Universality and Particularity in Mission

How to relate the universality of God’s revealing and redeeming activity among all nations and people to the particularity of God’s saving action in Israel and in Jesus Christ is an issue that has been with the theory and practice of Christian mission from the very beginning. The Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testaments speak to this problem, and Christians in every age have had to wrestle with it anew. This issue of the International Bulletin approaches this enduring problem from several different contemporary perspectives.

Paul F. Knitter surveys the different Roman Catholic approaches to other religions, and indicates how the various schools of missiologists have tried to deal with universal truth that is present in all religions and the particular affirmations of Christian tradition.

W. S. Campbell examines the specific relations between Christianity and Judaism in terms of continuity and discontinuity. A basic question is to what extent Paul saw the Gentile Christians as displacing Israel as the people of God, and thus overcoming one form of particularity with another.

In the Eastern Orthodox tradition, as James Stamoolis points out, universality and particularity come together in their views of incarnation, liturgy, and church. These have led in mission practice to particular emphasis on the use of vernacular languages, indigenous clergy, and development of national churches.

From a historical survey of the first Protestant missionaries sent out by the Moravians under the leadership of Count Zinzendorf, David Schattschneider shows how these missions “marked, within Protestantism, the escape from the territorial view of the church,” which was the blight of particularity that had been the Protestant legacy from the Reformation period.

A very useful bibliography of materials on “missionary repatriation” is given by Clyde Austin and John Beyer. In our continuing Legacy series, we deal with the careers of two justly famous missionary pioneers, in articles by two of the foremost missiologists of our own time. Olav Myklebust tells of the work of H. P. S. Schreuder, who began Christian work among the Zulus of South Africa, and J. Herbert Kane describes the career of Hudson Taylor and his founding of the China Inland Mission.

In coming years, those involved in Christian mission undoubtedly will need to speak about the relationships between universality and particularity in mission in still different ways. Even when that happens, some of the benchmarks from the past will be of lasting value.

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of Missionary Research
Roman Catholic Approaches to Other Religions: Developments and Tensions

Paul F. Knitter

A missiological authority, well known and respected by readers of this journal, has recently indicated and predicted "radical changes" in Roman Catholic mission theology and in its attitude toward other religions:

... Roman Catholic mission theology has undergone more radical change in these fifteen years than in the previous century. And there is obviously a great deal more ferment to come in the last fifth of the twentieth century. What we see so far, in my judgment, is but a foretaste or the first fruits of a radical realignment of Catholic mission theology that by A.D. 2000 will be as far from our thinking today as our thinking today is from where Catholic mission theology was twenty years ago.

The following bird’s-eye survey of five stages in the evolution of Catholic theology of religions will prove, I hope, how correct Gerald H. Anderson’s assessment is. Given the limitations of a short article, I cannot do much more than describe the general content and the main representatives of each stage, with greater attention given to the newer, less-known developments. The intent of such a broad overview is to provide a sense of historical evolution that will enable us to understand and evaluate present developments and tensions.

Historical Background: From Exclusive to Inclusive Ecclesiocentrism

From the start, Christian theologians have had a hard time reconciling universality with particularity, that is, God’s universal will to save with the particular mediation of that will in Jesus, word, and church. The early fathers held to a fairly common opinion that an authentic revelation and possibility of salvation were available to all peoples (based especially on the doctrine of “the seminal word”). This opinion soon lost currency. Especially under the imposing influence of Augustine and his anti-Pelagian polemic, and then in the heat of battle against the “paganism” of Islam, the prevalent attitude toward other religions from the fifth century through the Middle Ages (even for Aquinas) was that “outside the church there is no salvation.” The Council of Florence (1442) officially declared that “no one, whatever almsgiving he has practiced, even if he has shed blood for the name of Christ, can be saved, unless he has remained in the bosom and unity of the Catholic Church.”

The Council of Trent signaled a “radical change” in the exclusive ecclesiocentrism of the Middle Ages. Especially in light of the newly discovered peoples who had never heard of Christ, the council allowed that “baptism of desire” could admit into the church anyone who lived a moral life but could not receive baptism of water. This more optimistic attitude toward the “pagans” characterized, for the most part, Roman Catholic attitudes from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. What took place was a significant shift in Catholic theology from an exclusive to an inclusive understanding of the church as the sole channel of grace. In other words, Catholic belief moved from holding “outside the church no salvation” to “without the church no salvation.” During the first half of the twentieth century, Catholic theologians came up with ingenious concepts to include within the church any trace of salvation outside it: saved non-Christians belonged to the “soul” of the church; they were “attached,” “linked,” “related” to the church; they were members “imperfectly,” “tendentially,” “potentially.”

Historians often forget that this positive shift in Catholic attitudes toward “pagans” did not include a more positive attitude toward pagan religions. Very few theologians ventured the assertion that universally available grace might be available through the religions. The experience of God’s grace, always an ecclesial affair for Catholics, was evidently a private affair for pagans.

Constitutive Christocentrism: Christ in the Religions (Vatican II and Karl Rahner)

Vatican Council II continued the inclusive ecclesiocentrism of the previous period. While the council fathers reaffirmed that the church is necessary for salvation, they also, as it were, extended the universal possibility of salvation—even atheists could be saved? Yet the council, as is well known, took a definitely new turn when, for the first time in the history of official church statements, it praised individual world religions for the way they reflect “that Truth which enlightens every person.” The majority of Catholic thinkers interpret the conciliar statements to affirm, implicitly but clearly, that the religions are ways of salvation. These theologians endorse the theology of religions elaborated by Karl Rahner, whose thought so strongly influenced the council’s deliberations. In Rahner, and in his endorsers, we see another radical change in Catholic theology of religions.

The main ingredients in Rahner’s optimistic assessment of other religions are well known. They are two: God’s universal salvific will (grounding what Rahner terms a “salvific optimism” for all humanity) and humanity’s essentially social nature. Combining the two ingredients: if God wills to grant grace to every person, this grace must take on a sociohistorical “body” in order to be really available; and among the most likely mediating bodies for grace are the religions. The religions therefore are or can be “grace-filled” ways of salvation and are “positively included in God’s plan of salvation.” What enables Rahner to draw this conclusion is his subtle but significant shift from ecclesiocentrism to Christocentrism.

This shift is embodied in Rahner’s much discussed model of anonymous Christianity (which, as his critics often forget, he intended only for Christian consumption, not for proclamation to outsiders). The model’s first intent is to remind Christians that God’s saving presence “is greater than man and the Church”; grace can, as it were, float free of the visible church and incarnate itself in other words and sacraments. But for Rahner, if grace is not bound to the church, it is bound to Christ. Jesus of Nazareth is the constitutive cause of all salvation. As the final and full manifestation of God’s saving presence in history, he is both the cause (final
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tude toward other religions is a move away from understanding Christ as "the constitutive, unique ... mediator of salvation for all mankind." Just as Rahner no longer tied universal saving grace to the church, many Roman Catholic theologians no longer tie it to Christ. Therefore they feel no pressing need to identify other believers as anonymous Christians or to usher them into the church. Yet despite this Christological shift and its intent to let the religions stand on their own, all the theologians exploring this new direction continue to affirm Jesus Christ as God's normative revelation. Jesus and the gospel remain the "superior or ideal type, which can function to measure, correct, and judge others by its own standards."\(^{16}\)

So Küng, after denouncing common Christian attitudes toward other believers as "arrogant domination ... [and] absolutism," himself proclaims Christ as "ultimately decisive [and] definitive" and as providing the "critical catalyst" without which the religions cannot really adjust to the modern world. For Küng, other believers may not be anonymous but they are potential Christians.\(^{17}\) Other theologians (H. R. Schlette, Bernard Lonergan, Gregory Baum, Monika Hellwig, John Pawlikowski, Rosemary Ruether) while their particular perspectives differ, they are unanimous in insisting that insofar as Christian understanding of Christ has led to a "supersessionist," subordinating approach to Judaism, "our traditional Christology is severely inadequate and must be "significantly rethought."\(^{21}\) In different ways, all of them appeal to Christians to modify their understanding of Christ as the final Messiah, that is, as he who has brought about the final, normative realization of the kingdom.

Baum argues that until the last days are upon us, all absolute, final assertions about Christ should be avoided.\(^{22}\) Hellwig points out that all Christian talk about Christ is religious, existential language that should not be turned into absolute, ontological claims for all peoples and times.\(^{23}\) Ruether proposes that the death and resurrection of Jesus be seen as a salvific paradigm of hope and transforming praxis that exists alongside other salvific paradigms.\(^{24}\) Pawlikowski wants to safeguard the uniqueness of the Christ-event, which, he feels, Judaism would do well to recognize; but he also admits the uniqueness of Judaism, which must complement and complete Christianity.\(^{25}\) Again, all of these theologians hold that a relativizing of Jesus' finality does not lessen his universal relevance. In their minds, Christian commitment to and witness of Jesus remain robust.

3. Some of the boldest proposals for a revision of approaches to other religions are sounded by Third World mission theologians such as Ignace Puthiadam, Henri Maurier, and Aloysius Pieris. All three give painful witness to how traditional Christian claims of having a "normative, complete, definitive" revelation in Christ have made Christian dialogue with other faiths an encounter "between the cat and the mouse."\(^{26}\) Pieris reduces all given Christian approaches to other faiths to two models: either the "Christ-against-religion" model (neo-orthodox, evangelical, as well as Latin American liberation theologies) or the "Christ-of-religions" model (Catholicism's anonymous-Christian theory as well as India's and the World Council of Churches' cosmic Christology). Both approaches conceal a "crypto-colonialist theology of religions ... that keeps our revolutionary rhetoric from resonating in the hearts of the Third World non-Christian majorities."\(^{27}\) All three theologians, therefore, suggest that Christians, under the pressure of a more effective witness to other believers, examine how they have falsely absolutized Christ.

Puthiadam and Maurier propose a model for mission and dialogue that recognizes unique, universally meaningful truth in each religion (and each "savior"); yet each "unique" religion or revealer is not excluded or relativized by the other, but essentially related to the other. All religions, in their real differences and otherness, are related to each other as a "coincidence of opposites"; they are in need of each other in order to carry on, together, their common
pilgrimage toward the Divine Mystery, the “Source and Goal” that animates them all. The primary goal of mission, then, is not conversion (though that is not excluded), but mutual witnessing.  

For Pieris the basis and framework for Christian mission and religious encounter should not be Christology (presupposing Christ to be either against or already within other religions) or theology (exploring whether/how other religions recognize God). Rather, Christian approaches to other faiths should be grounded in soteriology, in the “ineffable mystery of salvation,” which for Pieris is the divine urge and impulse to liberate and generate “a new humanity.” All religions, including those of the East, share in and contribute to this liberating mystery, which is the only real “absolute” in religious encounter. Mission and dialogue should be based on collaboration with other believers in this mystery. Theological clarifications about the uniqueness of Jesus can follow.  

