nature of our work. He would refer to them as 'tractor production reports', meaning that they treated the seminary as a tractor plant, expecting us to be able to say how many tractors we were planning to produce over the next five years.
[9] Alongside the virtues, there is another important area to explore, namely, the vices – those qualities of a stable nature which are detrimental to the practice's achievement of its goals. I will return to them, albeit briefly, later in the article.
[10] Cf. Alasdair Macintyre, *A Short History of Ethics: A History of Moral Philosophy from the Homeric Age to the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed., Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998, pp. 66-67.

you" (Mt 20: 25-26a, NRSV).[11] A similar notion has been expressed in the theory of 'servant leadership' which also calls for reconsidering the qualities of a leader as a servant to those she or he is leading.

In order to be counted as virtues, they have to be characterised by a sufficient degree of stability. A certain virtue has to be a consistent feature of one's character (and indeed the character of a particular community). A single expression of kindness, care, courage, or any other quality held to be a virtue may provide a spur to rethink things and occasionally even lead to significant life changes, but it is only when it becomes a permanent feature, surfacing in different situations, that it becomes a virtue. Compare this to one of the trends in the leadership studies, "authentic leadership,"[12] set in contrast to an experience of fake courage, pretended care, artificial passion, forged confidence. People look at such a person and although the needed 'bits' may seem to be all there, something is missing: the overall picture does not hold. Thus, attention is turned to virtues such as integrity and vulnerability, and a realisation of how leaders fail and fall because they have developed a façade very different from the fears and the weaknesses they were carrying and battling with when no followers were watching.[13]

An argument can be made that different situations may require different virtues for a good leadership, and whilst one of them may be crucial in one set of circumstances or culture, it may not be the case in a different situation. In leadership studies, this is often referred to as 'situational leadership'. The idea that different situations call for different styles[14] makes sense, but it is rather difficult to carry on a discussion beyond this general, common-sense observation in a concrete, yet non-mechanistic way. I also suspect that people – leaders – struggle with the idea of changing their style as the day or week goes: it feels somehow 'inauthentic'. However, thinking about different virtues as skills which one

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[11] For a classic text on servant leadership, see Robert K. Greenleaf, *Servant Leadership: A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness*, New York: Paulist Press, 1977. Whilst echoing the teaching of Jesus in its insistence of the necessary paradox of a 'servant leader', the theory can seem to be 'thin' when left to general descriptions of the servant-leader's qualities and the lack of a clear framework for accounting for these qualities. Servanthood can be adopted as a pose, rather than a virtue, in a manipulatory or controlling manner and employed as a way of gaining rewards. However, the theory has been explored from the point of view of virtue ethics. See, e.g., J. Randall Wallace's argument, that the virtues which can be discerned in the servant leadership theory especially fit the Judeo-Christian worldview. 'Servant leadership: A worldview perspective.' Proceedings of the 2006 Servant Leadership Research Roundtable, available at http://www.regent.edu/acad/global/publications/sl_proceedings/2006/wallace.pdf (accessed 15 March 2013).

[12] See, e.g., William Louis Gardner, Bruce J Avolio, Fred O. Walumbwa (eds.), *Authentic Leadership Theory and Practice: Origins, Effects and Development*, Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2005.

[13] An example of one such consideration is Simon P Walker's concept of 'undefended leadership': see his *Leading out of Who You Are: Discovering the Secret of Undefended Leadership*, Carlisle: Piquant Editions, 2007.

[14] See, e.g., Paul Hersey and Kenneth H Blanchard, *Management of Organizational Behaviour: Utilizing Human Resources* (5th ed.), Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988.

requires for a certain task may help to see how confidence and clarity and directness are the virtues needed in a situation requiring an urgent response, whereas gentleness and curiosity about the ideas of others comes to the fore in another situation.

Another important issue to remember is that leadership cannot be treated in isolation. It is necessary to consider the way the practice of leadership is aligned with other practices. There is more than one way to align practices, and indeed a change in context may require a reconfiguration of the practices in terms of their achievement of the goals set by the tradition; but coherence must be a feature of the set of practices belonging to a particular community. MacIntyre's claim is that

> unless there is a *telos* which transcends the limited goods of practices by constituting the good of a whole human life, the good of human life conceived as a unity, it will *both* be the case that a certain subversive arbitrariness will invade the moral life *and* that we shall be unable to specify the context of certain virtues adequately. These two considerations are reinforced by a third: that there is at least one virtue recognised by the tradition which cannot be specified at all except with reference to the wholeness of a human life – the virtue of integrity or constancy… This notion of singleness of purpose in a whole life can have no application unless that of a whole life does.[15]

This, it seems to me, is one of the problems with the way the issue of leadership is approached, when it is presented apart from the whole of the Christian life: if only this practice goes right (i.e., if only we get a good leader), everything will be just great.[16] That leadership and its care for a vision are important is certainly true. However, in terms of the Christian interpretation of this practice, visionary leadership is shaped by the particular expressions of two basic Christian practices: worship and mission. Only in the context of these practices does leadership become Christian; and these practices guard it from idolatrous goals and visions.[17]

The 'Who' of the Practice

Who are the participants of this practice? Quite obviously, it should be all of those willingly participating in the life of a community: both 'leaders' and 'followers'. Yet what makes one a leader rather than follower? Leadership studies have moved a long way from the stories of 'great leaders' to a much more recent emphasis on 'team leadership'.[18] Perhaps in

[15] MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, p. 203. MacIntyre's italics.

[16] As John Maxwell puts it, "Everything rises and falls on leadership." http://johnmaxwellonleadership.com/2011/09/05/level-2-%E2%80%93-permission-you-can%E2%80%99t-lead-people-until-you-like-people/ (accessed 22 March 2013).

[17] I am reacting here to much of the hype in Christian leadership literature which often seems to be a straightforward adaptation of secular leadership and management studies, attractively but shallowly 'baptised' in Christian terminology and biblical references.

[18] For an overview of leadership theories and their development, see, e.g., Peter G. Northouse, *Leadership: Theory and Practice* (5th ed.), Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2010.

reaction to the tyranny of the single all-powerful leader, sometimes 'leadership' is used to mean anything and everything. ("All Christians are leaders" – "You are a leader if you ever taught a young child to tie their shoe laces" – "every godly mother is a leader", etc.) Here it may be helpful to return to the primary goal of the practice: if it is to provide, show, maintain and develop a vision, then obviously the leaders will be those primarily involved in this task in one way or another. However, what some of these slogans are getting at is an appreciation of the fluidity of leadership roles. If leading is understood first of all as a task, rather than a title (which has a whiff of permanence or a desire to hold onto it as something establishing one's personal identity), then it is necessarily 'situational' in that one may take a leading responsibility in a particular sphere but not in other. One of the best expositions of this idea is Michael Walzer's "spheres of justice"[19], outlining, beside other things, how such an understanding safeguards from a leader "for all places and times" – in the church, think of a minister wanting to control not only the pulpit but also the janitor's cupboard.

Employing the picture of the spheres of justice also helps appreciate the variety of expressions of leadership in different spheres, and, indeed, in different persons involved in leadership. It also helps to battle one unduly dominant picture of what a leader looks like. Here is that picture: "A leader is someone who shows the way, characteristically by leading from in front, and taking people with them."[20]

But is a leader indeed always a 'frontman', or a 'frontwoman'? What about a blind woman whose writings, put to music, have influenced a whole generation of evangelicals? An example I have in mind here is the story of Fanny Crosby (1820-1915), whose songs are still sung in a variety of evangelical communities throughout the world (especially in Eastern Europe), and in the past would have exercised an extraordinary influence on evangelical convictions.[21] Of course, Crosby would have hardly thought

[19] Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*: *A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*, New York: Basic Books, 1983.

[20] John Adair, 'Overview: Pasing the ball to you', in John Adair and John Nelson (eds.), *Creative Church Leadership*, Norwich, CT: Canterbury Press, 2004, p. 4.

[21] For a biography of Crosby, see Edith L. Blumhofer, *Her Heart Can See: The Life and Hymns of Fanny J. Crosby*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005. Here one may recall another word frequently used to describe the essence of leadership: influence – that is, "moving people to change their thinking and ultimately their behavior" – Aubrey Malphurs, *Being Leaders: The Nature of Authentic Christian Leadership*, Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2004, p. 92. Thus, for instance, Northouse suggests that "leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (*Leadership*, p. 3). Or in popular and (over)simplified parlance, "leadership is influence – nothing more, nothing less" – John Maxwell, *Ultimate Leadership: 21 Irrefutable Laws, Developing the Leader Within You, 17 Indisputable Laws of Teamwork*, Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2007, p. 21. Perhaps a better word expressing a similar notion is that of 'legacy'; see, e.g., Ruth Tucker, *Leadership Reconsidered*, Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2008, pp. 143-213.

of herself as a leader. Perhaps it could be argued that such discussion therefore becomes pointless, but I would contend that in order to get into a meaningful discussion on *real* leadership, labels need to be taken with great caution. Just as many who have been titled leaders are forgotten as soon as they retire or are fired, so, in retrospect, others are long remembered for having affected change in their communities regardless of how they were called at the time.

Beyond the labels, then, do the 'followers' always gather behind the leader, or, as in the case of a general, can the leader actually be situated behind, observing the whole field?[22] A similar case may be made about the shepherds, who in some countries go behind, rather than in front, of the flock. However, even in the case of the flock there needs to be some sort of an acknowledgment of the one who leads, whether from the front or from behind. Apart from official recognition, it can be expressed in terms of the leader's 'moral authority'.[23] Noticing, remembering, acknowledging and encouraging such authority, however, typically depends on certain suppositions and expectations, and this is where the problem of 'women leaders' comes into focus.

History of leadership is mostly 'HIStory': women leaders are often invisible, and that invisibility shapes the current assumptions too. The Scriptures, written in a patriarchal world, only allude to the surprising role of a few women, even though those brief remarks are fascinating.[24] The same continues in the history of the church: we hear of Joan of Arc or Mother Theresa, but it takes the skills of a detective and historian to read between the lines and reconstruct the stories and the influences of so many other women who may be mentioned only in passing, but whose legacy certainly seems to be at odds with the official discourse on the role of women in that particular society.[25] Yet such detective-like work is essential, and the work of a historian becomes a theological endeavour,

[22] My thanks go to Tim Noble for this helpful illustration.

[23] Jim Wallis is an example of the most outspoken exponents of 'moral authority'; see, e.g., his *God's Politics: Why the American Right Gets It Wrong and the Left Doesn't Get It*, Oxford: A Lion Book, 2005, p. 24. Moral authority again returns us to the issue of the virtues of the leader.

[24] Take, for instance, the prophetess Huldah of 2 Kings 22 and 2 Chronicles 34, or, earlier, in the book of Judges, Deborah, a military leader as well as a judge. Or, in the New Testament times, Junia, a fellow-prisoner with Paul and, in his words, "prominent among the apostles" (Rom 16:7, NRSV).

[25] For a helpful list of historical studies on Baptist women in ministry in the history of the British Baptists, see 'Bibliography' in *The Story of Women in Ministry in the Baptist Union of Great Britain*, Didcot: The Baptist Union of Great Britain, 2011, pp. 54-55. On some glimpses into the women's leadership role among the Soviet Union Baptists, see, e.g., the IBTS doctoral dissertation of Alexander Popov, 'The Evangelical Christians-Baptists in the Soviet Union as a hermeneutical community: examining the identity of the All-Union Council of the ECB (AUCECB) through the way the Bible was used in its publications' (PhD diss., International Baptist Theological Seminary, 2010), pp. 112-13; 178.

exemplified among others by Keith Jones.[26] As this past is rediscovered, our present assumptions and expectations are challenged too.[27]

To take an example from the other side of the Atlantic, an interesting argument is put forward by Timothy Larsen. It was the Evangelicals who supported and affirmed women in ministry in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and upholding women's gifting in preaching was common for a number of conservative or fundamentalist leaders and institutions.[28] The Baptists in this regard were impressively women-affirming: "the first woman priest in the Church of England was not ordained until 1994 – more than one hundred years on from when Frances Townsley had been ordained as an evangelical Baptist minister [in Nebraska – L.A.] with all the rights and privileges thereof".[29] Contrary to the current representation of the evangelical movement, Larsen argues, "women in public ministry is a historic distinctive of the evangelical movement, and this is precisely because of its commitment to the Bible and the gospel".[30] Thus, in the nineteenth century, with very little opportunity for public service *except* that of the Christian ministry (!), "if a woman wanted to vote, she could do so as a member of a Baptist church, but not as a citizen of the nation".[31]

And yet such an encouraging start did not continue with the same progression. The challenge of denying (or ignoring) the leadership gifts of women (and this could be extended to various others whom we think of as different) remains: a stained-glass ceiling.[32] A recent report from the Baptist Union of Great Britain states that only 11.6% of all serving Baptist ministers are women,[33] and although the list of the EBF Unions with women serving as ministers, compiled by Keith Jones, includes countries

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[26] See, for example, Keith G. Jones, "Baptists and Anabaptists Revisited", in Anthony R. Cross and Nicholas J. Wood (eds.), *Exploring Baptist Origins* (= Centre for Baptist History and Heritage Studies Vol. 1), Oxford: Regent's Park College, 2010, pp. 139-55.

[27] As Karen E. Smith observes: "Historians must search for sources which will portray a wider picture of Baptist life, one including all Baptists, men, women, and children, as well as minority groups within Baptist life." – "Beyond Public and Private Spheres: Another look at women in Baptist history and historiography", *Baptist Quarterly* 34:2 (1991), pp. 79-87, here p. 84. On this, see also Ruth Gouldbourne, *Reinventing the Wheel: Women and Ministry in English Baptist Life*, Oxford: Whitley Publications, 1997.

[28] Timothy Larsen, "Women in Public Ministry: A Historic Evangelical Distinctive", in Mark Husbands and Timothy Larsen (eds.), *Women, Ministry and the Gospel: Exploring New Paradigms*, Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2007, pp. 215, 224-31. On the biography of Frances 'Fanny' Townsley, a Northern Baptist, see Louis Gallien, *A Daughter of the King: The Life and Ministry of Rev. Frances Townsley During the Progressive Era* (Women in Baptist Life Collection), Savannah: Mercer University Press, 1998. See also Townsley's autobiography. Frances E. Townsley, *A Pilgrim Maid: The Self-Told Story of Frances E. Townsley*, Butler: L. H. Highley, 1908.

[29] Larsen, "Women in Public Ministry", p. 230.

[30] Larsen, "Women in Public Ministry", pp. 230-1.

[31] Larsen, "Women in Public Ministry", p. 230.

[32] For a recent evaluation of the situation in one of the most progressive European Baptist unions, see "Systemic Barriers to Women in Leadership", in *The Story of Women in Ministry*, pp. 20-5.

[33] *The Story of Women in Ministry*, p. 6.

such as Georgia, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Lithuania, Estonia and Bulgaria,[34] it often indicates individual instances rather than the norm. Add to this other Unions and individual churches where recognition of women in church leadership is still an anathema or even a reason to break ties with the wider Baptist family.

How does one address such a situation? To start with, there is an option of simply accepting the situation as it is, and adapting to it the best one can. This involves giving one's energies to other, more open, spheres of life, but also finding other ways of pushing one's agenda in the sphere of the church – by becoming "grey eminences", resorting to manipulation and other techniques and resources to achieve things. Having had the privilege of knowing different Baptist communities both East and West of Europe, I would dare to say that I have frequently witnessed such strategies in conservative settings, especially those where 'men's leadership' was explicitly proclaimed. Women may not preach there but instead, they 'share' and 'give testimonies', forty minutes long, and sort out their husbands behind the closed doors prior and after meetings. Grey eminence is a fertile soil for fostering all kinds of vices – apathy, resentment, cunning, hypocrisy. My fear is that as women's leadership continues to be increasingly affirmed and practiced in European societies at large, and the rift between a woman's position in society and the churches increases, these vices can become even more detrimental to the church's health and witness.

How does one, then, address the situation of the stained-glass ceiling? What kind of virtues may be especially important in the process? These are the questions to which I turn next, suggesting two major avenues for action.

The 'How' of the Practice: The Case of Demolishing the 'Stained-Glass Ceiling'

Driving Hard, Publicly and Otherwise

One of the issues is that the leadership of women is *de facto* taking place, but is not recognized. I recall, for instance, the story of my great-aunt, Doroteja Inkenaite, who, having both theological proficiency and a gift for oral communication, was regularly called up to 'share the Word' in church services both in Lithuania and Latvia, but of course without any discussion of recognizing her gift and ministry.[35] Or it may be recognized in an

[34] Keith G Jones, 'Baptists and women in ministry,' *The Baptist Times*, 29 November 2012, http://www.baptisttimes.co.uk/index.php/opinion/652-baptists-and-women-in-ministry (accessed 8 March 2013).

[35] A short biography of Dorotėja ,Rūta Inkenaitė, "Dorotėja Inkenaitė" will be available in *A Bibliographical Dictionary of European Baptists*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, forthcoming.

illogical way, such as in the current conundrum of the Church of England where women can be ordained for ministry and serve as ministers/priests/chaplains, but, due to the recent vote of the House of Laity, still cannot become bishops.

The vote received a considerable attention in the (mostly British) press, written mostly from a secular perspective, rather bemused why 'in this day and age' the church is still discussing such issues. Both the vote and the comments of the press encouraged the reactions of those in the Christian ministry, both Anglicans and not. NT Wright, former Bishop of Durham, pointed out that it is not about 'this day and age' but being faithful to the Gospel which challenges any limitations in leadership based on gender.[36] Keith Jones, reflecting on the European Baptist practice, drew attention to a number of women exercising leadership in Baptist communities.[37] Around the same time, an IBTS doctoral alumnus, Vladimir Ubeivolc (Moldova), reflected on the woman's role in the evangelical churches of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Pointing out that during the times of the Soviet regime, the churches had ordained female ministers—deaconesses and preachers—and that today women frequently 'share' from the Bible (as long as they do not stand in the pulpit and it is not called a sermon), he urged the churches and the male leaders to take seriously the gifts of the sisters.[38] Such reactions, it seems to me, are an extremely significant element in addressing and improving the situation.

After the vote in the Church of England, my Facebook page was full of comments, including one from a bright young Baptist female minister who said she was ready to give up on the church and seek other ways of practicing her faith. If there is anything that may encourage this young woman not to give up on the church yet, it is the reaction and affirmation of the female gifting for leadership championed by the 'privileged others'. Men campaigning for women in ministry are a powerful expression of the spirit of the Gospel: those currently privileged and empowered, speaking on behalf of those who are denied such privilege and empowerment.

Thinking of the virtues especially needed for such standing with and for those denied the recognition of their leadership gifts, it is clear that

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[36] 'Women Bishops: It's About the Bible.' *Arise* newsletter of Christians for Biblical Equality (CBE), 29 November 2013, www.cbeinternational.org/?q=content/2012-11-29-2-women-bishops-arise-e-newsletter (accessed 16 December 2012).

[37] "Baptists and women in ministry". For another overview of women in ministry, see Lina Andronoviene and Keith G Jones, "Women in Baptist Life", in John H. Y. Briggs (Gen. Ed.), *A Dictionary of European Baptist Life and Thought*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster/International Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009, pp. 529-31.

[38] Vladimir Ubeivolc, 'Роль женщины в евангельских церквях стран СНГ' [The Woman's Role in the Evangelical Churches of CIS'] http://webkontora.info/articles/644-rol-zhenshchiny-v-evangelskikh-cerkvakh-stran-sng (accessed 27 March 2013).

courage will be essential, especially in situations where such a stance would be deeply unpopular. Such courage will be related to selflessness, as affirming another as a leader may mean limiting one's own sphere of influence, promoting the achievements of another (perhaps at times more gifted?) colleague, and thus less of the limelight for oneself. More serious than that, however, is the possibility of undergoing personal harm, such as losing one's position or important contacts. Thus, willingness to suffer harm, or the virtue of suffering-love,[39] is another key skill for the participants of this practice.

Yet there would also be other, perhaps less noticeable virtues involved. For example, there is the virtue of social sensitivity, which helps in recognising routines and situations that are currently 'male-oriented', thereby making it more difficult for women to get involved. It may mean ensuring that not only those with the titles, solid experience and confident personalities speak up, and looking for creative ways to encourage people to formulate and speak their mind without fear and hesitation that their ideas are 'strange', 'impractical', 'silly' or 'different from how we always have done things'.

All this means being a different kind of a leader, and I am struggling to think of a more suitable contemporary example of these virtues than Keith Jones himself. As those of us who have seen him in day-to-day tasks and meetings would attest, he is very clear that supporting women in leadership for him is a key area of the Gospel embodied, and that he would consider it an honour to suffer the detrimental consequences of such support.[40]

> What if I Said "Leader"
> and It Evoked an Image of Someone Who. . .
> Always kept sight of what is in the middle?
> What are we gathered here to give life to? (. . .)
> Had the courage to ask, "What's going on in the room right now?
> What is not being said?
> What am I feeling?
> What are others feeling?"
> Spent time and energy creating spaces for people to generate meaning,
> To take risks,
> To tell the truth,
> To make commitments?
> Was courageous enough to integrate life-giving and soulful tools into practice:
> Circles, silence, flowers, poetry, stories,

[39] Lina Andronovienė, *Transforming the Struggles of Tamars: Single Women and Baptistic Communities*, Eugene: Wipf & Stock, forthcoming, Chapter Nine.

[40] Keith's colleagues have heard him say that the issue of supporting women in ministry was one worthy reason he would be happy to be fired for! The fact this did not happen speaks both of the hope we can have for women in the European Baptist Federation, and of Keith's wise leadership in this matter.

Knowing that it might expose him to ridicule
Knowing that it *would* expose *her* to ridicule? (. . .)
What if the Leader had enough integrity and imagination to connect:
Theory with practice
Research with action
Ideas with implementation
Activism with compassion?[41]

This poem has already introduced the second avenue, which may be especially important for those in unrecognized situations of leadership, and the virtue of creativity that it especially calls for.

Leading Creatively

Here history comes to the fore again, with its stories – those already uncovered and those still unknown – of women applying unconventional, unusual, innovative approaches to upholding and promoting the vision they believed their Christian communities were called to live by. Take, for example, those who in the mission fields were exercising all sorts of leadership tasks, even if when visiting their home or supporting churches in 'the West' they would not be allowed to exercise such tasks to the same extent, if at all.[42] The same could be said about situations at home which did not attract male ministers. Larsen comments on Townsley: "She specialized in reviving dying churches".[43] Time and again, women have found themselves in leadership roles in contexts that were less than normative or typical. And in some sense, that is precisely where the opportunity to exercise leadership – perhaps the only opportunity – often lay.

This can be viewed from two different angles. On the one hand, sadly, this was often the only chance and one they could not afford to waste: failure meant not only their personal failure as female Christian leaders, but a door shut even firmer to women in the future. No pressure, then! Yet on the other hand, dealing with a dying church, or the potential for a church in a missionary situation, could present a situation of nothing to lose, and provide an opportunity for experiment, innovation, and seeing things from a different angle. I wonder whether that was exactly what enabled many of these brave women to find *their* way of exercising their task of leadership. Coming to a well established church situation, it can be argued, may be significantly more difficult, as the 'mould' of the minister is clear, and typically defined in a 'male' way.[44]

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[41] 'What If I Said "Leader" and It Evoked an Image of Someone Who . . .', in Brosmer, *Women Writing for (a) Change*, pp. 228-9.
[42] See, e.g., Larsen, "Women in Public Ministry", pp. 229-30; Karen E. Smith, "Women in Cultural Captivity: British Women and the Zenana Mission", *Baptist History & Heritage* 41:1 (2006), pp. 30-41.
[43] Larsen, "Women in Public Ministry", p. 222.
[44] Gouldbourne, *Reinventing the Wheel*, pp. 32-3.

> Lead from where you are; do not wait to ascend the ladder.
> By the time you get there, you have paid such a high price, you dare not notice the ladder is against the wrong wall. (. . .)
> Hold the creative tension between process and product,
> openness and boundaries,
> risk and safety.[45]

I suggest that this may be of encouragement to all those ministering in situations where their role and gifting are viewed with suspicion. Living on the margins, and leading from the margins, may be a gift – a potentially difficult gift, but a wonderful one nonetheless – of developing a style, one's voice, and one's habits that have a chance to avoid the danger of being the copies of the dominant stereotypes.

At the same time, this might present a wonderful missional opportunity. As our world is moving into a different era, often termed 'postmodern', it is becoming increasingly clearer that new ways, new approaches to mission and church are sorely needed. Some patterns of existence, including some 'traditional' forms of leadership, need to be reviewed, or, as Michael Frost and Alan Hirsh argue, even scratched off altogether, and new paradigms created instead.[46] For those already on the margins, this can certainly mean a place and a call. Thus Kate Coleman, former President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, observes:

> Women are coming to leadership at precisely the time that the culture of leadership is experiencing some of its greatest changes. It is difficult to say whether expectations of leadership have altered 'because of' or 'in spite of' the increasing influence of women leaders in the work place. Whatever the case, the essential, but often missing, aspects of leadership, namely women's perspectives, are at last beginning to experience an awakening.[47]

One of the places where I have experienced such exploration of creativity is the Network of European Baptist Women in Ministries (NEBWiM) which has been regularly gathering at IBTS since 2006. Coming from a variety of backgrounds and situations, we have been learning to be open and vulnerable. We have been exploring different issues of our existence together and have encouraged one another in the unique gifts we have received. 'Creativity' was certainly the word I recall

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[45] 'A Primer of Conscious Feminine Leadership', in Brosmer, *Women Writing for (a) Change*, p. 230.