This most recent shift in Roman Catholic theology of religions incorporates a clearly theocentric perspective. It is both distant from and yet continuous with the ecclesiocentrism and Christocentrism of earlier Catholic views. While continuing to affirm Jesus as a savior for all peoples of all times, together with the church as the community by which Jesus’ presence and message is embodied through time, these Third World theologians see all religions as partners in a salvific dialogue in which not the church or Jesus, but God, the “mystery of salvation,” is the final ground and goal and norm.

Conclusion:  
In tracing the radical changes throughout the history of Catholic attitudes toward other religions, one detects a certain evolution from ecclesiocentrism to Christocentrism and, most recently, to theocentrism. The central question for Catholics and all Christians is whether this evolution has been toward more abundant life or, at any point in its unfolding, it has arrived at dead ends. This question applies especially to the new, theocentric approach. At stake is the integrity of the gospel, the quality of Christian com-

“One detects a certain evolution from ecclesiocentrism to Christocentrism and, most recently, to theocentrism.”
Christianity and Judaism: Continuity and Discontinuity

W. S. Campbell

The relationship between Christianity and Judaism is a vast theme. Some of the most significant developments affecting the relationship have originated from historical events such as the Jewish-Roman war and the eventual destruction of Jerusalem; the Holocaust is a more recent example. In this study we shall confine ourselves to theological issues in three key topics: covenant, Paul's conversion-call, and the use of the title "Israel." The aim is to demonstrate that continuity as well as discontinuity between Christianity and Judaism is basic to the New Testament understanding of all three.

New Covenant or Renewed Covenant?

The ambiguity concerning the understanding of "covenant" in the New Testament is illustrated by the variation both in the meaning and in the frequency of the term. Of the thirty-three occurrences, eight are in the undisputed letters of Paul, seventeen are in Hebrews, with four occurrences in Luke/Acts, and one each in Mark, and in the frequency of the term. Of the thirty-three occurrences, of the covenant" (14:24). In the earliest and best manuscripts of the New Testament is illustrated by the variation both in the meaning and in the frequency of the term. Of the thirty-three occurrences, eight are in the undisputed letters of Paul, seventeen are in Hebrews, with four occurrences in Luke/Acts, and one each in Mark, Matthew, Ephesians, and Revelation.

Paul first uses the adjective new (kainê) in connection with covenant (diathêkê) in the reference in 1 Corinthians 11:25 to the institution of the Lord's Supper. Mark simply refers to "my blood of the covenant" (14:24). In the earliest and best manuscripts of Matthew and Mark, "new" is not included. Luke 22:17-20 includes two traditions—a shorter one that does not mention "covenant" at all, and a longer one that mentions "the new covenant." The sole reference to "the old covenant" is found in 2 Corinthians 3:14 where Paul speaks of reading the old covenant. It is probable that behind the references to "new covenant" in the New Testament is the passage in Jeremiah 31:31-34 where the prophet says, "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah." The significant feature of this covenant, which will distinguish it from that made at the exodus, is that the Lord will put his law within them: "I will write it upon their hearts." If Jesus did actually use the phrase "new covenant," probably he had this prophecy in mind.

"Covenant" in Hebrews

This epistle cites the Jeremiah passage in full (from the Septuagint) in Hebrews 8:8-12. The author has more than one meaning for the word diathêkê: he can use it as meaning a "testament," associated with the death of the testator (9:16f.). Hebrews offers a clear contrast between the old and the new, but, unlike Paul or Jeremiah, its author finds the essence of the two diathêkai in the cultic aspect. This approach is doubtless to be understood in light of the purpose and the audience for which the document was originally written. The interpretation of Hebrews will differ depending on whether the author is seen as contrasting Christian faith with Judaism or with some Jewish-Gnostic heresy.

In his recent Introduction to the New Testament, H. Koester suggests that the author of Hebrews, addressing the whole Christian church, enters into a critical theological controversy with Gnosticism by refuting the Gnostic understanding of both the redeemer and the process of salvation by means of a Christological and ecclesiastical interpretation of Scripture. In his commentary on Hebrews, Robert Jewett notes the close parallels between Colossians and Hebrews; the key argument in both is that Christ has overcome the elemental forces of the universe. He takes up the proposal of Charles P. Anderson that the lost Laodicean letter, written probably by Epaphras, is in fact the Epistle to the Hebrews (cf. Col. 4:16). 2

The fact that the most recent scholarship considers the purpose of Hebrews as being essentially to oppose a Jewish-Gnostic type of heresy means that we must be extremely careful not to read this letter simply as a stark contrast between Judaism ("the old") and Christianity ("the new") as symbolized by two distinct covenants. Koester in fact warns that parts of Hebrews may be completely misunderstood if the letter is interpreted as a criticism of the Jewish cult. He states: "To be sure, the material and temporal limitations of the sacrificial cult are pointed out (9:9-10), but the actual point of the argument as a whole is to prove that the

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25. Pawlowski, Christ in the Light, pp. 113-18, 121-25, 149.

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heavenly reality of the path that the redeemer took led through his
death; only for that reason does the new covenant stand (9:15–17).
The author does not argue against Judaism, but against the gnostic
denial of the salvatory significance of Jesus’ death.13

The Particularity of the Pauline Epistles

To interpret Paul’s letters as abstract and timeless theological trea-
tises, as if they had originated in a historical vacuum, is entirely to
misunderstand them. It is clear that the major and undisputed let-
ters are addressed to individual churches about specific problems
encountered at a particular period in their history. The genius of
Paul is that he was able to write coherent and consistent theology
while translating it into the contingent particularities of each local
church.

Thus the theology of the cross, Paul’s unique apocalyptic in-
terpretation of the death and resurrection of Jesus, constitutes the
dogmatic center and core of his gospel.5 But this is continuously
reinterpreted and restated to relate to differing local problems. To
understand Paul aright is not merely to take note of what he has
written but to interpret his written words in the context out of
which they arise and to which they are addressed. Thus in ac-
distinguishing him from the systematic theologian. Often the fail-
ure to interpret Paul historically as well as theologically has result-
red in gross exaggeration of Paul’s views, especially on the theme of
Judaism.

“Covenant” in Paul

Paul, as we have already noted, refers to “the new covenant” in 1
Corinthians 11:25. In 2 Corinthians 3:6 he also refers to apostles
being qualified “to be ministers of a new covenant, not in a writ-
ten code but in the Spirit.” There is a reference to two covenants
in Galatians, but the references in Romans—“to them belong . . . the
covenants” (9:4) and “this will be my covenant with them”
(11:27)—present a more positive understanding of God’s covenant-
Al, relationship with Israel. The problem with most of these refer-
ergences is that very often they are incidental or secondary to the
main theme in hand. Nowhere do we have as a central theme in
any of Paul’s letters a stark contrast between Christianity and Ju-
daimism in terms of old and new covenant. Paul does not think so
much in terms of static abrogation—of the replacement of one
covenant by another—but rather, in terms of dynamic transfor-
mation. Thus Christ is the telos, or goal, of the law rather than its ter-
mination (Rom. 10:4).5 It would seem unwarranted therefore to
make the allegorical reference to two covenants in Galatians the
basis for an important New Testament doctrine. In any case Paul
does not use the terms “old” and “new” here. This is doubtless
because both covenants are in fact traced back to the figure of
Abraham. Again the reference in 1 Corinthians 11:25, though unam-
biguous, has no immediate contrast with Judaism in its con-
text.

The unique reference to “the old covenant” in 2 Corinthians
3:14 is more problematical. But the actual theme is a contrast be-
tween forms of ministry, which itself originates from a reference
to the Corinthians as Paul’s letter of recommendation, “a letter
from Christ . . . written not with ink but with the Spirit of the liv-
ing God, not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts” (2
Cor. 3:3). This contrast reminds us of a basic contrast that Paul
sometimes uses, between the “outward” and “inward” Jew (Rom.
2:28f.), and between the spirit and the letter (Rom. 7:6).

Part of the problem of 2 Corinthians is that we are unclear
as to the identity of Paul’s opponents. Both Ernst Käsemann6 and
Dieter Georgi7 hold that Paul may have a polemical intention in
this passage, which may be directed against Jewish or Jewish-
Christian opponents. C. K. Barrett considers that these opponents
regarded themselves as preeminent Christian apostles. They car-
ried letters of authority from Jerusalem but they refused to recog-
nize Paul’s apostolic status. They also accommodated themselves
to the Hellenistic or gnosticizing criteria employed by the Gentile
Christians in Corinth.8

Moreover, there is a real possibility that Paul is here making
use of his opponents’ slogans and reversing their opinion that spir-
it and letter are directly linked in the interpretation of the Old
Testament. Perhaps this is one reason why Paul takes up a pre-
Pauline midrash on Exodus 34:30.9 For a clear understanding of 2
Corinthians 3–4, we require a more precise knowledge of the be-
iefs of Paul’s opponents and also of the first-century midrashic
understanding of Exodus 34. Only then can we base important
doctrines upon it. In any case we cannot agree with Käsemann’s
conclusion in his essay “The Spirit and the Letter,” that “the phe-
nomenon of the true Jew is eschatologically realized in the Chris-
tian who has freed himself from Judaism.”10

Käsemann does warn against any absolute identification of
the Old Testament as letter or any simplistic depreciation of the
law simply because it was written down. He points out that be-
hind the reference to “written . . . with the Spirit . . . on tablets of
human hearts” lies an assertion of the fulfillment of Jeremiah
31:33, and that Paul has in mind here both the reference to stone
tables and the contrast of Ezekiel 11:9 and 36:26 where Israel’s
stony heart is to be replaced by a heart of flesh. The implication is
that the new covenant of which Jeremiah speaks has become a re-
ality. Käsemann, however, sees here two contrasting covenants so
that Paul “has to decide between the old and the new covenants,
instead of seeing both as a historical continuity in the light of the
concept of the renewed covenant.”11

Announcing

The next meeting of the International Association for Mission
Studies will be held at the University of Zimbabwe, in Harare,
January 8–14, 1985, on the theme “Christian Mission and Hu-
man Transformation.” Further details about the program will
be sent to members in the near future. Inquiries about member-
ship and activities of the Association may be sent to the General
Secretary of IAMs, Rapenburg 61, 2311 GJ Leiden, The Nether-
lands.