[46] Michael Frost and Alan Hirsh, *The Shaping of Things to Come: Innovation and Mission for the 21st-Century Church*, revised and updated ed., Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2013, pp. 15ff. The question whether and how different ecclesiology presupposes different kind of leadership is another area worth further exploration. Keith Jones has argued for 'porous' communities of the disciples of Christ, which does not work well with hierarchical and monolithic leadership structures. On the notion of the porosity of the church, see Keith G. Jones, "On Abandoning Public Worship", in Keith G. Jones and Parush R. Parushev (eds.), *Currents in Baptistic Theology of Worship Today*, Prague: International Baptist Theological Seminary, 2007, pp. 18-23.

[47] Kate Coleman, *7 Deadly Sins of Women in Leadership: Overcome Self-defeating Behaviour in Work & Ministry*, Birmingham: Next Leadership, 2010, p. 23.

hearing over and over again as stories were shared and new experiences encountered. Supported and prayed for by the leadership of IBTS and EBF, but given space to do these things as we saw fit, we were able to discover new things about ourselves and the world, and, hopefully, in some small way have contributed to the health and vitality of the whole European Baptist family. These are hopeful beginnings, a bit like the yeast that a woman takes and mixes in with flour until all of it is leavened. But such creative explorations have a potential to transform the communities of believers and to challenge, and shatter, any remaining glass ceiling.

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Adult Christian Education
The Challenge To Do Things Differently

David Goodbourn

I was delighted to be asked to contribute to an edition of *Baptistic Theologies* marking Keith Jones' retirement from IBTS. I, too, recently retired. Soon after, I was asked by a theological journal to write a retrospective article reviewing theological education in Britain as it had changed and developed throughout my career. It felt like a powerful reminder that people saw a retiree's career as now over! I may have left paid employment, but I am not yet ready to give up entirely; as I am sure Keith will agree, retirement is not really a concept that Christian discipleship understands. But the request was understandable; for three quarters of my working life I have been engaged in the business of theological education. So I was able to trace the movements, influences and dynamics that had shaped theological education in the United Kingdom since the early 1970s, when I joined the staff of a college where Keith was among the students.

Undertaking that task, however, led me to a different kind of reflection. My own specialist discipline has been adult Christian education, with the emphasis not so much on what happens in theological colleges but on how we work with the lay people of our churches to develop their Christian understanding and reflection. The "end" of my career might also be a good time to review the messages I have been seeking to convey, particularly as I have tried to influence those who work at congregational level.

In addition to the usual considerations of learning style, teaching methods and models of learning and faith development, there have been four key ideas that have lain at the heart of all the advice I have given. They are these. First, if you want to engage adults in learning, you need to pay attention to felt need as the primary motivator. Second, that the hidden curriculum is more powerful than the overt curriculum, and often contradicts it. Third, that it is more important to enrich people's self-organised learning than it is arrange courses for them. Fourth, that "education" and "learning" are concepts that raise more barriers than they open, so the educator will often need to pursue a strategy of education by stealth.

These four comprise a message that has often been received warmly, and sometimes with startling enthusiasm, not least because it removes the guilt of those who have unsuccessfully tried to create adult learning programmes in their churches. But it has seldom led to anything more;

those who hear the message rarely then follow it. So I want to review both the message and its reception. I begin by exploring the theory and research that undergirds each of my four propositions.

Felt need as the primary motivator

At local church level, motivation is a key issue. Certainly in my own country, and experience suggests that this is true through much of Europe[1], people to do not flock to the doors for programmes of adult Christian education. The situation in the USA, with its tradition of adult Sunday Schools, is rather different. A number of writers have explored this reluctance, not least John Hull (Hull, 1985) in his influential book, *What Prevents Adult Christians from Learning*. I, too, explored the issue in an article for *Ministry Today* (Goodbourn, 1996).

Handling it requires some key distinctions to be made. The first is between categories of motivation. At its simplest level we can distinguish three. We may learn because we need to, in order to cope with a new context, situation or demand. This is referred to as extrinsic[2] motivation, since the need to learn comes from without. We may learn because we are driven to by interest, excitement and personal growth. This is referred to as intrinsic motivation, since it is a response not to external factors but to inner drives. And we may learn almost by accident, where we stumble across the learning without ever having set out to learn it at all. We might refer to this as happenstance. There are, of course, overlaps; much of our learning has elements of all three. But the distinction is nonetheless important because evidence suggests that extrinsic motivations tend to be the strongest; we learn when we need to.

Coping rather than curiosity drives most learning. The point can be demonstrated by a simple exercise. Take a group of people – it is best if it is a dozen or more – and ask them to call to mind something of some significance to them they have learned during the previous week. Ask them to note whether they learnt it (a) primarily because they needed to in order to cope with an extrinsic demand, (b) primarily because it interested or excited them or (c) largely by accident. The outcome is strongly predictable: roughly two thirds of the learning episodes recalled will fit category (a).

For Christian learning in the local church this is highly significant, because it tends to suggest that whereas people will be strongly motivated

[1] I was for a number of years president of the Ecumenical Association for Adult Education in Europe

[2] The distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation is explored, among other places, in Richard Ryan and Edward Deci (2000), "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations: Classic Definitions and New Directions", *Contemporary Educational Psychology* 25, pp. 54–67.

towards training for church roles (and in my experience training courses are the ones that find it easiest to recruit), there will be less motivation towards learning theology unless theology can be taught in ways that respond to felt needs. Ordinary church members seldom have a felt need to make sense of the doctrine of the Trinity, for example, so most never do, but live happily (or, sometimes, bafflledly) with an incoherent understanding.[3]

When I researched Christian felt learning needs some years ago (Goodbourn, 1988), I found that the points where theological understanding was desperately sought arose around making sense of tragedy and suffering, facing up to death, terminal illness and bereavement, handling guilt and forgiveness, and coping with the failure of relationships in the church to be a model of peace and goodwill.[4] They are, however, strongly contextual, becoming live when some local or national condition or situation provokes them. In the right conditions, for instance, the theology of obedience to the state can be pushed to the fore in ways that usually do not apply. One of the problems about felt need is that it is often short-lived; once people have coped with the situation, however, badly, the motivation weakens. By the time someone has organised a course to respond to it, the motivation will have lessened and few will turn up.

The second key distinction is between incremental and transformational learning. Incremental learning happens when one adds knowledge, skill or understanding to an existing perception without requiring any fundamental change in attitude. Transformational learning, on the other hand, is learning that requires a new way of seeing. Incremental learning is usually fairly painless even though it may be hard work. Transformational learning hurts. To change one's attitudes, to see things differently, to alter one's perception of oneself and of the world around – these involve a painful letting go of old attitudes and old perceptions, and in the process threaten our security and our self-concept. Whether one follows the mainstream tradition on transformational learning associated with the name of Mezirow (Mezirow, 2000) or the more radical Marxist-Christian stream associated with Freire (Freire & Macedo, 1998), there is no escaping the finding that fundamental attitude change requires an immensely powerful motivation to change and strong emotional and social support for the one who is changing. Often it works best when one's

[3] The difference between official theology and the theology of the people is being explored in a series of books and articles comprising the "Ordinary Theology Project" of the North of England Institute of Christian Education, under the leadership of Jeff Astley. The most recent is J Astley and L Francis (eds) (2013), *Exploring Ordinary Theology: Everyday Christian Believing and the Church*. Farnham: Ashgate.

[4] It is worth emphasising that felt need must be distinguished from expressed want. Ask people what they want to learn about and the list will be very different. It will include all kinds of things they feel they ought to say or that they are mildly interested in. The motivation behind them, however, will not be high. A programme drawn up on the basis of such wants will seldom be well supported.

immediate circle of friends and role models – what the sociologists call our "significant others" - is recast or when a whole group is compelled by changing circumstances or context to reshape attitudes together.

The implication is that members of a close-knit congregation whose world is relatively static will experience little motivation for fundamental attitude change. This may remain true even when the world around them is changing, especially if that change is experienced as a threat. Churches in areas of high immigration, for instance, who suddenly find themselves surrounded by members of a different faith sometimes ossify rather than adapt. Members of a dynamic congregation with high rates of membership growth or through-put or a rapidly changing social situation that directly affects them, however, are much more likely to feel the need for attitude change. In a country like England, where attitudes to sexuality in the wider society have changed rapidly, it is instructive to see how frequently church members' views on partnerships not blessed by marriage or on gay relationships are reworked when a member of their own family enters such a relationship.[5]

Transformational learning in the church, then, is strongly related to other aspects of church life, not least its active mission engagement with society and with the issues its society faces. The impulse or desire to change has to precede the learning. The Mezirow tradition suggests this happens when its members are put into new situations which their existing approaches and frameworks of meaning cannot handle. The Freire tradition suggests that may not be enough; techniques will be needed to help them overcome "false consciousness" and recognise how existing attitudes and learning are trapping them in a mindset that resists desirable change. Both agree that only when people can feel the need for change will they be ready for the risk and pain of transformational learning.

The hidden curriculum that counteracts the overt curriculum

Most of the knowledge one acquires in school is quickly forgotten. We remember only what we frequently use, and for most of us that is relatively little of what we learnt. Other bits and pieces can be dredged up from the recesses of our memories, but usually in a distorted, half-remembered way. So why do we put so much time and effort into schooling?

The answer, of course, is that schooling is far more about shaping attitudes and developing social skills that it is about learning facts. Its task is to prepare children to participate in the institutions, values, skills and responsibilities of adult life. And much of this is taught not through the overt curriculum but through the "hidden" curriculum. The term hidden

[5] See, for instance, Shari Johnson's article in the *Huffington Post* (Johnson, 2012)

curriculum was first used by Jackson (Jackson, 1968) but the idea behind it goes back much further. It suggests that it is the way the school organises its life that becomes the main vehicle for learning. It teaches children to understand hierarchical organisations of the kind that permeate all aspects of modern society. It teaches children to accept authority and to cope with colleagues. It accustoms people to a life lived by the clock and to accept the distinction between work and leisure. It provides a system of grading people into the more and less successful, and teaches them to accept the justice of such grading. It inducts children into the values felt important by the society the school serves. It prepares people for a life where most of the time they will perform tasks that others have determined to be important, rather than following their own passions and curiosity.

Though radicals like Freire decry the hidden curriculum as "domestication", I am not necessarily intending my description to be read as negative; much of such learning is important. What becomes interesting is when a clash arises between the content of the overt curriculum and the lessons of the hidden curriculum, which can happen, for instance, when values like freedom and democracy are taught in an institution that does not practice them.[6]

This is an important issue for church-based learning. Baptist ecclesiology, for instance, insists that it is the people gathered around the Word who are the authority in the church. It is their shared task to discern the guidance of the Spirit so that the mind of Christ is formed among them. In that task the authentic word from God may be spoken by any whom God chooses; it will not necessarily be spoken by the best educated or most powerful. Each member will have natural gifts given by God, but God may also choose to bestow spiritual gifts that will transform the whole.

That is our understanding, our overt curriculum, but is it the message of our hidden curriculum? Look at the architecture of our churches; they stress hierarchy. We may intend the prominence of the pulpit to signify the significance of the Word, but it is far more likely to convey the significance of the preacher and the passivity of the congregation. Look at who speaks in our church meetings; as in any secular meeting ten per cent of the people do ninety per cent of the talking.[7] Look at our rituals. We may believe Baptists to be ritual-free, but we are not. Often the most ritualised moment is the collection and offering of money; the hidden curriculum taught by that may not be quite what we intend.

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[6] These issues have been explored in particular by Michael Apple, a disciple of critical theory. He has recently published a collection of his papers showing the development of his thought. (Apple, 2013)

[7] This is, of course, a generalisation. Bligh's research (Bligh, 2000), which charts participation rates in groups of various sizes, shows how rapidly participation diminishes in any group of more than six members.

My point is that any consideration of adult learning in our churches cannot be confined to the educational programme. It has also to take account of architecture, décor, procedure, relationships, welcome, ritual. Otherwise we run the risk that the way we run our lives as churches will counteract the very messages we are trying to convey. Paechter (Paechter, 1999), who focuses on informal learning like that in church or family, distinguishes between intended and unintended hidden curriculum. What we need to do as church educators is screen out those elements of unintended hidden curriculum that counteract our overt message and build-in those that reinforce it.

One model of educational provision that has often proved attractive to Christian educators because it dismantles much of the unintended hidden curriculum is that of Ivan Illich. He (Illich, 1983) defined four kinds of resources for learning – peers (other learners), elders (people who know about learning process), models (people who already have the skill or understanding we are trying to acquire) and things (books, materials, etc). Commonly all four are controlled by a single authority. The teacher gathers the class, acts as the model, designs the learning activity and provides the resources. Illich argued that the inherent hidden curriculum of such an approach deskills the learners and makes them dependent on hierarchical authority. He wanted to put the learner at the heart, allowing them to select fellow learners, to choose the model who embodied what they wanted to learn, to select the elder who would guide them through their learning and to choose their own "things" from a wide range of available material.