Despite the fact that, in his recent book Paul and Palestinian
Judaism, E. P. Sanders deplies the implicit anti-Judaism in much
German Pauline scholarship earlier in this century, he himself
concludes that Paul’s religion is far removed from the covenantal
nomism that essentially constituted Palestinian Judaism. He con-
cludes that the idea of the covenant was not a central one for Paul,
for whom “participation in Christ,” a way of salvation that by def-
inition excludes all others, was basic.12 Sanders goes on to argue
that “Paul in fact explicitly denies that the Jewish covenant can be
effective for salvation.” In an essay on “Paul and Covenantal No-
mism,” Morna Hooker points out that Sanders is correct only if by
“Jewish covenant” he means the covenant on Mount Sinai, which
Paul regards as an interim measure until the promises are fulfilled.
While allowing that it may be pure chance that Paul never de-
scribes God’s promise to Abraham as a “covenant,” Hooker sug-
gests that this may be because Paul prefers to speak of it in terms of promise, and to use the term "covenant" for what happens in Christ. God's promises to Abraham relate to the future and it suggests that this may be because Paul prefers to speak of it in terms of promise, and to use the term "covenant" for what happens in the new moon. He writes:

The ministry of the old covenant, and by implication the old covenant itself, had its glory (2 Cor. 3:7). Moreover, just as the new covenant conceived by Jeremiah, Jubilees and the sectarians at Qumran did not unambiguously envisage a radical break with the Sinaitic covenant but a re-interpretation, so Paul's new covenant. Thus Jer. 31:33 does not look forward to a new law but to "my law," God's sure law, being given and comprehended in a new way. The adjective "kainē" in Jer. 31:33, translated "kainē" by Paul, can be applied to the new moon, which is simply the old moon in a new light. The new covenant of Paul, as of Jeremiah, finally offers re-interpretation of the old.14

This conclusion concerning the meaning of covenant in Paul should not be regarded as confusing Judaism and Christianity. We are not advocating any theory of two covenants—whether it is one in absolute contrast to the other, as Käsemann suggests, or two covenants for two distinct peoples, as some modern scholars propose. Rather, the object of our study has been to emphasize that there is real continuity between Judaism and Christianity.

If we minimize the differences between these, we fail to account adequately for the origin of Christianity, though we do thereby acknowledge God's revelation of himself in Judaism. Alternatively, if we exaggerate the element of discontinuity, we can then stress the uniqueness of the Christian revelation at the expense of calling into question the faithfulness of God. For if one covenant can fail, so too can another; moreover, if Christianity claims to be an absolutely new revelation of God, how then do we see ourselves in relation to Islam, or to any subsequent religion appearing on the stage of history?

Käsemann claims that whereas Abraham is, for Paul, a prototype of the Christ, Moses is the antitype.15 If we accept this designation, it would appear that in relation to Moses and Sinai, Paul would speak of a new covenant. But if Abraham is a true prototype, then surely we must speak in terms of a "renewed" covenant, in terms of fulfillment and affirmation, rather than purely in terms of stark contrast.

Paul's Conversion-Call

W. D. Davies has long insisted that a proper understanding of Paul's attitude to the law is attained only in the light of his understanding of Jesus as Messiah.5 Whatever else is in dispute concerning Paul's Damascus experience, one thing is clear: it involved a messianic or Christological content. Krister Stendahl argues that a proper interpretation of Romans 7 shows that Paul, as a loyal Jew, had experienced no struggle or guilt feelings that would have led him, through dissatisfaction with the law, to turn to Christ. Paul's concern, as distinct from that of Luther, was not "How can I find a gracious God?" Neither did he suffer from an introspective conscience. Instead of speaking of Paul's conversion, Stendahl prefers to regard him as someone who did not abandon his Jewishness for a new religion but, rather, as a Jew who was given a new vocation in service of the Gentiles.17

R. P. Martin agrees that Paul as a Jew was probably not consumed with guilt and inner conflicts. But Martin takes issue with Stendahl because Stendahl fails to note that the intermediate term between Paul the persecutor and Paul the apostle is Christ himself. "The central link acting as a hinge to connect the old and the new for Paul, was a revelation of Christ in his glory as the image of God." It is the Christological dimension of Paul's conversion, strangely missing from Stendahl's exposition, which for Martin turns out to be the indispensable factor in explaining it.18 We believe that Martin is correct in this emphasis and that Paul's attitude to the law is more intelligible in the light of it. Paul's reassessment of the law resulted from the revelation of Jesus Christ. As Davies notes, "To isolate the criticism of the Law from the total messianic situation, as Paul conceived it, is both to exaggerate and emasculate it. The criticism of the Law was derivative, a consequence of the ultimate place Paul ascribed to Jesus as Messiah."19

E. P. Sanders has recently drawn attention to the fact that, since the Reformation, there has been a tendency to read back the struggles of the sixteenth century into Paul's experience and theology. He deplores the tendency to caricature Judaism as a "religion of works." We agree with him and with W. D. Davies that the precedence of grace over law in Israelite religion persisted, despite some neglect, in Judaism.20 In deference to Sanders it should be acknowledged that the boasting that Paul opposes is perhaps better understood as the making of claims rather than as the achievement of good works. This making of claims consisted in regarding the mere possession of the law as a badge of election. But for Paul the recognition of Jesus as Messiah, and its corollary—the admission of Gentiles as Gentiles—means that such a view of the law is precluded.

Yet even the assertion that Jesus is Messiah was not for Paul tantamount to a rejection of Judaism, or the founding of an entirely new religion but, rather, expressed the profound conviction that the final expression and intent of Judaism had been born. For this reason we believe that it is inadequate to speak only in terms of Paul's conversion—as if he were moving from one religion to another; and likewise only in terms of his call—as if he were continuing in an unaltered faith. The conversion-call combination emphasizes both continuity and change.

Paul and the Israel of God (Gal. 6:16)

Peter Richardson has maintained that the designation of the church as "the new Israel" did not occur until the time of Justin. It was only by A.D. 160 that the church was identified with the "Israel of God."21 His thesis has yet to be disproved. Though there may be signs in the New Testament of an implicit adoption and application of titles and roles that point already in the direction of this identification, there is not so much explicit evidence as one might expect. Thus in Hebrews, even though the concept of Christians as the "Israel of God" underlies much in the letter, yet this is never actually explicitly expressed.

We need to distinguish clearly between those features that point to Gentile Christians as elect or as now being included within the people of God, and those that might tend toward the idea of the displacement of Israel by the Christian church. Galatians 6:16 might possibly qualify as an explicit identification of the church with "the Israel of God." The Revised Standard version renders it: "Peace and mercy be upon all who walk by this rule, upon the Is-
rael of God." This might be taken to mean that the latter phrase is
simply in opposition to the former and that Paul's benediction is
applied to all those Christians, who, like him, regard circumcision
as unessential. This would also mean that Paul, already at this pe­
riod in history, identifies the Christian church as "the Israel of
God" in opposition to the historical people Israel. This interpreta­
tion is unlikely for several reasons. Although Paul does distinguish
between Abraham's two sons—one is born "according to the flesh" and the other "through promise" (Gal. 4:22f.)—his main aim is not to show a contrast between the Israel of God and fleshly Is­
rael (Iṣraeil kata sarka). He writes to discourage Gentile Christians
from accepting circumcision and (possibly) the bondage of keeping
the whole law. Paul asserts that Jesus became accursed so that "in
Christ Jesus" the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gen­
tiles (3:14). But there is no suggestion that the inclusion of Gentiles
necessarily involves the exclusion of Jews. Moreover, since apart
from Galatians 6:16 there is no other evidence until A.D. 160 for the explicit identification of the church as "the true Israel," this isolat­
ed instance would be hard to explain by itself. Why was it that no one in the next hundred years used this verse to identify the chur­ch as "the new Israel" if it was accepted that Paul had in fact already done so? It is better to take Peter Richardson's translation as indicating the proper sense in which this verse should be under­stood: "May God give peace to all who will walk according to this
criterion, and mercy also to his faithful people Israel."22 Thus
Paul's benediction also includes the faithful in Israel, although this group is not coextensive with "all Israel." The New English Bible translation offers a similar understanding: "whoever they are who take this principle for their guide, peace and mercy be upon them, and upon the whole Israel of God." Our approach to Galatians 6:16 has naturally been colored by the meaning of "Israel" in Romans 9–11 and it is to this that we must now turn.

Paul and Israel in Romans 9–11: Paul Opposes Anti­
Judaism within the Christian Community

In the interests of clarity and brevity, we shall set out in note form
the main emphases of these chapters.

a) What Paul acknowledges:

1. The continuing rejection of the gospel by the majority of
Jews (9:30–10:3).
2. The influx of a large number of believing Gentiles (9:30).
3. The reason for Israel's failure—an unenlightened zeal (10:2).
   Christ, or possibly the law itself,23 has become a stumbling
   stone to the Jews (9:33).

b) What Paul affirms:

1. His deep personal concern for his fellow Jews (9:1–3; 10:1).
2. The abiding election privileges of the Jews—"they are Israel­
etes... to them belong the sonship," etc. (9:4–5).
3. The freedom of God in election—it depends only upon God's mercy (9:15); God is free to admit Gentiles and to retain Jews
   within his purpose as he wills.
4. No one, and especially not the Jews, is beyond the reach of
   the gospel call (10:12).
5. God has the power to graft in again those now disobedient
   (11:23).
6. The unbelieving Jews, though now "enemies of God as re­
gards the Gospel," are still beloved by him for the sake of the
   patriarchs (11:28).
7. The gifts and call of God are irrevocable (11:29).

c) What Paul denies:

1. That the word, i.e., promises of God, has failed: there is a
   remnant chosen by grace although not all descended from
   Israel belong to Israel (9:6).

2. That God is arbitrary or unjust: he is both free and compas­sionate (9:15).
3. That God has rejected his own people: Paul and the remnant
   prove this not so (11:1–5).
4. That God has destined Israel to ultimate rejection: God over­
rules their unbelief for the good of the Gentiles and Israel re­
 mains central in God's plan (11:11–16).

d) What Paul warns against:

1. Gentile Christians must not boast over unbelieving Jews (11:17f.).
2. Gentile Christians must not forget that it is the (Jewish) root
   that supports them; branches of themselves are not a tree—
   they share the richness of the olive tree (11:17f.).

"Gentile Christianity can never be complete by itself."

3. Gentile Christians must not become proud or presumptuous
   but must stand in faith and awe (11:20).
4. Gentile Christians must not presume to know the mind of
   the Lord; they are not to become "wise in their own con­
ceits", since Israel's hardening is only partial and temporary
   (11:25f.).

e) What Paul hopes for:

1. That the success of his ministry among Gentiles will lead to
   some Jews being saved (11:14).
2. That the eventual outcome of the Gentile mission will be
   that the Jews will be provoked to obedience, so that "all Israel
   will be saved" (11:11, 25f.).
3. That Gentile Christians, Jewish Christians, and Jews will re­
   alize that they are inseparably linked through God's saving
   purpose for the world (11:28–32).

From this review we can see that Paul opposed the proud
Gentile Christians by refusing to allow any absolute separation be­
tween the church and Israel.24 This is not surprising because it is
unlikely that the church existed as a completely separate entity be­
fore A.D. 70. Gentile Christianity can never be complete by itself: Paul describes it as a branch dependent on the Jewish Christian
root. By this he hoped to prevent the dissociation of Gentile Chris­
tians from their Jewish roots, and possibly also from Jerusalem to
which he was about to set out with the collection; this collection
was intended to help bind together the two wings of the church.