The problem with his model was its practicality. When he was writing in the 1970s it was not clear how a learner could ever have access to the networks of people and resources needed. Technological developments were to change that. The advent of the internet, and of VLEs (virtual learning environments) like Blackboard and Moodle made it possible for people to choose peers from the other side of the world, to summon up a range of learning processes and to access through search engines web-sites, books and articles from across the globe. The internet, however, is not without hidden curricula of its own: it is individualistic, when the gospel is about community; it is undiscriminating, when the gospel requires discernment. It is to be welcomed, but not uncritically.

Enriching people's self-organised learning

People learn whether or not we teach them. Learning is a natural part of living, and it is not something that is confined to formal educational contexts. Although we all know that to be true, the extent of deliberate, self-organised learning has not always been appreciated. It was a Canadian researcher, Allen Tough, who explored what he called individual adult

learning projects. His research in the late 1960s (Tough, 1971) suggested that everyone undertakes a number of learning projects, defined as "major, highly deliberate efforts to gain certain knowledge or skills (or to change in some other way" each year. For some it is as few as one or two, but the median was eight, and it was common to spend around 700 hours a year pursuing them. Seventy per cent of these were planned by the learner him or herself, who would then seek help from acquaintances, experts and published resources.[8]

His research was picked up by Wickett, a fellow Canadian, and applied to spiritual growth (Wickett, 1980). His sample was not random, being drawn largely from church groups. For his respondents 60 per cent of learning projects had some relationship to spiritual growth and 20 per cent were entirely devoted to it. Frequently, learning projects followed a life crisis that had brought the issue to the fore. Seldom did people set out with a clear learning outcome in mind; they were exploring a field not trying to reach a defined goal. Often, a companion or mentor who could support their search was helpful, not least because having made a declaration to another of the learning one intends to undertake of itself increases the motivation to continue.

These findings put organised Christian learning groups in perspective; they touch less than a third of all significant adult learning. This was true even in a Canadian culture where adult education, not least in the churches, was more commonly available and widely valued than in much of Europe outside of the Nordic countries and Germany. The implication is that we have more to gain from assisting people undertake their own learning projects than from trying to shoe-horn them into pre-existing programmes created by the churches. There may be issues where we can predict that significant numbers will at any one time desire a common learning project, and these we can assist by offering organised groups and programmes, but for the great majority this will not be the case. Individuals will each want to pursue their own concern.

For this reason, I have tended to argue we should give at least as high a priority to providing the means to enrich individuals' learning projects as we do to providing corporate programmes of training and study into which people may opt. That implies that the local church's meeting place needs to become a resource-rich environment where people can easily find people who have already experienced the learning they wish to undertake (to act as

[8] The point can be demonstrated through the exercise mentioned above under "felt need". If people are asked not only why they learned whatever it is of some significance they remember learning during the previous week or so, but how they learned it, being given the choices "self-organised", "through an organised learning activity" or "sheer happenstance", around two thirds will usually say "self-organised." That's true even for full-time students!

"models" in Illich's terms), resources on the more predictable areas learning projects address and companions to give support through the learning. Church websites should be an extension of that resource-rich environment.

Education by stealth

For many adults the obstacles to learning are very great. Poor experiences at school will have taught some that education, however highly they value it, is not for them. Experiences of learning with other adults will sometimes have been negative. There is much anecdotal evidence, for instance, that many people experience Bible study groups as places where they feel humiliated by their lack of knowledge rather than liberated to share in learning together. An instinctive awareness of the pain of learning, especially if it is thought likely to challenge long-held beliefs and assumptions, will deter others. A reluctance to join in groups that feel like "talking shops" will keep yet others away.

In consequence, educators often have to adopt a policy of "education by stealth". By this I mean that education will often need to be a deliberate by-product of some other activity. What these are will differ from culture to culture. In a Scottish working class housing scheme where a former student of mine worked, women would come together for needlework who would never dream of attending a Bible study. So she brought them together to make banners for the church. Making the banners led them to need to explore passages in the Bible to work out what symbols and words to use and what message to convey on the banners. Through needlework they were studying the Bible.

To take another example, one exciting development in mission in Britain in recent years has been the development of street pastors – ordinary church members in high-visibility vests who go out on Friday and Saturday nights to the town centres where large numbers of young people are drifting around between the pubs and clubs, often drunk and sometimes disorderly. Street pastors carry slip-ons for girls whose high heels have broken, form links with taxi-firms to get incapable young people safely home, talk with the distressed and calm the angry. Becoming a street pastor requires a steep learning curve about youth culture and serious theological reflection about how to engage with it. People learn a lot, but the learning is sparked off by the activity and therefore doesn't feel like learning for learning's sake.

There are many other examples: men who will gladly join a work group, and talk informally while they are there, but would never come to a discussion group; people who would work to create a flower festival expressing a theological theme, and spend time exploring what to express,

but would never attend a theological course. In such "stealthy" educational encounters people may discover the motivation for an individual learning project, the impulse for transformational learning or the "models" and "peers" with whom to take learning further.

The MAP Model

These four key ideas can be brought together to form a model for adult Christian education in the local church. The model has three elements, spelling – appropriately for an approach designed to give new direction to adult learning in the church – the acronym MAP.

M stands for mission. My understanding is that Christian learning serves and derives from mission. Mission encompasses all that the community and its members are doing as they seek to participate in the mission of God, as God seeks to transform people into Christ-likeness and society into Kingdom-likeness. It necessarily focuses on the most uncomfortable realities about human nature and human society, and therefore generates learning need.

What in particular those needs will be depends on the local context. For the street pastors the need was to understand the pub and club culture of the young and reflect theologically upon it. For a church in a university town the need might be to explore how to maintain the plausibility of faith in an environment where faith is often dismissed as unscientific or passé. For a church in a multi-faith area it might be to form a view on inclusivity and exclusivity in order to decide how to approach neighbours of other faiths. It is as a church and its members become engaged with the world that learning needs arise. The first step in planning adult education in the local church is to be clear what learning priorities follow from that church's convictions about its own particular role in God's mission.

A stands for audit. Three kinds of audit need to be done:

a) An audit of the lives of the congregation and the community in which they are set, to see what the common life experiences are that create a need to cope and to understand.[9] Then the church can seek to create opportunities where people from inside and outside the church can explore such learning needs together. In that way learning becomes an element of mission, not just a preparation for mission – an open approach to mission where Christians and non-Christians are alike learners on a journey together, not where one is trying to sell truths to the other.

[9] One way to do this is to ask people in groups individually to list the things they have found it difficult to cope with as a Christian over the last week or two, then invite them to share as much as they are willing with others in the group in order to tease out what the underlying issues are. The group can then consider how far these are peculiarly Christian issues or common human issues for people in their community.

b) An audit of the hidden curriculum of the congregation, asking honestly what messages its life conveys and assessing them theologically to see whether they are the right messages.

c) An audit of the skills, experiences and knowledge of the members that each might be able to make available for the learning of others – with the assumption that everyone has something to offer.

P stands for provision. Provision, too, has three elements:

a) Maximising the potential of the intended hidden curriculum of the church, by changes in welcome, culture, procedures at meetings, layout and decor of the buildings, art and artefacts, so that to encounter the church in any way is to encounter the gospel.

b) Identifying those felt needs and passionate interests that are common enough to provide conventional learning programmes to meet them, being clear when these are for church members only and when they are themselves elements of mission.

c) Developing a rich variety of resources – and linking into networks of resources beyond the local church – that will feed, facilitate and support individual learning projects. This is where the congregation can be helped to draw on one another's gifts and experience – something sometimes helped by an initial exercise that brings these out artificially. One that I like is the human library,[10] where for a two-part day people can spend half the day "borrowing" other people as you borrow a library book (often choosing who to borrow from a large-print badge that lists their two or three main areas of expertise) and half the day on loan to others.

The model implies a learning champion or group within the local church whose task is continually to pay attention to the model and how it is working out in practice. It will differ from the usual director of adult learning or education committee in that its main task will not be to organise courses and persuade people to come to them but to maintain the audit and tend the richness of the resources available, acting as matchmaker for people with similar learning needs and providing the catalyst for learning activities to take place.

Good in principle...

The reader will guess that I can become quite excited about this approach, and as I said in my introduction my students often become quite excited, too. One, carried away by the moment, even claimed it was the most useful thing he had learned in his whole time at theological college. I ought, then to be able to take you to lots of places where the model is being used

[10] See, for instance, http://humanlibrary.org/

enthusiastically and effectively. I cannot; in fact I can take you to none. That is a difficult admission to make: I have apparently spent a good deal of time training people – including some at IBTS – to use an approach that they probably never go on to use. Understanding why represents a painful piece of learning of my own. Painful, because in many ways it suggests that I have failed to take account of the impact on theological education of some of the very factors my approach discusses. Let's look at them in turn.

My model begins with the significance of felt need. What was the felt need of my students that led them to choose my course? I have taught a similar course to lay leaders in the Scottish Churches Open College, to trainee ministers at Luther King House, Manchester, and to Master's students at IBTS, so the needs will have differed a little. What I did not do was to explore at depth with them what their learning needs as adult educators were; I treated them as a group following a set curriculum. Needs did emerge, however, as we worked through the course.

Quite a few were preachers, whose real need was to work out how what I was saying related to preaching. Often they believed (mistakenly, in my view) that preaching was adult education, and were looking for help with how to construct a curriculum for preaching and how to deliver it effectively – something which I did teach in totally separate courses for preachers, but not in this one. Some were people who had been given a role of responsibility for Christian education in their church. Their need was to develop programmes that would demonstrate to those who had appointed them that they were fulfilling their task. My suggestion that programmes mattered less than hidden curriculum and self-organised learning was never going to address their need.

Several were not currently practising adult education at all, so had no felt need other than to complete another module. And, as every teacher experiences, a few were members of my "fan club" who signed up for the course simply because I was teaching it. In other words, in pushing my four key ideas I was almost never addressing the felt learning needs of the group in front of me. They might be excited by what I was saying, but it had no real purchase on their current reality.

My model then goes on to talk about the hidden curriculum, and the significance of the lessons taught by the culture of the institution. To explain how the significance of this affected me, let me explain how, in recent years at least, my course has been framed. Set within the British higher education system, it has been a 20 credit module. That means students are meant to spend 200 hours studying for it, of which 30 hours are in class and the rest is spent on private study, professional practice and preparing assignments. With that 200 hours in mind, I have prepared the

module as one where on-line learning takes a bigger role than classroom teaching. Given that my students are almost all part-time, most of their private study is done far from the teaching centre and its resources, so the on-line site is intended as the portal for learning resources and the location for discussion among students between classes.

Consequently the module was structured so that in class I would focus on mapping the theory, using a highly interactive approach, while on-line I would provide fuller notes on what I had said, with links through to further resources and articles, routes for broader follow-up and some tangential material for those stimulated to go off in a different direction. Forums were then available for on-line discussion between students. In my mind I was offering the kind of resource-rich environment I argued for above – with far more resources than any one student could use. It was intended as an opportunity to work with peers and with myself as the guide who could help them into all the riches available.

In reality, the experience was a little different. In my most recent class, because we were using Moodle I could see which students accessed what on-line materials when. None routinely followed up the expanded notes after the class (though one did print them off and put them in a file). All accessed only those articles directly relevant to a seminar they had to deliver or an assignment they had to write. Nothing appeared in the forums unless I specifically asked for it. Most accessed Moodle only on the morning of the class so they could see what topic I was going to cover.

I explored with the group why this was, making clear I was not judging them but simply wanting to understand. What emerged from most was an instrumental approach to the module – people would complete the work necessary to pass and to avoid embarrassment in class, but would not normally do more. The institution, they suggested, was colluding in a lie, because no part-time student could possibly spend the number of hours studying that the number of modules they were entered for officially required. It was also clear that for most people the "course" they had chosen to attend was the series of classes; the rest was seen as extra. They were clear that the institution as a whole had not established a culture of participation outside the classroom.

The theory of hidden curriculum suggests that the culture will speak more clearly than the official message. For many centuries, a "course" in higher education has meant a course of lectures. It was something you attended. In the past, the course was completed by sitting a final examination; to have passed the exam was to have completed the course. It was clear that this culture was not dead, and that the institution was colluding in its survival. Attempts to update the delivery by making it part

of an on-line experience had failed to work because the hidden curriculum, including the location of authority and the nature of staff-student relationships, had not changed.

The effect on my course was that it remained in the world of theory, not processed holistically by those who took part in it. Each had looked in depth only at those parts of theory on which they had to write; none had explored an overall coherent approach to adult education for their context derived from a grounded consideration of the whole body of theory. The content, like most of the content of the school classes we long ago forgot, had not taken root. I should, of course, have known. But the experience of the class, with its lively discussion and engaged participants, led me astray. People had had a good experience, but they had not undergone a transformation. When they came to undertake responsibilities for adult education in the church, the traditional models would reassert themselves.