It is likely that Paul wanted the Roman Gentile Christians to see
both the ministry of Christ and his own ministry as examples
for them to follow. In Romans 15:8 Paul states that Christ has be­
come (gegenisthai) a servant (diakonos) to the Jewish people. J. Koenig
suggests that the natural and proper meaning of this perfect-tense
verb is that Christ has become, and still is, a servant or minister to
the Jewish people, namely, that Paul has the ongoing postresurrec­
tion effect of Christ's servanthood in mind and is not merely
thinking of his life and death.25 The Gentile Christians may have
concluded wrongly that Paul's Gentile mission signified that he
had given up hope for Israel. Koenig argues that Paul is really still
aiming to influence Israel by making them jealous (11:11f.). This
means that both Paul's ministry and that of Jesus may be described
as having Jews and Gentiles in view; cf. 15:8 where Christ is de­
scribed as a minister of the circumcision to confirm the promises to
Jews, and that Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy. If Paul
and Jesus desired the salvation of both Jew and Gentile, then it
would follow that the Roman Christians should not see their salvation as separate from the destiny of Israel. The solidarity of both Jew and Gentile in salvation is what Paul intends to stress. This emphasis is relevant to our contemporary scene and it is to this that we must now turn.

**The Relationship between Christians and Jews Today**

We have found from our study of covenant, Paul's conversion-call, and the title "Israel" in the New Testament that there is evidence of both continuity and discontinuity between Christianity and Judaism. We have suggested that in the past there has sometimes existed a tendency among New Testament scholars to depreciate Judaism. Although we do not wish to promote an exaggerated reaction in the contrary direction, we believe that it is now time for a balanced but positive appreciation of Christianity's continuing debt to Judaism, and for an end to all implicit anti-Judaism within Christianity.

This will not mean that Christians will cease to witness to Jews. Witness and dialogue are demanded not because Jews are either similar to Christians or differ radically from them, but because it is the Christian's duty to witness to all persons simply because this is of the essence of being in Christ. Any serious-minded Christian will seek to know and understand those with whom we are in dialogue—but especially our Jewish neighbors with whom we have a special bond in a shared history and Scripture. In this we disagree with Stendahl's view that it dawned on Paul that the Jesus movement is to be "a Gentile movement—God being allowed to establish Israel in his own time and place!" Stendahl finds it significant that Paul omits the name of Jesus Christ from the whole section of Romans 10:17—11:36.26 We think Stendahl makes too much of this argument from silence. Paul does speak of seeking to save some of the Jews through his Gentile mission (11:14). The reference to "the deliverer" in 11:26 can legitimately be taken to refer to Christ. Also the form of argument of 11:12–24 can most naturally be located within the normal scope of Pauline eschatology, that is, the "how much more" is based on the surpassing grace of Christ's redemptive work. Even the concluding doxology is implicitly Christological.27

We oppose any view of Christianity and Judaism that proposes a theory of purely separate development. If we have read Paul aright, he has stressed the continuity of divine revelation and the resulting need for solidarity even when, because of disobedience on either side, there may be wide differences between Christians and Jews. The problem of leaving "the salvation of all Israel" until the final consummation of human history is that this view suggests that in the meantime Jews and Christians can lead a separate existence.

We agree with Thomas Torrance that the relation of the Christian church and its mission to Israel must be quite unlike that to any other people or religion. But we are unhappy when he claims that "the gospel can hardly be brought to Israel, for it derives from Israel. ... Jews cannot be treated by Christians as unbelievers but only as brother believers with whom they are privileged to share a common faith in God and the same promises of salvation."28 Torrance stresses so much the commonality of our heritage—the continuity between Christianity and Judaism—that he has omitted the element of discontinuity and so slurs the genuine distinction that actually exists between them. Because of the element of discontinuity between Christianity and Judaism, there will inevitably be some tension between them. But it is part of genuine Christian witness to ensure that there is no more tension than our theological differences demand. Above all we shall witness remembering with sadness those shameful events of Christian history in relation to Jews from which none of us can entirely exculpate ourselves.

**Notes**

11. Ibid., p. 154.
12. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM, 1977); see especially pp. 511–15, 543f. Unfortunately, Sanders' most recent work, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), in which he elaborates some of the points referred to in the present article, was not available until after this article was written.
20. Ibid., p. 5.
22. Ibid., p. 84.
Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology

James Stamoolis

When Protestants and Roman Catholics look at the Eastern Orthodox Church’s mission history, they are often puzzled. They find some missionaries to admire, some practices to question, and much that is difficult to comprehend. The general viewpoint seems to be that the Orthodox mission experience is a chapter in the history of the expansion of the faith, but is of little relevance today. Since the late 1950s, however, there has been considerable rethinking about mission within the Orthodox church. It is the purpose of this study to show that Orthodox missiology has more than historical interest, and that there are valuable contributions to be gained from an understanding of Orthodox mission theory and practice.

Orthodox Theological Perspective

Historians conveniently use A.D. 1054 to mark the schism between the East and the West, but the separation started as early as the fourth or fifth century.

The developing distance in theological frameworks was apparent in two contemporaries, John Chrysostom and Augustine, who were both interpreters of St. Paul. Chrysostom looked to Paul for direction in living; Augustine drew out of Paul a theology of grace. While these positions are obviously complementary to each other, they are also in their extreme development foreign to each other.

The different biblical emphases appear with the development of the Pauline concept of justification in what might be termed Roman legal terminology. Whereas the doctrine of justification occupied the West, the East found a theological center in the idea of union with God. The great theme was the incarnation and the consequences of this event for the believers. "God became man, that man might become God." First found in Irenaeus, this concept is repeated in Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, and many other patristic authors.

This theme at once encompasses redemption and goes beyond it as it is often understood in the West. What is in view is not only humankind’s standing before God with regard to its sinfulness, but humankind’s ultimate standing before God in the heavenly places. Christ’s descent makes possible humanity’s ascent into God’s presence. However, it is not solely the work of the Second Person of the Godhead that secures the ascent. In the present age the ascent to God’s presence is the work of the Holy Spirit.

The full realization of being partakers of the divine nature (2 Pet. 1:4), or theosis as it is properly called in Orthodox theology, must await the final consummation of all things in Christ. Nevertheless, through the mediation of the Holy Spirit, this ascent into God’s presence is the experience of the church at worship. While it would appear that worship does not pertain directly to mission, yet in this joining of incarnation (and its consequent theosis), liturgy, and the church, we have the three major elements of Orthodox missiology. In the words of Alexander Schmemann: "Nothing reveals better the relation between the Church as fullness and the Church as mission than the Eucharist, the central act of the Church’s leiturgia, ... The Eucharist is always the End, the sacrament of the parousia, and, yet, it is always the beginning, the starting point: now the mission begins.”

Three Theological Principles

There are abundant references to the centrality of the incarnation in the Orthodox faith. The liturgical witness and the local community as the key elements in the missionary witness of Orthodoxy are themes that have been stressed in recent reflections on the subject. As these three concepts are studied in the context of Orthodox thought, fresh insights can be gained for the church’s missiological task.

Incarnation and Theosis

The obvious connection between the theme of union with God and mission is that God desires all humankind to be in union with himself through Christ. This theme is worked out by Orthodox theologians in their discussions on motives for missionary work. God’s love for humankind forms the strongest motive for mission, since it was God’s love that mandated the incarnation.

The Orthodox understanding of the incarnation does have a feature that was unique to missionary thinking in the earliest period of the church: the Orthodox maintained that each race, each culture, each identifiable group had the right to receive the gospel in its own language. As Christ became incarnate in the word of humanity in order to bring God’s Word to the human condition, so must the Word of God be translated into every language to become incarnate in the lives of the people. The stress on communication of the divine message so that the people could understand and participate is a direct result of the Orthodox theological framework. By way of contrast, the Latin missionaries refused to use the vernacular. Their theological system did not depend on an incarnational model of relationships but on juridical justification before God’s law, even if the one being justified was ignorant of the exact terms of release. In Moravia, where the Byzantine brothers Cyril and Methodius were working among the Slavs, the Latin missionaries so opposed the use of the vernacular that they eventually forced the missionaries who were using it out of the country.  

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Orthodox theology counts of utmost importance the real participation of the believer. For real participation to take place, the fundamentals of the faith, and especially the worship services, must be intelligible to the congregation. Thus in historical and contemporary practice, great efforts have been expended on the translation and explanation of the Liturgy. Modern Greek missionaries have diligently worked on translations into the languages in which they are ministering. Commentaries are also prepared for the nominal Orthodox so that they can understand and participate in the services they have been attending.

The Liturgy

It seems strange that an event for the believing community, an event from which the unbaptized were excluded in the early exclusion, without its being practiced should be an element of the Church (the present form of the Liturgy continues the form of the internal aspect pertains to the life and sustenance of the church. But it is harder to understand and participate in worship. This is often referred to as the liturgy after the Liturgy. The actual witness of the Eucharist itself was also noted: "Conversions still take place through the magnetic attraction of the Eucharistic service. The usual visitor slowly becomes a regular attendant and then studies the faith of the Church and asks for baptism."

The consultation stops short of recommending the Liturgy as a method of mission. However, it does see a use for the non-Eucharistic elements of the Liturgy to be used in evangelism. These "non-Eucharistic liturgical expressions, non-Eucharist liturgical prayers, liturgical Bible readings, icons, hymnology, etc. can and should be also used for proclaiming the Gospel and confessing Christ to the world." In point of fact, one wonders if the consultation's recommendations are really only a recognition of what Orthodox missionaries had been doing. Nicholas Kasatkin (1836–1912)—in Japan, better known as Father Nicolas—had his evangelists teaching the creed and the Lord's Prayer to the inquirers (both of which are in the Liturgy). Stephen of Pern (1340–96) attracted the Zyrians with the beauty of the church he built. Macarius Gloukharev (1792–1847) insisted on a long period of prebaptismal instructions for his converts, during which time he taught the fundamentals of the faith. Many other names could be added to this list. Perhaps it is in the liturgical elements that the appeal of the Liturgy to the unconverted lies. The liturgical witness is not only talk about God, it is also talking with God. The method and the message become one.

The Church

The local liturgical community has long been regarded as the center of the Orthodox religious experience. The communal aspect of the Orthodox church is evident in its soteriology: "We know that when any one of us falls, he falls alone; but no one is saved alone. He who is saved is saved in the Church, as a member of her, and in unity with all her other members."

This concept of community is in accordance with the movement toward unity with God. In other words, the corporate nature of salvation is a direct result of the doctrine of theosis. If the ultimate goal is for man to be like God (theosis), then this goal must include the unity of all who profess the same purpose, since there can be no disunity in the Godhead. Indeed, N. M. Zernov can see division between Christians as a violation of the bond of love and the inevitable separation from the Holy Spirit, which ultimately endangers one's salvation.

It follows, then, from the close identification of soteriology with ecclesiology that the church should play a central role in the missionology of Orthodoxy. Recent studies have focused on "the importance of the local liturgical community as the basis of mission and evangelization." The stress, however, does not lie in the organization and structure of the church. For it is not structure, but nature and essence that are crucial. The local church is the visible and concrete expression of God's redeeming work in the world. Therefore, to be true to its nature, the local congregation must be active in mission and evangelism. Anything less is a denial of the gospel.

In the development of the Orthodox idea of the local congregation, however, there is little concept of the foreign missionary who goes to areas where there is no established congregation. Because the picture of the corporate nature of the church is drawn so strongly, it excludes the pioneer missionary. Ultimately there should be no conflict, since the missionary's role is precisely that of establishing local congregations.

While the emphasis on the corporate nature of the church may be seen as a welcome corrective to what the Orthodox term the excessive individualism of the West, the real value of Orthodox ecclesiology lies in the concept of the worshipping community as the goal of mission. The work of evangelism is not accomplished until a worshiping, witnessing community has been established. Here Orthodox ecclesiology returns full circle. The congregation is the focus of mission work and witnesses to the gospel both in its own locale and through its representatives to the
The wider world. Its representatives, or missionaries, endeavor to es­
establish other local congregations that can repeat the process. Mis­
mission does not end until the whole world is praising the Lord of all
creation.

Three Elements of Mission Practice

In looking at the history of Orthodox missions, one can isolate
three distinct elements of mission practice, present since early Byzan­
tine times. All three derive from the theological understanding
of the Orthodox church. All three account for the success of Or­
thodox missions in transmitting the faith to an ever-increasing
number of linguistic and cultural groups.

Use of the Vernacular

All Orthodox missions that have in any way been successful in es­
establishing a church have translated the Liturgy and the Scriptures
into the vernacular. This, more than any other aspect of Ortho­
dox missions in transmitting the faith to an ever-increasing
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The Selfhood of the Church

The third characteristic of Orthodox missions was the selfhood of
the mission church. The supposed goal of all Orthodox mission
work was the creation of an autocephalous church that could run
its own affairs. This was in keeping with the other two elements
just discussed, because it signified a church that spoke one lan­
guage, spanned one culture, and was the incarnation of the gospel
message to one people. Therefore, while these national churches
usually corresponded to political boundaries, in their conception
they were first of all cultural and linguistic entities. National
churches were to share the common tradition and faith of Ortho­
doxly while maintaining ecclesiastical independence.

It was in this third element that Orthodox missions most
often failed. The creation of autocephalous churches had political
overtones that often prevented the appointment of native bishops.
The close connection between the church and the state during
both the Byzantine and the Russian periods of missionary work
often prevented the natural transition of authority. Even today the
issue of supposed suppression of emerging national churches is
keenly debated within Orthodox circles.

The historical inability to follow through on all elements of
Orthodox theology should not detract from the total scope of Or­
thodox missiology. The fact remains that the theoretical base and
the vision can be found both in the history of Orthodox
missions and in contemporary missiological
writings by Orthodox.

Implications

When the elements of Orthodox missiology are viewed in iso­
lation, it is possible to draw parallels to a number of concepts in
Western theology. But it must be noted that parallels do not exist
at every point, nor do they match precisely. However, to regard

"The theoretical base and the vision can be found both in the history of Orthodox
missions and in contemporary missiological writings by Orthodox."
the aspects of Orthodox missiology as independent points is to miss the congruity of the theological position, for it is in its whole-ness that Orthodox missiology makes an impact on the study of missions. The framework of the approach is as important as the approach. There is a cohesiveness inherent in Orthodox theology that leads to mission work. It is being recognized that to deny mis-sion is to deny Orthodoxy.44

Thus, if one is to understand and learn from Orthodox missiology, it is imperative to begin with a holistic approach to Ortho-dox theology. The framework of Orthodoxy provides the starting point for mission. The richness of the Orthodox tradition, obscured from the West by long centuries of theological isolation and historical separation, offers a vital contribution to Christian knowledge.

Notes


2. It was not uncommon for Russian missionaries to dispense baptism as a mere legal formality without any Christian instruction, to bribe potential converts with gifts, and even on occasion to resort to the use of physical violence. See Nikita Struve, "The Orthodox Church and Mis-sion," in History's Lessons for Tomorrow's Missions (Geneva: World's Student Christian Federation, 1960), pp. 109–11.

3. The historical circumstances of Orthodoxy, for the Greek church since the Ottoman oppression and for the Russian church since the Communist revolution, have made the questions of pastoral care and survival more urgent than missionary expansion. However, there is a growing interest in missionary work. Periepthenes was for a decade (1959–69) the publication of the Inter-Orthodox Missionary Centre in Athens. The Apostoliki Diakonia of the Church of Greece commenced publishing in 1982 Panta Ta Ethni, a quarterly missionary magazine to provide information "on Orthodox missionary efforts throughout the world." The editor is Anastasios Yannoulatos, who had served as the director of Periepthenes. For information on Panta Ta Ethni, write to Apostoliki Diakonia, 14 Io. Gennadiou St., Athens (140), Greece.


5. Vladimir Lossky, In the Image and Likeness of God (London: Mowbray's, 1975), p. 97. Lossky's entire essay on "Redemption and Deification" (pp. 97–110) clearly contrasts the Orthodox view of theosis with the Western preoccupation with justification.

6. "Through the sacrament of the Eucharist, human nature enters into union with the divine nature of Christ" (Demetrios J. Constantelos, Understanding the Greek Orthodox Church [New York: Seabury Press, 1982], p. 65).


12. Some examples are Nicon D. Patrinacos, The Orthodox Liturgy (Garwood, N.J.: Graphic Arts Press, 1976); Stanley S. Harakas, Living the Liturgy (Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1974); and George Mastrantonis, The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (St. Louis: Logos, 1966). The last-named book contains a pictorial commentary on the liturgical text to enable the reader better to follow and understand the action.

13. See The Priest's Service Book (New York: The Orthodox Church in Ameri-ca, 1973), p. 259. Some Orthodox churches repeat the prayer for the catechumens and their subsequent dismissal audibly before the congregation while in some other churches these prayers are repeated inaudibly by the priest at the altar.


16. The attitude is shown in the multiplicity of ethnic jurisdictions that are common in the non-Orthodox countries to which the Orthodox emigrated. This ecclesiastical coexistence (which is contrary to the church canons) "is considered by an overwhelming majority of the Orthodox people as something perfectly normal, as expressive of the very essence of that diaospora whose main vocation, as everyone knows and proudly proclaims, is the preservation of the various 'cultural heritages' proper to each 'Orthodox world' " (Schmemann, Church, World, Mission [Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1979], p. 13). The first chapter of Schmemann's book is an excellent introduction to the problems facing Orthodoxy today.

17. Anastasios Yannoulatos, "Orthodox Mission and Holy Communion," Periepthenes 6 (1964): 58. This article is a transcript of a draft contribution presented during the discussion in Section IV (The Witness of the Christian Church across National and Confessional Boundaries) at the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, Mexico City, 1963.


28. Cf. M. A. Stotis, "Thoughts of an Orthodox Theologian on 'The Mis-
Pioneers in Mission: Zinzendorf and the Moravians

David A. Schattschneider

The haphazard attempts of Protestants to undertake cross-cultural missionary activity received their first infusion of form and content from Zinzendorf and the Moravians. The milieu in which they affected the formation of Protestant missionary zeal was the seventeenth-century movement for reform and renewal, Pietism, fathered within German Lutheranism by Philipp Jakob Spener. In his 1675 manifesto "...Heartfelt Desire for a God-pleasing Reform of the True Evangelical Church...," Spener laid out the program. He called for a renewed emphasis on Bible reading, especially in meetings of small groups, and the establishment and exercise, by the laity, of their "spiritual priesthood"; true Christianity was not knowledge alone, but "Christianity consists rather of practice." Spener insisted that in religious controversy, love should seek to win the heart of the unbeliever rather than words, which achieve only an intellectual victory. He favored higher standards for theological students and faculty and proposed that "sermons be so prepared by all that their purpose (faith and its fruits) may be achieved in the hearers to the greatest possible degree."11

The Pietist movement as led by Spener and later by August Hermann Francke had a profound and far-reaching effect on European church life in the eighteenth century. They intended to finish the reformation begun by Luther, who had reformed theology and church structure. What remained for the Pietists to develop was the needed emphasis upon religious experience and Christian ethics. The development of foreign missions was one of the practical expressions of Christian love that the Pietists favored. Pietist ideals found expression in several groups led by individuals, often of very different temperament. No story is more dramatic, or more important for the missionary enterprise of the whole church, than that which unfolded when Zinzendorf gave what he thought was to be temporary refuge on his land to a group of refugee Protestants from nearby Bohemia and Moravia.

The Pietist Count

Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf was the model of an eighteenth-century German Pietist aristocrat—at least in his early years. At Zinzendorf's baptism on May 26, 1700, Spener became his godfather and the electress of Saxony his godmother. His first formal schooling, from 1710 to 1716, was as a boarder at Francke's famous Paedagogium, in the city of Halle, the veritable nerve center of the Pietist movement. Here the young count met Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Flütschau, two Pietist Lutherans who had been sent from Halle in 1703 to Tranquebar, a small Danish colony on the coast of India. At the behest of King Frederick IV they were organizing a mission to the Indians.

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In 1716 Zinzendorf transferred to the University of Wittenberg to study law. In this center of orthodox Lutheranism, which
was suspicious of the Pietists, the count had his problems. But the experience was beneficial, as he came to respect the divergence of opinion that always seems to exist among dedicated Christians.

Zinzendorf completed his formal education with the traditional year-long Grand Tour, visiting the capitals of European life and culture. Although the trip was a pleasant experience that gave him lasting friendships, it did not dampen his interest in religious matters. As his biographer John Weinlick suggests, this experience "was hardly to lead him toward the goal his travels were suppose to achieve; namely, to round him off as a man of the world."2

His first employment, as a lawyer at the court of Elector August the Strong in Dresden, began in October 1721. Other domestic arrangements followed; he purchased land from his grandmother to form his estate. In 1722 he married Countess Erdmuth Dorothea Reuss, a young woman of Pietist persuasion. Although outwardly conforming to class expectations, the count really yearned for some sort of full-time religious service, an idea opposed by his family. To compensate for this denial, Zinzendorf planned to follow the example of Francke. The Pietist leader had organized a variety of charitable institutions in Halle; schools, dispensaries, a printing house, and an orphanage. Zinzendorf thought he could organize similar institutions on his estate northeast of Dresden.

Whatever Zinzendorf's plans were, they were not to be realized. It was just about this time that he had his encounter with the group that would become known as the Moravians. In June 1722 a group of these refugees crossed the border and were given refuge on Zinzendorf's land by its manager. The count did not meet them until the following December. The story they had to tell, and the needs that had to be met, provided the count the opportunity to exercise the Christian service and leadership that he sought.