There is a parallel here with a phenomenon explored by the Nobel prize-winning psychologist, Kanheman (Kanheman, 2011). He describes experiments that demonstrate how students excited by surprising psychological findings and readily quoting them to others nevertheless fail to live as though they are true. A form of regression to the mean is at work, whereby we fall back into the usual taken-for-granted way of seeing things and acting on them. If Kahneman is right, of course, what I have described will affect not only teaching about adult education, but the teaching of most of my colleagues as well. Exciting ideas about mission, new perceptions of the scriptures, challenging thoughts about doctrine – all will be likely to suffer from regression to the mean.

Conclusion

It has long been understood that student satisfaction is a poor indicator of the long-term impact of a course. There is, perhaps, a perverse satisfaction in recognising that the failure of my course to transform student practice in many ways validates the course's actual content! It would be even more perverse, however, to leave matters there. Clearly some indicators are needed as to how to change my teaching – and by implication the teaching of some others – so the medium more clearly reflects the message. There are, perhaps, three key changes that need to be made.

The first is to begin by exploring the felt needs of students, and shaping the content of the course so it more directly addresses them (or, when appropriate, gently directing them away from the course, because it can never meet their felt needs!). Beginning in this way implies redefining learning outcomes (insofar as the university will permit) in a more general way, avoiding any reference to specific content. The second is to resist pressure to put the content on line in advance, choosing rather to organise it

later so it more closely resources a number of agreed learning projects, with the emphasis on enquiry-based learning. The third is to re-organise assignments so that they are holistic, not arranged around choosing a particular theory to analyse but instead requiring students to develop a coherent model for a specific context that draws from the whole body of theory – and then to try out that model in practice.

That these are so obvious, and yet things I have failed to do, is instructive. In different ways, they are all things I have experimented with before, but have somehow failed to take into account when designing courses in my own specialism, where perhaps the temptation to show off my knowledge and ideas has driven out rational thought about what will actually be learned by my students. I am a good illustration of Kahneman's point: there is indeed a disconnect between knowing something and behaving as though it is true.

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Between the Swiss Train and the Eschaton: Mission in a Time of Waiting[1]

Tim Noble

Visitors to the International Baptist Theological Seminary in Prague who have shared in the community's times of prayer will be aware of the mysterious power of the Swiss Federal Railway clock that hangs on the rear wall of the chapel. A gift from Swiss Baptists, and a reminder of the Seminary's foundation and long-term residence in Rüschlikon in Switzerland, it has become a key part of IBTS life in Prague under Keith Jones. As befits a former public transport officer, Keith has set a high priority on things running to time, and the Swiss train clock is the reference point for this. It serves as a symbol of underlying structure and order, the roots without which freedom to respond to the call of the Lord becomes a seed that is quickly strangled by the weeds around. But Keith has also always assumed the power to alter time (so, for example, that we can all celebrate Christmas together), so that the patient ticking of the Swiss railway clock is interrupted or transcended by the in-breaking of divine time.

In this article I want to look at this encounter between the two types of time as they play out in the mission of the church. Mission happens, I want to suggest, within this double time framework, both chronological, measured by the here and now of the Swiss train clock, and kairological, the eschatological moment when Christ irrupts into our world and transforms irrevocably the life of the believing community. In what follows I propose to look briefly at the mission journals of two missionaries, near contemporaries, but living in different circumstances and from two very diverse traditions. One, William Carey, will be well-known to most readers of this journal. The other, Innocent (Ivan) Veniaminov, was a Russian Orthodox missionary in Alaska and may be less well-known. In examining their journals, I want to see how mission is about both waiting and about being ready to seize the time, to recognise that "now is the acceptable time, now is the day of salvation".[2]

Although both Carey and Innocent were missionaries in the traditional sense – leaving their countries and going overseas to new cultures – their style of life and their experiences may serve to remind us that mission is not necessarily about changing countries, but about how we live our lives in the circumstances in which we find ourselves. The pressing

[1] This study is a part of the research project "Symbolic Mediation of Wholeness in Western Orthodoxy", GAČR P401/11/1688.

[2] 2 Corinthians 6:2 (NRSV).

demands of the present, of *chronos*, keeping things going, should never stand in the way of being struck again and again by the in-breaking of Christ, the infinite possibility of each moment as a moment to savour, because it is a moment of encounter with the living God. Thus I leave definitions of mission deliberately open and broad, since it is not possible to rule any moment out as a kairologically blessed opportunity. But what will be seen is the way in which in our waiting we can also seek to construct circumstances in which this kairic encounter can happen.

Although neither Carey nor Innocent were voluminous writers, both left behind a body of written work, including letters and other short works. However, I have chosen in this article to focus on their journals, for two main reasons. In the case of Carey, his journal covers two years, the journey to India and the first encounters with what was to be his home for the rest of his life. Innocent's journal (or journals) cover a longer period, but are also records of his encounters with the culture in which he lived. The other reason is that for both writers, even for Innocent whose journals are more official, there is a rawness to the writing of the journals which more polished works lose. This means that in reading them we are allowed an insight into the feelings of the missionaries, and to experience their sense of hopeful waiting, as well as the occasional moments of despair, as they seek to engage on the Lord's work in a new place.

William Carey (1761 – 1834)

To talk about mission in a Baptist context, and most especially in a volume dedicated to a British Baptist, albeit one who has always had a heart and mind open to the wider Baptist and Christian world, is almost inevitably to turn to William Carey.[3] Carey was born in a small village in Northamptonshire, some one hundred kilometres north of London. His father was parish clerk in the local Church of England parish and the young William grew up first in this tradition. In his teens he was apprenticed to a shoemaker and while there he was convinced by a fellow-apprentice of the need to devote himself more fully to the Lord. He was baptised in the River Nene in Northampton in 1783. Soon after, he became a pastor, first in Moulton, a village a few kilometres outside of Northampton, and subsequently in Leicester.

[3] There are many biographies of Carey. Two were written by his descendants, the first by his nephew Eustace in 1836, and the second by his great-great grandson, S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey D.D., Fellow of Linnaean Society*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923. A third was written by the son of Carey's fellow Serampore missionaries, Joshua and Hannah Marshman – John Clark Marshman, *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward, the Serampore Missionaries*, London: J. Heaton and Son, 1864, A more recent biography is Timothy George, *Faithful Witness: The Life and Mission of William Carey*, Birmingham, AL: New Hope, 1991, which also contains a reprinting of Carey's *An Enquiry*.

From an early age, Carey had been a great reader and self-educator,[4] and apart from making shoes, he also followed his father as a schoolmaster. It is therefore not surprising that his initial desire to engage in mission came about through reading. The great explorer Captain James Cook had been killed in 1779, and

> it was from the perusal of Cook's voyages, while instructing his pupils in geography, that Mr Carey was first led to contemplate the moral and spiritual degradation of the heathen, and to form the design of communicating the Gospel to them. The idea took complete possession of his mind, and absorbed his thoughts.[5]

Throughout his other activities, as pastor, cobbler and teacher, he continued to work on these thoughts, culminating in the publication in May 1792 of his seminal pamphlet, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, in which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings Are Considered*.[6] Steps had already been taken to set up an association to engage in mission, and on 2 October 1792 in a meeting in another Northamptonshire town, Kettering, a "Particular-Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" was established.[7]

In a famous sermon preached at a meeting of the Northampton Association on 30 May 1792, Carey had already pronounced what might be termed his missionary manifesto – "Expect great things. Attempt great things".[8] This openness to the kairic promptings of the Spirit led to Carey himself accepting to go to India, following a request at the first meeting of the Particular Baptist Society in January 1793. From then on there was a tireless campaign to raise funds for the mission, and after one false start, Carey, his wife and children and his fellow-missionary, John Thomas (1757-1800), departed for India on a Danish ship, the *Kron Princesa Maria*, on 13 June 1793.

It was at this point that Carey began his journal, which he kept up somewhat irregularly for the next two years, until 14 June 1795.[9] Rather

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[4] Probably a good thing, since according to Marshman, *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, p. 6, "he was a very indifferent shoemaker".

[5] Marshman, *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, p. 7. The book that Carey read was *The Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage*. As we will see again, Carey's language is not always the most politically correct from today's perspective, but it is typical for his day.

[6] It was first published in Leicester by a woman publisher, Ann Ireland.

[7] See on this Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992*, Edinburgh; T&T Clark, 1992, pp. 1-15.

[8] See George, *Faithful Witness*, pp. 30-32.

[9] I am using the printed version in Terry Carter (ed.), *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey*, Macon: Smith and Helwys Publishing, 2000, pp. 3-59 (hereafter Carey, *Journal*, with date of entry and page number in Carter's edition. Carter helpfully inserts the page numbers of the journal in his text, but I will not cite those here).

than give a chronological summary of the contents, I will focus on four recurring themes, which will also allow comparison with Innocent's journal. Above all, Carey's journal is a kind of spiritual diary, and I will begin with that element. I will also look at the importance of language and translation, at his interaction with the local inhabitants, and at the importance of the church in his thoughts.

a) Mission as a Spiritual Encounter

The most striking part of the journal is the description of Carey's spiritual state, as the reality of missionary life hit home, and he struggled to find a hearing for the gospel and a safe and healthy life for his family. Carey's awareness of his need for some consolation from the God whom he had given up everything to serve comes across time and again. Mission is indeed about the expectation and attempting of great things, but expectation is not event and attempt is not always success, and it is the gap between the possible and the actual which is recorded in at times almost painful detail in Carey's journal. And yet, Carey never complains of God, only of his own inconstancy and weakness in responding to the word of God in his life.

As they were drawing near to Calcutta (Kolkata), Carey reflected on what the sea journey (of almost five months) had taught him. He writes:

> I hope I have learned of the necessity of beating up in the things of God, against the Wind and Tide when there is occasion – as we have done in our voyage: We have had our Ports in view all along and there has been every attention paid to ascertain our situation by Solar, and Lunar Observations – no opportunity occurred that was neglected; O that I was but as attentive to the Evidence of my state as they to their situation – a Ship sails within Six Points of the Wind, that is if the wind blow from North a Ship will sail E. N. E. upon Tach, and W. N. W. upon the other if our course is North one must, therefore, go E. N. E. a considerable way then W. N. W. and if the Wind shifts a point the advantage is immediately taken now though this is tiresome work, and (especially if a Current sets against us) we scarce make any way. Nay sometimes in spite of all that we can do we go backwards instead of forwards, yet it is absolutely necessary to keep working up – if we ever mean to arrive at our port. – So in the Xn Life we often have to work against Wind & Current, but we must do it if we ever expect to make our Port.[10]

This image sums up in a telling way Carey's understanding of his mission and his relationship to God. There is a double sense of both activity and waiting, of doing everything to be ready but the realisation that ultimately all depends on God.[11] There is above all the need for "a patient waiting for Christ".[12] At the same time, patient waiting was also a time for

[10] Carey, *Journal*, 9 November 1793, p. 7. Spelling and punctuation (not one of Carey's strongest points) are as transcribed in Carter's volume.

[11] Carey was, of course, a Particular Baptist, and he lost none of his faith in the utter dependency of all things on God.

[12] Carey, *Journal*, 17 January 1794, p. 9.

hard work, and Carey, long accustomed to working alongside his pastoral commitments, did not hesitate to seek out ways of earning his living. In this sense, before the idea of the Three Selfs church had been articulated, Carey was already practising it.

And yet, it would be false to Carey's experience as he faithfully records it to deny the sheer hardship and weariness of the task that frequently faced him. Initially let down by John Thomas, his wife slowly breaking down, without as much as the hint of a convert, it is perhaps not surprising that he was tempted almost to despair at times. The beginning of February 1795 found him in a particularly hard space – on 1 February he noted that "Through the Day had not much enjoyment. Yet I bless God for any; my soul is prone to barrenness, and I have every day reason to mourn over the dreadful stupidity of my nature, and the wickedness of my Heart…"[13], and the next few days only got worse:

> "Had a miserable Day, sorely harassed from without, and very Cold and dead in my Soul." "This is indeed the Valley of the shadow of Death to me; except that my Soul is much more insensible than John Bunyan's Pilgrim". "I don't love to be always complaining – yet I always complain." "O what a Load is a barren Heart…". "I sometimes walk in my Garden and try to pray to God and if I pray at all, it is in the Solitude of a Walk". "O that this day could be consigned to Oblivion".[14]

No doubt some of this is in a sense formulaic, the kind of thing an eighteenth-century preacher like Carey would be expected to say of himself. But this kind of language reveals more than purely perfunctory phrases – this is a man struggling with God, struggling with his own sense of vocation, trying to make sense of what it is that God has called him to do. Waiting for the *kairos* is not always easy.

b) Language and Translation

Carey is probably best known for his translation work, and he was clearly a gifted linguist. But, even so, he had to struggle to learn not simply to understand the language well enough to translate into it,[15] but also, more importantly, to be able to communicate in it. One of the themes which turns up on several occasions in his journal is his effort to learn the languages of the people among whom he lived (first Bengali, but later others too). As most of those who have ever tried to immerse themselves in language learning can testify, it is also a process that demands a lot of time and waiting, but also one that is filled with what might be termed *kairos* moments, when something clicks, and what was before a jumble of disconnected sounds turns into an intelligible form of communication.