The Refugees Settle

The refugees were members of a pre-Reformation church that traced its beginning to the Bohemian martyr John Hus. After Hus's execution by order of the Council of Constance in 1415, his followers coalesced into several groups. By 1457 the Unitas Fratrum, or Unity of the Brethren, had been formed and it became the religious home of a sizable portion of the Czech people. Friendly relations with Luther, Calvin, and other Reformers brought it into the traditional Protestant pattern during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Composition of hymns, Bible translation, schools, and many congregations, marked its institutional life. All that, however, came to an end in the Thirty Years' War, after 1618, with the reemergence of Roman Catholicism in Bohemia and Moravia.

The Unity members went into exile or established an underground network and tried to carry on as best they could. In the border areas, frequent exchanges with neighboring Protestant congregations helped to bolster the faith. Periodically people left, refugees in search of freer religious expression.

The people who arrived on Zinzendorf's estate formed the core population of the town later called Herrnhut. It took about five years, until 1727, to unify the community internally. The count abandoned his legal career, became the de facto pastor as well as noble lord of the community, and for the rest of his life became one with the cause of Herrnhut. The summer of 1727 was marked by a number of intense spiritual experiences, highlighted by a service of Holy Communion on August 13.

Simple, heartfelt emphasis upon Christian experience, deep spirituality, and unique living arrangements to facilitate all this characterized Herrnhut. While the community continued to attract newcomers, it also was soon sending out persons to form Pietist societies within established churches, a procedure known within the Moravian church as the Diaspora.

The Call to Mission

If the founding and development of Herrnhut can be said to have had its surprises, so too can the Moravian call to foreign missions. In 1731 Zinzendorf traveled to Copenhagen for the coronation of King Christian IV and in the course of his visit met Anthony, a black West Indian slave. What ultimately impressed the count was not royal pomp, but Anthony's plea for Christians to present the gospel to his people in the Caribbean islands. Anthony's subsequent visit to Herrnhut gave rise to community prayer and discussion, which culminated, in 1732, in the departure of two Brethren for the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies. The next year others from the community went to Greenland. An unending procession had begun. Zinzendorf himself visited the mission in the West Indies (1738–39) and in America (1741–43). By the time of Zinzendorf's death in 1760, the Moravians, after twenty-eight years of activity, had sent out 226 missionaries.3 In the year 1760 there were forty-nine brothers and seventeen sisters serving in thirteen stations in Greenland, North and Central America, and the West Indies, with responsibility for about 6,125 souls.

The departure in 1732 of the first Moravian missionaries from their German homeland for the West Indies marked the first time in Protestantism that missionaries went forth with the full support of the entire community that sent them. Their journey introduced into Protestantism the concept of "the whole church as mission." Their journey also marked, within Protestantism, the escape from the territorial view of the church, with its idea that the responsibility for mission was carried out if the church was legally established in any given area. From then on, even foreign outposts of European colonial powers could become starting places for new missionary enterprises. The mission thrust was no longer restrained by traditional parochial boundaries.

Zinzendorf's Ideas and Methods: Radical Simplicity in the Spirit

The call to missions in the early eighteenth century presented the Moravians with a new challenge; their efforts in meeting this challenge were formulated mainly by Zinzendorf. The count was a creative thinker whose interests covered a broad range of subjects; he was widely read and fluent in several languages. He studied theology "on his own," and was ordained a Lutheran pastor and Moravian bishop without ever receiving an academic degree in that subject.

Like many creative people, however, he never got around to producing a systematic or even well-organized presentation of his important ideas. His thoughts on the subject of missions are found scattered throughout his writings.

The basic thread uniting these ideas is what we may call "radical simplicity in the Spirit." Zinzendorf took very seriously the abiding presence of Christ in the world through the Spirit. This enabled him and the eighteenth-century Moravians, nicknamed "the Saviour's happy people," to enjoy a radical simplicity and a radical freedom and to accomplish wondrous things.

It is possible to isolate three simple questions that allow us to uncover some of his central ideas: (1) To whom is the missionary sent? (2) What does the missionary preach? (3) How does the missionary live in a new culture?
To Whom Is the Missionary Sent?

The missionary is sent because he or she is a participant in God's divine plan for humanity. The Scripture revealed, for Zinzendorf, the progressive recognition by humanity of God's love in Christ. “One has only to compare the first sermons of the apostles with the subsequent ones,” he wrote, or contrast Paul's letters written early in his career with those that came later, or look at John’s letters and then the later Gospel and “one will see how the apostles’ faith itself evolved, how the solid ideas of God the creator as a human being successively develop.”

Count Zinzendorf was Lutheran enough to regard Scripture as the first witness to the Word, but that Word was Christ himself. One does not return to a printed confession of faith, to a book, not there was no need to memorize a book; there was no need for an-

There what Paul said goes, 'there is no Jew, no Scythian, no Greek of the cross.” but all and Christ in all, the atonement sacrifice of the world not there. Christ continues to meet persons where they are, at all

times. Thus Christ’s command to preach the gospel to all the world

here, no place in which they were born, not their language nor sex. by those gathered at the foot

wanted what he called “the Saviour's own teaching method”5 to true fellowship of Christian believers was first formed

for our sins but for the whole world’s.’ “6

The church participates in this command throughout its his-
tory. Missionary activity is a part of the divine plan of God as he uses persons working through the Holy Spirit. In ecclesiology, Zinzendorf argued that the true fellowship of Christian believers was first formed by those gathered at the foot of the cross. It has persisted and grown in history but its membership has never been confined to any particular denomination. The Holy Spirit finds the souls whom Christ selects for membership in the community, and these persons respond to the preaching of the missionary.

In one sense the Holy Spirit is the only missionary. Human beings are agents of the Spirit. They are sent to the people whom the Spirit has already prepared to hear the message.

The Spirit operates in an objective way (from our point of view) and quite independent of attempts to arrange its schedule. It operates in the same fashion whether in a German parish church or at the edge of a West Indian sugarcane field. “And even though it happens in that very moment, it is never the responsibility of the preacher that one is awakened, but rather the Holy Spirit acted at least a minute, an instant, before a word touched me, before words fall into my heart, before a sentence, a paragraph, a conclusion, a proposition becomes my text, my principle, upon which I can rely,” said Zinzendorf.7 “To one this happens distinctly, to another indistinctly.”8

Christ is the Lord of the mission and rules over it. The church follows after Christ and does not have a mission of its own. It follows the Savior in bringing the gospel to those whom the Savior through the Spirit has already prepared to hear it. The preawakening activity of the Spirit is all-important. One preaches not out of fear for the fate of the unconverted but because one wishes to follow after Christ. The selected souls who respond to the missionary’s preaching were called by Zinzendorf “the first fruits,” or “the bundles of the living,” “a lodge in the vineyard,” or “a holy beginning.”9

The count believed that two biblical episodes illustrated how the firstfruits would be identified and how they would react. The first is the account of the Roman centurion Cornelius and his encounter with Peter (Acts 10:1–48) and the second is the encounter between the Ethiopian eunuch and Philip (Acts 8:26–39). There are three parallel elements in these stories, which illustrate Zinzen-
dorf’s understanding. First, Cornelius and the Ethiopian were seeking after religious truth on their own. Or so it may seem to us. But that was actually the Holy Spirit at work within them. “As the occasion requires, the heart is grieved at its misery and rejoices at the grace, at the peace, at the blessedness which it feels, not knowing how it came about .... They felt this joy, and they tasted this blessedness; but they did not know what name to give it.”10

Second, the Holy Spirit directed the missionaries to those who needed them. In each case the missionaries named the name of Jesus and in their witness they fulfilled the search for religious truth by the two seekers. Third, both converts were baptized. The count noted, “it did not take several weeks of preparation first; there was no need to memorize a book; there was no need for an-

“Zinzendorf argued that the true fellowship of Christian believers was first formed by those gathered at the foot of the cross.”

What Does the Missionary Preach?

For Zinzendorf, the good news of the gospel was Christ, and ev-

erything depended upon Christ. The count’s heavy, some would

swering twenty-four or thirty questions.”11 The converts simply had to give a joyful answer to the questions: " 'Who will prevent you from being baptized? Do you believe? Is that man important to you? Do you believe all the good said about Him and believe it gladly?' 'Oh yes, with all my heart.' Then everything was well, and the blood of the covenant was poured over him.”12

At another point Zinzendorf expanded the criteria for baptism to include “a simple grasp of God become man through a miracle” and the meaning of the incarnation, a recognition of the difference between evil and good in broad terms, and “a grasp that baptism aligns one with the blood of Christ, washes clean by God’s order the nature of man of all sin, as a newly-born child.” His advice to the missionaries: “these concepts must abide with the baptized in a moved, bowed and sincere heart. The secrets of Holy Communion and all other secrets remain unspoken to them until they, as our people, grow to understanding.”13

Two observations are now in order. The early Moravian activ-

ity was not one long success story. There were a number of false

starts in mission under the count’s direction but presumably both he and the missionaries could find comfort in the theological un-

derstanding of their task. If there were no signs among the people of this preawakening activity, then the time for these persons in God’s plan had not yet come and one moved on elsewhere. “The blessed work goes on forever and remains in the Spirit’s hand, in His disposition. We have no need to be anxious about it.”14

At the other extreme, in many places the response was very great—far exceeding the small expected number of “first fruits.” Zinzendorf himself had his doubts about his understanding of the number of converts to expect and soon after his death this part of his theory was formally abandoned without, however, denying the role of the Holy Spirit in the whole process.
say extreme, Christocentricity has been documented by historians of doctrine. To summarize: Zinzendorf argued not only that God reveals himself as love through Christ and can be known only through Christ, but that our relationship with Christ is a relationship with God himself. The central event in Christ's life is his crucifixion. Here the Savior not only carries the sin of the world but, by spilling his blood, ransoms all believers from guilt and punishment. This "blood-theology," as Zinzendorf called it, was the core of his understanding of all Christian theology. He could write that the "Old Testament witnesses to Christ, when it used the word Jehovah" and that "the world was created by the Son, not through the Son." Whenever people call God "Father" before the incarnation, it is really the Son to whom they are referring, so that Christ is experienced as the Father of humanity. The Trinity functions as a unity, not merely as three individuals, so there is a close functional relationship between Father and Son. Christ is the originator of creation, not the agent. Christ was present in the life of ancient Israel so that some of the faithful might be preserved until his incarnation. "The Divine Person, through whom one relates to the rest of the Trinity, on whom all things depend and to whom all things tend and who is always in the world, is Jesus, the Lamb, the Saviour." In light of these views, it is not surprising that Zinzendorf urged the missionaries to take the traditional method of preaching and turn it upside down. I can never wonder enough at the blindness and ignorance of those people who are supposed to handle the divine word and convert men ... who think that if they have them memorize the catechism and attributes, thus funneling the truths and knowledge into their head that this is the sovereign means to their conversion. The missionaries were not to let themselves "be blinded by reason as if people had to, in order, first learn to believe in God, and after that in Jesus. It is wrong because that God exists is obvious to them. They must be instructed of the Son; there is salvation in no other." The news about Jesus is what is really new. If the missionary began in the traditional way with a discussion of the concept of God, the creation, the fall, and so on and eventually came to speak about Jesus, by that time the listeners would be utterly bored and in no mood to hear the good news. Instead, talk about Jesus, and this will lead naturally to a discussion of God and to the whole unfolding narrative of the history of salvation. But the time for that fuller story is after the listener has first of all experienced the reality of Christ's love in his or her own heart.

How Does the Missionary Live in a New Culture?

Since Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians were embarking upon a new undertaking, he tried to be careful in giving instructions about missionary behavior. Too many specific rules would be restrictive; rules too vague would be useless. Zinzendorf tried to find a position somewhere between the two extremes. There were the usual admonitions to the workers to persevere and not to be discouraged by the lack of apparent results. They were to lead a morally blameless life and fight against loneliness and frustration. It was suggested that they not criticize their superiors and they were to avoid easy shortcuts such as concentrating their efforts upon the rich and powerful. There was also the piece of advice uttered by mission administrators in all eras: "when something will not progress, then it is not always a bad sign: just have patience." Missionaries were encouraged to learn the languages of the people whom they served. Many did and soon began translating Scripture and hymns for local use. When it came to relations with local customs and traditions, and even to colonial authorities, the workers were encouraged to maintain a low profile. Zinzendorf hoped that the traditional denominations would simply not be transplanted in new areas of the Christian world. These structures played their historical role in Europe where he viewed them as expressions of the diverse way in which God works. But for the world of the missions he hoped for something new and he was involved in several ecumenical experiments. Under no circumstances were the missionaries to proselytize from other Christian groups. "It pains me very much," the count wrote, "that I must see that the heathen become sectarians again, that people polish up their churches and ask them of what Christian religion they are." The goal was, rather, an indigenous church, fully and completely in the hands of the local people. As the count warned, "Do not measure souls according to the Herrnhut yardstick"—according to the way things are done back home at headquarters.

Moravian missions continued to develop in a variety of ways after the count's death, sometimes true to his theories, other times not. But it was Zinzendorf who had developed the initial impetus behind this significant transitional movement in the history of the universal church. He took as his model the work of the apostle Paul. Because of his acquaintance with the work of the Holy Spirit and his firm relationship to Christ, Zinzendorf was able to keep other aspects of the mission program in their proper perspective. Different customs and traditions were not the determining factors in the way the work was to be done. Some of the count's ideas may sound enlightened for an eighteenth-century German Pietist, but in reality they reflect his admirable ability to judge what is finally important in the Christian life. His ideas show his profound desire to accept the manifold ways in which the sovereign God chooses to deal with his creation.

Zinzendorf and the Future

If the world mission of the church has been forced to redefine itself in recent years, are there any lessons from the thought of Zinzendorf and the work of the early Moravians that might apply to the future? As a way to redefine the concept "missionary," it would be helpful to reconsider Zinzendorf's insight that the Holy Spirit is the only true missionary. In a recent article Waldron surveys the scene and reports that Christians are still fostering the church/mission dichotomy. Some wish to say that what Scott calls the "prime agent of evangelization" is the cross-cultural missionary agency, while others wish to say that it is the church—every local church in every local setting. The count might be suggesting that for once we can have it both ways, if we are willing to respond in obedience to the one and only missionary, and do not insist on trying to create the mission ourselves.
Zinzendorf's Christocentric emphasis, particularly as he insists that the news of Jesus is what people want and need to hear, is helpful in an era marked by the resurgence of non-Christian religions. Consider the extension of this concept as presented by the Roman Catholic missiologist Walbert Bühlmann. He argues for a "moratorium on our 'Christology-from-above' approach to people of other faiths...it is necessary to begin now with a Christology from below with the historical Jesus, who appeared as a great prophet and who still fascinates people of all religions with his teachings and deeds. We leave the rest with the Spirit, to determine how and when we shall openly manifest the deeper mysteries of our faith in Christ."23

Zinzendorf called for the establishment of an indigenous church fully and completely in the hands of the local people. Can we accept the implications of that, particularly those of us who serve in ministry in America? It has been observed that sometimes Christians act if they did not expect their prayers to be answered or their goals met. But here is a prayer answered and a goal met. And now churches overseas are themselves sending their workers around the world to wherever there is a need to proclaim the gospel.

Notes

6. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 29.
9. S. Baudert, "Zinzendorf's Thought on Missions Related to His View of the World," International Review of Missions, 21, no. 83 (July 1932): 399. These terms were chosen from the Bible (e.g., Rev. 14:4 and 1 Sam. 25:29).
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
17. Zinzendorf, Nine Public Lectures, p. 35.
Missionary Repatriation: An Introduction to the Literature

Clyde N. Austin and John Beyer

Missionary families returning to their home country often undergo a stressful reentry period. Nida (1967) wrote: "Much is said and written about the need of missionaries to adjust to the field. . . . But the corresponding problems of readjustment and reintegration have been largely overlooked" (p. 116). Problems of reentry affect persons of any group or class of returnees: the families of missionaries, military personnel, corporate executives, educators and diplomats, Peace Corps volunteers, or foreign university-level students. In an incisive review of reentry, Werkman (1980) observed: "The task of readapting to the United States after living overseas is, for many, the most difficult hurdle in the cycle of international life" (p. 223).

The purpose of this survey article is to introduce pertinent materials that contribute to an understanding of reverse culture shock and continuing reentry stress. Observations will be made about glaring deficiencies in the literature. Furlough reentry is not being considered. To the best of the authors’ knowledge, no book now exists that annotates research resources on the return of missionary families. Clyde N. Austin is now in the process of preparing an annotated bibliography to be published in book form. There are no scholarly books or single chapters of books that deal solely and specifically with missionary reentry.

Lamentably, there are only a few careful studies dealing with the reentry of missionary parents. Notable are the studies of Moore (1981) and Bwatwa, Ringenberg, Wolde, and Mishler (1972). Licheti (1982) studied the reentry of Mennonite volunteers according to the reentry coping modes of Adler (1980). Although Adler’s investigation was conducted with Canadian International Development Agency employees, the model Adler proposed is eminently worthy of application in missionary studies.

Madsen (1977) and Sellars (1971) present the most definitive materials on returned missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints (LDS). Clawson’s article (1963) is representative of some of the early statistical reports by LDS officials. A practical pamphlet, by the LDS, *The Returned Missionary* (1981), could be adapted for use with any single returnee. Tyler and Coon (1980) have edited a splendid *Infogram* series. Publications of Brigham Young University on the international cycle are models of excellence. There seems to be no serious longitudinal study on any single missionary family or group of missionaries. Such longitudinal studies are urgently needed.

Most of the existing studies on reentry have dealt with missionary children. In the positive adjustment of missionary children in transitional processes, Harrell (1977) proposed guidelines that we recommend to all readers. The areas covered are self-image, trust-bond relationships, educational preparation, motivation, adjustment, and bicultural experience. In terms of a knowledge of the literature on the missionary child, Dr. Ruth Useem, Michigan State University (MSU), has few peers. Her bibliography (1971) on the missionary child was a landmark achievement. Van Rooy, Bowell, and Hoffer (1981) have also given scholars a remarkable bibliography. The bibliography in Herrmann’s dissertation (1977) is probably the most complete of any dissertation on missionary children.

The classic works of Harper (1972), Fleming (1947a, 1947b), and Parker (1936) about Woodstock, a boarding school for missionary children in India, make good reading. Useem and her colleagues at MSU have spawned a brilliant series of dissertations (Krajewski, 1969; Gleason, 1970; Downie, 1976; and Shepard, 1976) on "overseas experienced youth." One of the strengths of the series is its comparison of Third Culture Kids (TCKs) from five family categories: (1) Department of Defense, (2) Federal Civilian, (3) Missionary, (4) Business, and (5) Other, a residual category. All but Downie used the Internationally Mobile Students Questionnaire as one research instrument. In his concluding chapter, Shepard developed a cogent description of the overseas student. With episodic life histories, Downie developed a conceptualization of the identity-formation process of TCKs. If the researcher combines Downie’s findings with those of Herrmann (1977), an in-depth view of the child’s identity-formation process is crystallized.

Kines (1971) gave an overview of Southern Baptist efforts to assist missionary children. The key to their efforts, in the judgment of the author, was the appointment of Truman Smith as missionary family consultant. Among other responsibilities, Smith coordinates the effort of student personnel administrators in Southern Baptist higher education. One forward-looking example of an effective orientation program for Baptist missionary children is found in the work of Cleveland (1979) on the Samford University campus. Viser (1978) is one of the few researchers to use standardized psychological tests to evaluate the emotional well-being of returnees as he analyzes students from Baylor University and Dallas Baptist College. As compared to national normative populations, missionary children were statistically normal. Ellers (1980), although using different tests, obtained comparable results on returnees at Abilene Christian University.

Among the supplementary materials, there are ideas too rich to be excluded, even though most of the articles are not religious in nature. Even the most casual reader can see opportunities for appropriating valuable insights. Brilin (1974) lucidly discussed the plight of foreign students who found it difficult to return home. Louis Harris and Associates (1969) and Winslow (1978) have provided the most complete follow-up surveys on the psychological aspects of the reentry of Peace Corps volunteers. Young (1980) summarized the considerable difficulties experienced by adolescents of the Canada World Youth program. Strikingly enough, these young people were overseas for less than one year. Blohm

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en and Mercil (1982), Razak (1981), and Campus Crusade for Christ (1980) have dealt with up-to-date, proved ideas for developing a smooth transitional process. Werkman's chapter (1980) "crows the entire topic of reentry. It would be difficult to find a more concise summary on reentry. Further bibliographic references to his research come in the conclusion of Werkman's chapter.

Stamps (1975), from the viewpoint of a missionary father, and Johnson (1970), taking the perspective of a missionary child, are perhaps most representative in terms of vivid depictions of relationships and problems that touch the heart. Scores of other descriptive journal and magazine articles also discuss the missionary child.

The increased awareness of church leaders, mission board executives, and missionaries regarding reentry, plus additional related research, provide a promising forecast for those expatriates involved in the international cycle.

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The Legacy of H. P. S. Schreuder

Olav Guttorm Myklebust

When in 1882 H. P. S. Schreuder died in Natal, South Africa, Josiah Tyler, the veteran American missionary, in an article in the leading paper of the colony, hailed him as “the most remarkable missionary we have had in South Africa.” Tyler was not the only one among Schreuder’s colleagues and contemporaries to speak of him in such generous terms. Thus John W. Colenso, the Anglican bishop, called him “one of the most experienced, devoted and learned missionaries among the Kafirs.” Similar descriptions, by representatives of different churches, could be quoted. In the light of appraisals such as these it is somewhat surprising that most works on the history of missions have little, if anything, to say about the man whose legacy is the subject of this article.