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[13] Carey, *Journal*, 1st Feb. 1795, p. 51

[14] Carey, *Journal*. Entries for, successively, 2nd – 7th February, pp. 51-52. Things picked up a bit on the 8th!

[15] See on Carey's translation work George, *Faithful Witness*, pp. 137 - 43

As a boy and young man Carey had already taught himself a number of languages, and seems to have had a natural aptitude for language learning, but even he faced difficulties, especially in communicating in a way that people could understand. But as in all else, language for him was a means to an end, an important means but only that. So, early on in his sea voyage to India, he notes "I find some delight in reading, and in preparing for my Work by writing the Bengali – only however because it relates to my great Work".[16]

In his *Enquiry* Carey had already considered the need to learn languages, and pronounced that "the missionaries must have patience and mingle with the people, till they have learned so much of their language as to be able to communicate their ideas to them in it".[17] There are two rather important points being made here which impact on the way in which the missionary behaves and encounters the other. The first is the reiterated need for patience, the ability to focus on intermediate goals and aims in order to be able to do what one really wants, and perhaps also the humility to become almost mute and unable to communicate for a while.[18] The second is the need to mingle with the people, to become part of the society, and to learn by listening. Carey spent a lot of time in this fashion engaging with people and trying to use the language, as well as having the assistance of Ram Ram Basu, a Brahmin who professed a love of Christianity and served as Carey's *munshi*, a kind of personal interpreter, of language and custom.[19]

There were, of course, ups and downs in learning the language, but he remained faithful to his belief that only with a feel for the language could he successfully communicate the gospel.[20] At times he is filled with greater hope,[21] but then there are moments when it feels like he has made no progress at all. In this regard, the entry for 7 July 1794 is worth quoting. He complains that the natives in Malda, where he had gone to manage an indigo works, spoke "a dialect which differs as much from true Bengali as Yorkshire [*this was then crossed out completely in the text]* Lancashire

[16] Carey, *Journal*, 29 June, p. 4.
[17] Carey, *An Enquiry…*, p. 74. He goes on to add that "[i]t is well known to require no very extraordinary talents to learn, in the space of a year, or two at most, the language of any people upon earth…". Lest this volume appear too hagiographical, it may be fair to add that learning foreign languages has probably not been Keith's major gift. Some of his students at IBTS have indeed spent some time before they realised he was talking English!
[18] It would be wrong to say like a child, since clearly children learn much faster, and indeed Carey's children were among his best teachers of language. See George, *Faithful Witness*, p. 138.
[19] See George, *Faithful Witness*, pp. 101-2.
[20] See, for example, Carey, *Journal*, 10 March 1794, where he calls the "Study of Language … a Dull Work, yet … productive of Pleasure to me, because it is my Business, and necessary to my preaching in any useful manner".
[21] On 21 April 1794, he is hoping to be able to preach within a few weeks – Carey, *Journal*, p. 26

does from true English – so that I have hard work to understand them and to make them understand me".[22]

The major contribution of Carey in terms of translation lies outside the time period of the journal.[23] It has also been the subject of critical comment[24] concerning its tendencies to over-Westernise the Christian message, which necessarily tended to have a negative effect on the standard of the translation. Nevertheless, at the very least, Carey needs to be given due praise for realising that language and translation are, almost self-evidently, key elements of any attempt to allow the gospel to speak to people. And language is something that is in some sense both chronological but also kairic. Most of the time, we use language as the expression of *chronos*, a commentary on the unfolding events of daily life. But there are times when a well-chosen phrase or a passing remark can act as a vehicle for *kairos*, for allowing a glimpse of transcendence, opening up a path to God.

c) Carey and the Indians

At least a brief comment needs to be made about Carey's interaction with local people as expressed in his journals. There are of course various ways in which his text can be read. At one level, much of it is rather painful for our ears today, simply because of the kind of language he uses. Thus he can be read as a fairly typical colonial missionary with an innate belief in the superiority of Western civilisation.[25] On the other hand, one can also see him as someone who from the start rejected the caste system, and refused to use violence to proclaim the gospel. But perhaps in itself this is a sign of how *chronos*, the human setting in which we live and move and have our being, is always the background to that other setting, the divine one in which we most fully live and move and have our being, the *kairos* of God who touches our lives when we often least expect it.

In Carey's defence, it is also important to point out that in the *Enquiry* there is a fundamentally positive attitude towards other people, though even here the expression of this fact is for us today somewhat

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[22] Carey, *Journal*, p. 37. I make no comments about the relative comprehensibility of Yorkshire or Lancashire versions of English, especially as my mother's father was Lancastrian and her mother from Yorkshire!

[23] See some of his letters in Carter (ed.), *The Journals and Selected Letters of William Carey*, pp. 153-66.

[24] See Christopher Smith, *The Serampore Mission Enterprise*, Bangalore: Centre for Contemporary Christianity, 2006, pp. 191-95, and indeed *passim*. Smith is in general critical of the Serampore mission for a number of reasons, some of which seem reasonable, and others of which seem more questionable, but his is an important check on over-hagiographical accounts of Carey and his companions.

[25] One is in this context irresistibly reminded of Gandhi's famous, if apocryphal, comment when asked what he thought of Western civilisation – "I think it would be a very good idea", he replied. On the failure of Carey and his companions to extricate themselves fully from involvement with the colonial structures, see Smith, *The Serampore Mission Enterprise*, pp. 161-229.

problematic. So, after having given his statistical oversight of the religious state of the world, he notes that "[b]arbarous as these poor heathens are, they appear to be as capable of knowledge as we are; and in many places, at least, have discovered [revealed] uncommon genius and tractableness".[26] It is perhaps therefore not surprising that the very first encounter described by Carey in his journal was a positive one.[27]

It is also noteworthy that at least at the beginning Carey was minded to live as the natives did.[28] In this he was both similar and different to earlier missionaries to India, such as the Jesuit Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656). De Nobili, in his work among Tamils in southern India, adopted many of the customs of the Brahmins. In this sense he served as a model for inculturation, in which the local setting was to provide the backdrop for the gospel. However, both by his choice of the Brahmins as his conversation partners, and more still by his refusal to insist on the abandonment of the caste system, de Nobili was very different to Carey.[29]

From the beginning, Carey was faced with the problem of the caste system. He mentions it in his description mentioned above of his first encounter with Indians. The more time he spent in India, the more he became aware of the problems it raised. This is made explicit in his journal entry for 5 July 1794, when he records a conversation with Ram Ram Basu, who he says, "I hope will lose caste for the gospel".[30] He continues with an example of what attachment to caste entails, a story of a poor boy ("of the Shoemaker Caste (which is the very lowest of all)", something which may have given Carey the cobbler pause for thought, and perhaps even some joy) who refused to join him as a servant for fear of losing caste. He concludes "and perhaps this is one of the Strangest Chains with which the Devil ever bound the Children of Men; This is my comfort that God can break it".[31]

Although there was a period when Carey questioned himself over the matter of caste, and came closer to de Nobili's acceptance of it as a social and culture necessity,[32] it was the initial intuition that proved strongest, and it was one that he and his later companions at Serampore insisted on implementing in their churches. It is, of course, a question that has continued to trouble Christian churches in India, and whether Carey or de Nobili chose the best path is probably the wrong question to ask. But at

[26] Carey, *An Enquiry*, p. 61.
[27] See Carey, *Journal*, 9 November 1793, p. 7.
[28] See Carey, *Journal*, 14 January 1794, p. 7.
[29] On de Nobili, see for example Alan Neely, *Christian Mission: A Case Study Approach,* Maryknoll: Orbis, 1995, pp. 32-50.
[30] Carey, *Journal*, p. 36.
[31] *Ibid*.
[32] See Smith, *The Serampore Missionary Enterprise*, pp. 145-51, and 199-203.

least we might feel that Carey made the more baptistic choice and remained faithful to the dissenting tradition into which he had been baptised. He would not allow human social constructs to determine the nature of God's kingdom and recognised the injustice of a system that made some people inherently inferior to others.

It is perhaps in this light that we should try to read Carey's intemperance with many of the local customs. Here again he was often torn, between a desire to be open to the native culture, and a sense of repulsion. At least for Carey it was very clear that salvation was only through explicit profession of faith in Jesus, and thus though he could hardly fail to acknowledge that there was some good in the Hindu writings and in the Qu'ran, nevertheless his final verdict on each was that they were like good bread that contained "a very little malignant Poison, which made the whole so poisonous that whoever should eat of it would die", and that "their Writings contained much good instruction mixed with deadly poison".[33] This poison he saw in many of the celebrations and festivities of the local people, both Hindu and Muslim, which he generally viewed as forms of idolatry.

Even here, though, he refused to use force or his authority as manager of the works to enforce his position. So, he notes that he had found a worker making a statue for a celebration of Sarasuati, the goddess of learning: "I might have used authority and forbad it, but thought this would be persecution; I therefore talked seriously with the Man to Day, & tried to convince him of the sinfulness of such a thing, as well as its foolishness".[34] Whatever the views on the particular case, Carey's approach reminds us that a gospel preached without love and respect for the other, even in their weakness, will never be heard.

d) Carey and the wider church

Time and again in Carey's journal we see his attachment to the fellowship of believers. The very history of the founding of the missionary society was of course, as we saw briefly above, tied up with the Northampton Association, and this sense of association, of free joining with other believers, is frequently present in Carey's jottings. They form perhaps some of the most poignant parts of the journal, as he remembers old friends from his church in Leicester, and longs for news from home. It seems to

[33] Carey, *Journal*, 9 May 1795, p. 58.
[34] Carey, *Journal*, 1-15 January, 1795, p. 47.

have taken almost two years for him to get the first letters from England,[35] and there are times when he is deeply homesick.[36]

As an example we can look at a couple of entries from November 1794, when Carey had already been for a year in India, and almost a year and a half since he had left England. At the beginning of the month he writes of his pleasure at being able to be with his fellow missionary John Thomas on the Lord's Day: "To spend a Sabbath in Society is a precious thing indeed to me, who have so very few of them".[37] Later that month he came across some English newspapers and, reading them, he is moved to ask "I wonder who is at Northampton, and much more who is at Leicester, and how those very dear People do, surely they have not forgot me".[38] And towards the end of the month he notes how in prayer he was able "to be instant for the Success of my ministry among the Heathen, for the Success of my Colleague; and for all my dear friends in England, who be very near my Heart, especially the Church at Leicester, and the Baptist Society".[39]

At one level, of course, these are the thoughts of a man who is lonely, and missing the company of his friends, and this is not particular to a missionary. And yet it is also part of his core conviction about what it was to be a Baptist Christian, so that even physically alone he is never a single Christian, but always united and part of a wider community. Mission is always something that the church does; or at least to do mission is to act as a member of a particular church community, sent by them and in union with them, wherever one might find oneself. In this sense mission is an experience of a moment of *kairos* which cuts across the *chronos* of everyday life, a different way of measuring time, where the fullness of God is experienced in the absences and disorder, as well as in the joy and hope, of the pre-eschatological.

Innocent Veniaminov (1797-1879)

I turn now more briefly to the journal of a Russian Orthodox missionary in Alaska. The man in question was born Ivan Popov in a remote village in the Irkutsk region of Siberia, not far from Lake Baikal.[40] Like Carey, his

[35] See *ibid*., 9 May 1795, p. 59

[36] His entry for 28 January 1795 ends "I feel a Social spirit tho barred from Society". Carey, *Journal*, p. 51. See also the entry for 28 April, p. 27. "How much I long for the Arrival of the Europe Ships; surely I shall receive a large packet by them. I want to hear of the Society, of the Ministers, and Churches. I want to see the Circular Letters, Mr Fuller's Piece, Rippon's Registers, &ct., and to hear how my dear, dear Friends at Leicester go on. … O my Friends, my dear Friends, I long for all the Communion with you that our distance can allow."

[37] Carey, *Journal*, 1-2 November 1794, p. 44.

[38] *Ibid*., 11-13 November.

[39] *Ibid*., 24-30 November, p. 45.

[40] The major biography of Innocent in English is Paul Garrett, *St Innocent, Apostle to America*. Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1979. Although somewhat hagiographical at times, it is an important source for information about Innocent's life.

family were heavily involved in the church, his father serving as parish sacristan and his uncle as parish deacon. Aged nine, he went to the seminary in Irkutsk. As there were simply too many Ivan Popovs around, in order to distinguish him the Rector named him Veniaminov after Bishop Veniamin, a much revered former Bishop of Irkutsk. Again like Carey, he began to learn languages from an early age. The education in the seminary, influenced by the Enlightenment, taught him apart from theology, subjects such as Latin, German, Geography and Natural History.

The mission to Alaska had begun with monks from Valaam Monastery in north-western Russia in 1794,[41] but by the 1820s most of the monks had left or died and new clergy were needed for the region, so volunteers were sought. At first the relatively recently married and ordained Fr Ivan resisted all requests, including those of one of those he accompanied as a spiritual father, a man who had lived for forty years in the area. At their final meeting, however, he "began to burn with desire to go such people".[42] He arrived with his family in Sitka, on what is today Baranov Island, in October 1823, and would remain on and off in the region until 1853, when he returned to the Russian mainland as Bishop of Kamchatka. His wife died in 1837, and he was tonsured as a monk, at which point he assumed the name Innocent. He ended his life in 1879 as Metropolitan of Moscow (there was no Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church at this time). As Metropolitan he had founded a missionary support society to aid the mission in Alaska.

His journals cover the period from 1824-1833, with some additional details about mission trips further south. They are mainly a record of activities, which he had to send periodically to the diocesan offices in Irkutsk. Therefore a lot of them are rather dry and repetitive lists of services celebrated. Nevertheless, there are some comments on similar issues to the ones which Carey faced, and so I will treat them in the same order.

a) Mission as a Spiritual Encounter

Innocent[43] was an Orthodox priest, writing for his bishop, so it is not surprising that his journals are far more centred on liturgy and there is none of the more introspective language of Carey. In this sense, mission as spiritual encounter and the relationship with the church are to all intents

[41] For more much more information on this see Tim Noble, "Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Russian Orthodox Mission to Alaska", *Communio Viatorum* 54/2 (2012), pp. 164-83, and Ivana Noble, Kateřina Bauerová, Tim Noble, Parush Parushev: *Cesty Pravoslavné Teologie ve 20. Století na Západ*. Brno: CDK, 2012 (*The Ways of Orthodox Theology in the West in the Twentieth Century*), pp. 109-29.
[42] Garrett, *St. Innocent*, p. 34.
[43] Although at this time he was Ivan Veniaminov, I will refer to him as Innocent, since this is the name he is known by today.

and purposes the same for Innocent. Soterios Mousalimas, in his introduction to Innocent's journals, points out that "complete themes can be extracted from the journals, but these themes exist only under the surface of the entries".[44] Thus, even if there are few specific references to prayer and spiritual life, we can make some tentative comments.

On occasions, Innocent notes the books he has been reading. As he reached Alaska,[45] he writes that he was reading a Russian translation of Thomas a Kempis' classic work *The Imitation of Christ*, a work that seeks to help people in their lives of discipleship.[46] His ministry begins, then, with this deep commitment to following Christ. It could be said that this theme, of how to follow Christ, is central to Innocent's mission and his journals also give an insight into some of his main thoughts on the matter.

By 1833 at the latest Innocent had written a work in Unangan Aleut, known in English as the "Indication of the Pathway into the Kingdom of Heaven".[47] The ideas in the Indication were of course much older. So, for example, already on 10 March 1824,[48] Innocent mentions preaching about bearing one's crosses patiently, a key theme in the third part of the instruction. Other examples of ideas which re-occur in the Indication can be found in the entries for 2 May 1829,[49] or 17 April 1831.[50] The other way in which Innocent's faith comes out is in the topics on which he preached. Here again, perhaps his very first sermon demonstrates well the spirit in which he lived and tried to act as a missionary. Presumably speaking on the Sermon on the Mount, he summarises his sermon thus: "The moral: love your enemies and return good for evil, not only without bearing any grudges, but with love. This is the highest and most useful Christian virtue,

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[44] Soterios Mousalimas, "Introduction", in Soterios Mousalimos (ed.), *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov in Alaska, 1823 to 1836*, Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1993, p. xiv.

[45] Strictly speaking, he was for the period covered by the journals on Unalaska Island, one of the Aleutian chain.

[46] Mousalimos (ed.), *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov*, (hereafter Mousalimas (ed.), *Journals*), p. 4.

[47] See Garrett, *St. Innocent*, p. 102. In late1840 the Holy Synod also agreed that it could be translated and published in Russian and Church Slavonic (cf. Garrett, *St Innocent*, pp. 131-132). This is why Rev. Dr John Chryssavgis, "The Spiritual Legacy of Innocent Veniaminov: Reflections on the Indication of the Way into the Kingdom of Heaven", *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44 / 1-4 (1999), pp. 585-596, here p. 585, refers to its publication date as 1841. However, the Unangan version came out much earlier, the first printed text in the language, for which, as we will see below, Innocent devised a script. The translation is in Michael Oleksa (ed.), *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, pp. 80-119. See also on this, Mousalimas (ed.), *Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov*, pp. 173-174, entries for March 1833.

[48] Mousalimas (ed.), *Journals*, p. 12.

[49] *Ibid*., p. 98. "Each Christian should suffer and forbear with faith and refrain from boasting, since a Christian should imitate Jesus Christ". All dates are in the Julian Calendar, approximately 12 days behind the Gregorian by this stage.

[50] *Ibid*., p. 139 – "I spoke about the fact that there is no other path to the Heavenly Kingdom besides that taken by Jesus Christ".

a Christian's distinguishing trait, and so forth".[51] His whole mission seems to have been characterised by this love for the other, and thus we can assume that this was a key part of his own experience of God.

There were, of course, days when Innocent was less full of the joys of life, especially on some of his trips when he was progressing in flimsy boats across the sea. But even here, (and in a not dissimilar way to Carey) he finds reasons to thank God. One example will suffice, the entry for 27 May 1829:

> This and the previous two days were very boring, and also fairly gloomy ones for me. I could not imagine that our baidarkas [the Aleutian kayak] would arrive on this day, or the following day… This fact, my poor state of health, and the almost total lack of provisions troubled me greatly… However, God, Who comforts everyone, showed His kindness by gladdening me on this day…[52]

It is perhaps important to remember that *chronos* can be boring, a succession of not much happening, of discomfort, hunger, illness, and yet it can always be touched by the hand of God who brings comfort and joy.

b) Language and Translation

As Carey learned the languages of India, and sought to make the scriptures available in them, so Innocent worked at learning the languages of the people among whom he lived and at translating the scriptures into them. One of the very first journal entries[53] tells us how he sought out someone to help him with the learning of Aleut[54] and as he records books he has read each month, he also records his efforts to learn Aleut. Again, Innocent's journals are less full of complaint than Carey's, but one detects too his struggles. In a footnote in his first journal he remarks that he had given up trying to learn words by heart because his teacher appeared to pronounce them differently each day.[55]

Fairly soon, though, Innocent began the work of translating, beginning with a Catechism,[56] and moving on to the Lord's Prayer,[57] before finally completing a translation of Matthew's gospel.[58] Prior to this,

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[51] *Ibid*., p.4 (entry for Sunday 28 October).
[52] *Ibid*., p. 102.
[53] 24 October 1823. See Mousalimas (ed.), *Journals*, p. 3.
[54] This is Unalaskan Aleut (Fox Aleut), a member of the Eskimo-Aleut language family. There were two related Aleut languages, Atkan and Attuan, and the translation was also modified into an Atkan version. Innocent also sought to learn some Tlingit later on.
[55] See *Journals*, p. 16, note 7.
[56] Mousalimas (ed.), *Journals*, p. 42 (general comment for January 1826).
[57] *Ibid*., p. 69 (13 January 1828).
[58] The first draft was finished on 24 September 1829, and then subjected to revision, and testing by local people. Unlike Carey's Bengali version, which was stylistically rather poor, this version (made by Innocent with help from a local man, Ivan Pankov) was found to be highly accurate. Interestingly they left out two verses (Mt 7:17 and 9:17, the first because there are no words for the ideas of bad or good trees or fruit in Aleut, the second (on new and old wineskins) because of the "content, which is incomprehensible

Innocent had had to develop a script for Aleut, based of course on Cyrillic,[59] but with some modifications for the particular needs of the Aleut language. In translating the gospel into Aleut, Innocent was thus doing two things. He was giving them access to at least a proportion of the Scriptures in their own language, and he was giving a status to their language.[60] Now that it was written, it was in principle equal to any other written language, including Russian. And although Russian, or Church Slavonic, would continue to play a major part in the liturgy, there was increasingly room for Aleut liturgy as well.[61]

c) Innocent and the Indigenous Peoples

There is not a lot of description in the journals of Innocent's reactions to local people, though even so they are important documents in terms of our knowledge of earlier Aleut customs and traditions.[62] Often these come out in passing comments,[63] but there are some times when he cannot contain himself in praise of the locals,[64] for their commitment and zeal. In this, of course, he was in a very different position to Carey, since in the islands most of the people seem to have been very ready to accept and believe in Christ and become Christians.

Thus there was a far greater willingness on the part of the Orthodox clergy and missionaries to look more favourably on the local customs and attempt to interpret them as what Justin Martyr called *spermatikos logos*,[65] seeds of the truth. This would become most evident in a later document produced by the Monastery of Valaam to mark the 100th anniversary of the mission in 1893.[66] This document seeks to understand the beliefs of the

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to many people". See Mousalimas (ed.), *Journals*, p. 113, and also entries for 2 December 1829 (p. 116, and note 15 on p. 126-27) and 29 April 1830 (p. 123).

[59] Innocent has been called "the Enlightener of the Aleut", a phrase which recalls Sts. Cyril and Methodius, often called "the Enlighteners of the Slavs". In developing a script based on Cyrillic he was following in their footsteps, as their Glagolitic script had been used for translating liturgies and scriptures into Slavonic almost a thousand years previously. See Kallistos Ware, "'The Light that Enlightens Everyone:' The Knowledge of God Among Non-Christians According to the Greek Fathers and St. Innocent", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44:1-4 (1999), pp. 557-564.

[60] An interesting view of this is given by David Bellos, *Is That a Fish in Your Ear? The Amazing Adventure of Translation*, London: Penguin, 2012, pp. 171-86.

[61] See Abbot Gerasim (Eliel), "Russian Icons in a Native Church: Conflicts in Culture in Western Alaska", MDiv Thesis, St. Vladimir's Seminary, Yonkers, NY, 2012, for a reflection on this, and on the curious absence of an indigenization of art.

[62] See Tatiana Sarana, "Journals of the Priest Ioann Veniaminov as a Valuable Source for Aleut Culture and History", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44:1-4 (1999), pp. 683-87, though in fact this is mainly a review of the edition of the Journals by Mousalimas.

[63] Cf. Mousalimas, *Journals*, p. 35, where he remarks on the waterproofing ability of local clothing made from the gut of a sea lion.

[6464] See for example, *Journals*, 30 May 1834, pp. 180-81.

[65] See, for example, Justin, *First Apology* 44. On this, see Ivana Noble, *Tracking God: An Ecumenical Fundamental Theology*, Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010, pp. 65-66.

[66] "Description of the Traditional Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Kodiak People, Compiled from Valaam Archives, 1894", in Michael Oleksa (ed.), *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, Crestwood: St.

Aleuts in Christian terms, and with one or two minor exceptions, finds the ethics and life of the people to be good already. The advantage of this approach is that it means that there are fewer tendencies to try to subsume the other under the totality of the I,[67] always a potential danger for Carey. Here the other is seen as good already, and the aim of mission is not to move from bad to good, but rather to understand and know why what one does is good, and to appreciate it within the perspective of Christ.

d) Innocent and the Church

The very reason for writing Innocent's journals was to maintain links with the wider church, and they mostly list church services – liturgies, prayers, baptisms, anointings, burials, and so on. There are other reminders that Innocent is a Russian Orthodox, with prayers for members of the Imperial family being another fairly frequent item. The delay in correspondence was less than for Carey, but often news arrived late too, especially during the winter months.

In many ways, the really interesting thing about Innocent's mission, and the Alaskan mission more broadly, is the way in which it was able to operate semi-autonomously. Despite the obviously more hierarchical nature of Orthodoxy, in practice the distances and the context combined to ensure that decisions were frequently taken at a local level, and then passed up for approval. This is seen very clearly in another later document of Innocent, written when he was already a bishop, and giving instructions to other missionaries.[68] It would be reasonable to assume that this mirrored his own practice, and that is certainly borne out by some of the journal entries. But what is interesting here is the way in which he is more than happy to contextualise the demands of the broader church[69] and adapt them to the needs of the local church community.

Conclusion

In examining the journals of William Carey and Innocent Veniaminov, I have wanted to look at two examples of missionaries from different traditions and in very different settings, and see how they combined the daily living out of their mission with waiting for the inbreaking of the

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Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2010, pp. 68-72. For more on this document and the attitude contained in it, see Soterios Mousalimas, "Contrasting Theological Views on Ancient Kodiak Culture", *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 34:4 (1989), pp.365-378. The contrasting view is that of the American Calvinists who came to Alaska after 1867, whom Mousalimas claims had a much more negative view of Kodiak culture.

[67] To use the language of Emmanuel Levinas. See especially, Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1987.

[68] "Instructions from Bishop Innocent Veniaminov to Hieromonk Theophan, 1853" in Oleksa (ed.), *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality*, pp. 238-51.

[69] For example, on Lenten fasting, where he realises that demanding a vegetarian diet would be simply impossible, or even on Sunday church attendance, which is not always possible for hunters.

presence of the transcendent God. Both of these aspects are necessary, and both men showed an enviable ability to get on with things, to fill the *chronos* with activity, be it language work, or building, or education,[70] or botanical or other scientific observations.[71] The Swiss train clock oversees an ordered life, where, in the famous words of Ecclesiastes, everything has its time. This is a part of mission, of simply getting on with daily life, which involves both "church" things, such as preaching and teaching, and the normal activities of daily life.

But at the same time, God cannot be reduced to this order. At any and every moment, there can be moments when the presence of the Lord is so strong and so unmistakeable, that the pressing demands of daily life either disappear or have to be put aside. The transcendent God bursts into chronological time and changes it forever, so that literally nothing is ever the same again. This is, fundamentally, what conversion is about, but it is also the task of the church to live out this transformation, to witness to it. Innocent and Carey, with their strengths and weaknesses, remind us of this and demonstrate that it is possible. The harvest is rich and the labourers are few, and the work is one we cannot refuse.

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[70] Like Carey, Innocent opened and taught in schools.
[71] Again, Carey and Innocent both made very important contributions in these fields.

Keith Jones - European Baptist
An Appreciation

Anthony Peck

I feel honoured to be invited to contribute an appreciation of my friend Keith Jones, and to pay what will be an inadequate tribute to his 23 years of involvement with the European Baptist Federation (EBF), fifteen of them as Rector of 'our' EBF Seminary in Prague, still a unique institution in the Baptist world.

Keith Jones and I have known each over over thirty years, since he was part of the committee of the Yorkshire Baptist Association (YBA) in the UK that first interviewed me for Baptist Ministry in 1981. Our lives have been intertwined ever since. Together with our families we were for some years part of an experiment in Christian community. I followed him as General Secretary of the YBA, one of the Regional Associations which make up the Baptist Union of Great Britain BUGB); and so then worked with Keith when he was Deputy General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain. Being both strong-minded characters we have not always agreed with one another but have always sought to keep our friendship in good repair.

For the nine years that I have been EBF General Secretary I have had the opportunity to see Keith's leadership of IBTS at first hand, and I have marvelled at how he has managed to combine a formidable administrative workload with his own academic development and research. I have observed students when they arrive in Prague being somewhat in awe of this blunt-spoken Yorkshireman and quickly discovering that he does not 'suffer fools gladly'; but then as they have stayed longer they have developed a real and lasting affection for him. They realised that his was a total dedication to the task, to seek from the students, staff and IBTS itself the very best that they could be, combined with a deep pastoral concern for their welfare.

Keith has led IBTS in to all kinds of significant developments; the beginning of the doctoral programme, the hard-won recognition of IBTS as a recognised University in the Czech Republic, the establishment of two excellent academic Journals, the moves to make IBTS a 'green' Seminary', the partnership with the Northumbria Community – to name only some of the more obvious ones.

Not long into Keith's first term as Rector, IBTS acted as catalyst for the development of the Consortium of European Baptist Theological Schools (CEBTS), to try to engender a sense of mutual support, help and

belonging among the many Baptists Seminaries and Bible Schools in Europe and the Middle East. CEBTS is still a 'work in progress' but Keith and his staff have set a good example of support for emergent seminaries and bible schools led by IBTS alumni in such placess as Lithuania, Armenia, North Caucasus and Israel.

More significantly still, during his period as Rector of IBTS, and with the help of colleagues such as Ian Randall, Toivo Pilli and Parush Parushev, Keith has encouraged the development of a truly 'European' Baptist identity, realising that it is not only to the USA or even to England that we must turn to find Baptist paradigms. One expression of this was the completion of *European Baptist Dictionary*[1]that will remain a standard reference work in the field. But IBTS has also encouraged a growing collection of Masters' and Doctoral theses on aspects of European Baptist history and identity, especially from Central and Eastern Europe. Taken together these are building on our roots to produce a rich and detailed picture of the unity and diversity of contemporary European Baptist life.

This commitment to European Baptist life goes back many years. I remember Keith returning from the EBF Congress in Budapest in 1989 and remarking that this experience had made him realise that he was indeed a 'European' Baptist. It was undoubtedly a critical time, just before the fall of the Berlin Wall, but when it was clear to all that momentous change was in the air. Keith brought back with him from Budapest a request that Yorkshire Baptists might open up a twinning link with the Baptists of Latvia, then still part of the Soviet Union. As he was moving on to work for the Baptist Union of Great Britain it fell to me as his successor as YBA General Secretary to lead the YBA into an unforgettable experience of developing ties of support and friendship with Latvian Baptists in the critical years that followed. For me, this was the beginning of my own involvement with European Baptists and so began the journey that eventually led me to become EBF General Secretary in 2004.

Like me, Keith belongs to the largest single Baptist Union in the EBF (BUGB), and from a nation (UK) which often agonises and is sceptical concerning its place in Europe. Both these factors mean that we sometimes have to work hard to engender a sense of belonging to the wider European Baptist family amongst British Baptists. Keith has worked tirelessly to put IBTS on the 'map' of individuals and churches in the UK and has encouraged British Baptists to recognise their European heritage in the Anabaptist movement of the 16th century. It is true to say that he has played a significant role in encouraging a sense of British Baptist

[1] John H Y Briggs (ed.), *A Dictionary of European Baptist Life and Thought*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009

'connectedness' with the EBF. We have both discovered that occasionally this does not meet with a positive reception. It seems that encouraging Brits to think of themselves as European also remains a 'work in progress'!

Keith was part of a generation of ministers trained at the Northern Baptist College in Manchester who came in on the end of the Baptist 'liturgical movement' which had begun in the 1950s, and who were encouraged to be thoroughly ecumenical in their sympathies and outlook. Like many others of us in that period he was profoundly influenced by an early visit to the Taizé Community in France, and saw there an ecumenical community which had gathered to itself the riches of the spirituality of the whole church centred on a simple but profound cycle of daily prayer. I would surmise that from this formative period in his life, came Keith's emphasis which he has carried through in all his ministries; of a community of faith centred on the regular celebration of the eucharist and in its worship drawing on influences from the wider Church .

Perhaps it has been during his fifteen years as IBTS Rector that Keith had his clearest opportunity to put this into practice. It remains true that he seems more comfortable with liturgical 'set' worship than the more spontaneous and charismatic tradition of Baptist worship among us. But it has been good for students from more spontaneous worship traditions to experience and learn from a more ordered approach, and many have expressed appreciation of this.(However, more than one student at IBTS has scratched his/her head to wonder what a 'collect' is, in the carefully prepared orders of service for daily prayers which Keith produced when it was his turn to lead!)

Participating in the daily 'circle' of prayer and worship and the weekly Eucharist have been for me some of the most profound and moving experiences at IBTS as students, staff and visitors of many nations have offered prayer and worship in some of the many languages of the EBF. As I have travelled around the EBF I have observed how alumni of IBTS have began to put this model of Christian community into practice in their own seminaries, and even in the designs of their new churches. I am still surprised that in some theological schools there seems to be so little emphasis on the intentional development of spiritual formation for those who would be pastors in the churches and leaders in theological education. Keith and his colleagues in IBTS have set a good example in this, and the whole concept of 'formation;' rather than 'training' for various forms of ministry is one which in my view can be developed still further in the EBF.

With his emphasis on community and developing a true *koinonia* in the life of IBTS, it is not surprising that Keith turned to Baptist ecclesiology for his doctoral research. How he achieved this with such a

demanding administrative load at IBTS, I am not sure, but what resulted is the most definitive history so far of the EBF's first 60 years, set within an ecclesiological framework.

Keith and I subscribe to what often seems like a minority view among Baptists; to eschew terms like 'autonomy' and 'voluntarism' to describe the local church and to argue for its covenantal nature which includes necessary connectedness to the wider church, whether Baptist or ecumenical. His thesis[2] therefore builds on work done by Ernest Payne, Paul Fiddes and others to argue that the local church is 'wholly church but not the whole church' or what Keith himself describes as a 'more than local' ecclesiology; that groupings of Baptists beyond the church such as Unions, Conventions and the EBF can have an ecclesial reality, in that they display some of the marks of the Church of Jesus Christ. In the case of the EBF this is seen by the coverage of the EBF in almost every country of Europe and the Middle East, together with a genuine commitment to one another to work together *as the EBF* e.g. in the 'ownership' of IBTS itself, and also in the development of '*episkope'* in the scope of the role given by the EBF to successive EBF General Secretaries.

Even if, in the nature of doctoral theses, he occasionally overstates his case, Keith's work has been a significant contribution to the self-understanding of European Baptists. It represents the recognition of a depth of *koinonia* at the heart of the EBF that goes far beyond an understanding of the EBF as simply a convenient way to organise Baptist life in Europe and the Middle East. Keith also acknowledges that arguing for an ecclesial reality in the life of the EBF also helps Baptists to be more able to recognise themselves as part of the wider church as it is manifested in bodies such as the Conference on European Churches (CEC). Indeed it proved to be so quite recently when CEC reorganised is life and the category of Associate Membership that included the EBF was abolished. In the ensuing discussions, Keith's work on an ecclesial understanding of the EBF helped to convince CEC of the importance of creating a category of membership that recognises pan-European groupings of churches that have some kind of ecclesial reality.

Since the completion of this important piece of work others have begun to consider the ecclesiology of the regional expressions of Baptist life such as the EBF and indeed the Baptist World Alliance (BWA) itself. The BWA General Secretary since 2007, Neville Callam, has turned his attention to this in an editorial for *Baptist World*[3] and subsequently in a

[2] Published as Keith G Jones, *The European Baptist Federation: A Case Study Study in European Baptist Interdependency 1950-2006*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009.
[3] Editorial by Neville Callam in *Baptist World* 55:2, April/June 2008.

more substantial publication.[4] Curiously, Callam begins to explore the ecclesial reality of the six regions of the BWA by looking at the names (Federation, Fellowship, Union) that they gave to themselves as predicating the nature and reality of the regional bodies themselves. In his *Baptist World* editorial Callam suggests that 'Federation' (and, he admits, 'Alliance') implies a group brought together for 'mere voluntary decision-making' rather than one which grounds itself in communion with Christ. Keith's work has shown that nothing could be further from the reality so far as the EBF is concerned over its 60-year history.

In his later work Callam somewhat modifies his argument and acknowledges that Keith Jones has made 'a strong case for interpreting the intention of the EBF in its lived experience as being to nurture fellowship among its member bodies'.[5]So Keith's work on Baptist ecclesiology has played an important role in the ongoing and sometimes rather tortuous discussions about the nature of Regional bodies such as the EBF, and the defining of their relationship with the BWA.

As Keith ends his fifteen years' service as Rector of IBTS the Seminary itself prepares to move from Prague to Amsterdam. This does not in any way represent a failure of leadership or management during the Prague years. It was absolutely right that the Seminary moved in the 1990s to a Central European setting in a country newly set free from Communism, and at the 'heart' of the EBF region. It was an important symbol of the unity of East and West in European Baptist life post-1990, and in the years since has particularly served the need for advanced Baptist Theological education in Central and Eastern Europe.

However, the over-ambitious and somewhat unrealistic vision of some for IBTS Prague when the move from Rüschlikon, Switzerland took place, and the consequent significant reduction in the intended Endowment available to fund its work, have been factors with which the Rector and the Board of Trustees have struggled throughout this whole period, and which could have brought the Seminary to a financial crisis long before 2008 when the world financial downturn intervened.

It is in no small way due to Keith's formidable leadership abilities in administration and careful financial management that the Seminary was enabled to stay in Prague as long as it did. The fact that it did so, and developed in ways which have seen it increasingly recognised as a centre of academic excellence in theological education, are tributes to Keith's vision of an institution of which European Baptists can be justly proud.

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[4] Especially Chapters 2 and 3 of Neville Callam, *Pursuing Unity Defending Rights: The Baptist World Alliance at Work*, Falls Church VA: Baptist World Alliance, 2010.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 87.

The effects of what he and his staff have achieved in the 'Prague years' will increasingly be felt in the life of the EBF as IBTS alumni occupy significant positions in theological education and in the leadership of the member Unions. Perhaps the most precious 'gift' from their IBTS experience that they will bring to these positions is an understanding and appreciation of the different yet legitimate ways of 'being Baptist' that exist within the unity of the EBF.

I end, as I began, on a personal note. Keith has been a most supportive and stimulating colleague to me in the work of the EBF in both its encouragements and its challenges. He has sought to participate fully in the work of the Council and Committees of the EBF. He is capable of robust and tenacious argument and disagreement, but when it has really mattered he has always given his total support and encouragement.

I would also pay tribute to the unfailing support of his wife, Denise. Many EBF visitors have enjoyed her welcome and her justly renowned hospitality when they have visited IBTS in Prague. What perhaps they have not seen have been the quiet and practical ways in which she has supported individual students, as well using her office skills in proof reading student work and producing the IBTS journals.

To both Keith and Denise, European Baptists say a heartfelt 'thank you' for all that they have done and been to us in these years, sometimes not without cost to themselves. We know that for Keith this is not 'retirement' but in any case we wish them both good health and happiness and the joy and rich benediction of God upon their lives wherever their future journey leads them.

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