I

Born in 1817 in Sogndal, Norway, Hans Paludan Smith Schreuder, the son of a solicitor, passed his theological examinations at the University of Christiania (now Oslo) with highest distinction. In a treatise bearing the significant title “A Few Words to the Church of Norway on Christian Obligation to be Concerned about the Salvation of Non-Christian Fellow Men,” he gave a closely reasoned exposition of the biblical basis of the missionary enterprise. Because the churches in Europe had largely become static and introverted bodies, and also because of the individualistic and undenominational character of the evangelical awakening (to which the modern missionary movement is so deeply indebted), “the friends of missions” could express their concern only by forming independent organizations for the purpose. Schreuder saw clearly the danger of a separation between “church” and “mission.” In the course of events, however, the two came to mean different things—a fact described by a competent missiologist as “one of the great calamities of missionary history.”

Schreuder’s treatise aroused considerable interest, and as a result there was set up in Christiania a committee to enable him, in accordance with a call he had long felt, to go as a missionary to South Africa. When later in the same year (1842) the Norwegian Missionary Society was founded in Stavanger, Schreuder became its first missionary. On New Year’s Day 1844 he arrived at Port Natal (Durban). Acting on the advice of Robert Moffat, he made his way northward into the country and became the pioneer of the Christian mission north of the Tugela River much in the same manner as Moffat had become the pioneer of the Christian mission north of the Orange River. The two had much in common. To mention only one thing, both won to an amazing degree the esteem of the people among whom they served. Schreuder’s friendship with Mpande, the Zulu chief, was an event just as remarkable as Moffat’s friendship with Mzilikazi, the Matabele chief. Schreuder was, to all intents and purposes, the prime minister of King Mpande until the latter’s death.

While not the first messenger of the gospel to enter Kwa Zulu (Zululand), Schreuder was the first permanent resident missionary in that area. After two unsuccessful attempts to obtain from the king permission to settle in his country, and after an abortive attempt to establish a mission in Hong Kong, Schreuder founded in the British colony of Natal, as a base for future operations in Kwa Zulu, the first station, Umpumulo (1850). As a result of Schreuder’s skill in healing the king, who had asked his help in a case of illness, access to the land was at last secured. In the early 1850s stations were founded at Empangeni and Entumeni. In the following decades, thanks to the arrival of new missionaries, there were established, under Schreuder’s leadership, ten more stations. Due to a variety of causes—political unrest, the king’s refusal to allow his people to become Christians, and so forth—progress for many years was very slow. Not until 1858 did the first baptism take place. In Schreuder’s lifetime the number of converts never exceeded 300.

Schreuder also introduced two more Lutheran missions in Kwa Zulu, the (German) Hermannsburg Mission and the Church
of Sweden Mission. After his consecration in 1866 as "Bishop of the Mission Field of the Church of Norway," Schreuder became the founder of the Norwegian mission in Madagascar. In 1873, because of a controversy with the home board over new administrative measures, he severed his connection with the Norwegian Missionary Society. Supported by a new agency named "The Church of Norway Mission established by Schreuder," he carried on the work at Entumeni, the piece of land presented to him in the early 1850s by King Mpande in recognition of his services. He also began a new mission at Untunjambili in Natal.

Schreuder is the author of the first complete grammar of the Zulu language.8 According to C. M. Doke, "the treatment of the various phenomena in this work is masterful." The work "bears the mark of real pioneer achievement."9 Like other students of Bantu languages in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Schreuder had learned from W. B. Boyce's Grammar of the Kafir Language.10 However, Schreuder's own Grammar is the fruit of original and independent research. His phonetical approach to the language was much more detailed. In the numbering of noun classes he created his own method by distinguishing between no less than thirteen classes (a method later followed by Bleek and Meinhof for their comparative work). In his orthography he was far in advance of his time, for instance, by inventing special symbols for special sounds. Bishop Colenso, too, himself a linguist of no mean order, had a high opinion of Schreuder's Grammar, which he describes as "the work of an excellent missionary and an able philologist."

Schreuder translated parts of the New Testament and of the Psalms into Zulu, but, sadly enough, he never had the opportunity to concentrate on the task of Bible translation. "It has been a matter of regret," writes J. Tyler, "that he did not devote his thorough scholarship and superior knowledge of the IsiZulu to a translation of the Scriptures into that language."11 Mention should also be made of his translation of Luther's Small Catechism and of the order of service as used in the Church of Norway.

Throughout his missionary career Schreuder was a keen student of the religion, history, institutions, and customs of the Zulu people as well as of the plant and animal life of their country. Due to the fact that he wrote in Norwegian, his research on these subjects, like that on the language, did not receive the attention it deserved.

Because of Schreuder's friendship with King Mpande, and also because of the trust placed in him by the British, Schreuder was able on several occasions to remove misunderstandings and to prevent clashes between the two races.13 Under Cetshwayo, Mpande's son and successor, relations became more strained. It was his wish, Cetshwayo declared, that the missionaries should leave the country. On the other hand, he had the ambition of obtaining from the British recognition of himself as the rightful leader of his people. He therefore sought the advice of Schreuder, who agreed to approach the government of Natal in the matter. As a result Theophilus Shepstone, the secretary for native affairs, in 1873 formally installed Cetshwayo as king of the Zulus. An important part of the ceremony was the full assent given by the king to the introduction of new laws, the first of which was that the indiscriminate shedding of blood should cease.14

In the difficult years following the installation, Schreuder acted as an intermediary between the Zulu king and the British authorities in Natal. In the war that eventually broke out he offered his services, in the interest of peace, to Zulus and British alike. But when Sir Garnet Wolseley, the commander in chief of the British forces, wanted him to act as a spy, Schreuder flatly refused. What he wished, he said, was the destruction, not of Cetshwayo's person, but of his reign of terror only. He offered to go himself to the king and, through a personal interview, to make him realize the futility of further resistance. Schreuder supported Zulu independence, but he also saw clearly that in the new situation this could not be maintained.15

Schreuder was by no means an "imperialist." Unlike the English missionaries, who had entered Kwa Zulu at the recommendation of the Natal government, he consistently acted on the principle that missionary work should be carried out without the support of secular authorities. Not until the dramatic events just referred to did he make use of the letters of recommendation with which Lord Stanley, then secretary of state for the colonies, in 1843 had furnished him—letters to the governors of Her Majesty's colonies in South Africa requesting them to "lend their aid toward an object, in which all Christian nations have a common interest." Schreuder's sole object in making use of these documents was to secure for the missions, in connection with the reorganization of the administration of the country in 1879, their freedom and integrity. In these efforts, however, he was bitterly disappointed.16 It is evident that Sir Garnet was willing to accept help from Schreuder only if by such help he could achieve his own purposes: "Bishop Schreuder left this morning. . . . I am glad to get rid of him: he was of no use and I distrusted his judgment."17

In contrast to the traditional presentation of him as a self-centered and autocratic churchman, Schreuder can best be described as a simple, sincere believer and a humble servant of the Lord. He combined the strength of the giant with the tenderness of the child. He was essentially an evangelist, and as such he also took seriously the social and political realities of the milieu in which he worked. Genuine piety, moral integrity, independent judgment, rare intellectual gifts, a very high standard of consecration, and unswerving loyalty to the missionary cause—these were his chief characteristics.

In 1858 Schreuder married Emilie Löventhal, who for twenty years, under conditions both primitive and insecure, shared his toil and zeal. Mention should also be made of their faithful fellow laborer Johanne Vedeler, who, two years before Bishop Schreuder's death, became his second wife. Of neither marriage were there any children.

II

Schreuder's missionary thinking is dominated by what for lack of a better term may be called "the concept of wholeness." Of the total reality of the Christian faith, to which this concept refers, four aspects can be distinguished, though of necessity the distinction is for the purpose of analysis only.18

1. The Finality of the Gospel: To be a Christian is, in Schreuder's words, "to love the Lord and the gospel of his grace, which is to be proclaimed throughout the whole world." By faith in Christ we are called to be witnesses of his redemptive purpose for all people. The Christian mission is participation in the mission of Christ.

More specifically, the source and secret of mission is the stupendous fact that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto
himself (2 Cor. 5:20). The obligation to make God as revealed in Christ known everywhere corresponds closely with the uniques-
ness of the event. Message and mission are indissolubly connected.

Fully identifying himself with the biblical and historic Chris-
tian faith, Schreuder necessarily became a fearless opponent of
Bishop Colenso. Along with the vast majority of churchmen and
missionaries of his day he was unable to accept Colenso’s interpre-
tation of Christianity as a true exposition of the authentic Chris-
tian faith. Colenso’s approach was essentially that of the
scientist. In his theology, however, one misses the emphasis on the
uniqueness and urgency of the apostolic message of God’s saving

“Mission is not a specialized activity, but, in Schreuder’s
own words, ‘a duty incumbent upon the Church
and so upon its individual
members.’”

acts in Christ for sinful people. The cardinal doctrine of the gospel,
he maintained, is “the Fatherly Relation to us of the Faithful
Creator.”

2. The Centrality of the Church: The church, Schreuder insisted, is
no mere addendum to individual Christians. On the contrary, it is
the element in which the Christian lives and moves and has his
being. In his own words, “the individual exists only as part of the
whole, and he is called to labour for and along with the whole.”

The Great Commission, as understood by Schreuder, is the
unshakeable and unalterable basis, not primarily of the preaching
of the gospel throughout the world, but of the ministry of preach-
ing as such. The church communicates through the means of
grace entrusted to it by the Lord of the church, Christ’s salvation
unifold, and he is called to labour for and along with the whole.”

Schreuder was not able to endorse the commonly held view
that mission is essentially a voluntary activity, and that, accord-
ingly, the society is its proper agent. Mission, he maintained, is a
concern not of a group of interested individuals only, but of the
church. It is a task in which the total membership of the church
shares. Mission is not a specialized activity, but, in Schreuder’s
own words, “a duty incumbent upon the Church and so upon its
individual members.”

That the missionary enterprise can have no autonomous exis-
tence apart from the church does not necessarily mean that, in-
istitutionally speaking, the church must be its own missionary
society. The Church of Norway of Schreuder’s day, a state church
of the most rigorous kind, did not possess the organs needed for
identifying itself with the task of world evangelization as one
church through one missionary agency. What Schreuder advocat-
ed, and insisted on, was “the manifestation of the missionary en-
terprise in toto as belonging to the entire Norwegian Lutheran
Church, i.e. both as regards doctrine and order.”

There is no objection to the church’s fulfilling its missionary
obedience through an ad-hoc organization, provided this organiza-
tion conceives of its task as a task of the church. Schreuder’s view
can best be described as churchly mission. While consistently re-
garding himself as a representative of the Church of Norway, he
welcomed the establishment of missionary associations and spoke
eloquentiy of the enthusiasm of “the friends of missions.” Not
only that, but as a missionary he himself successively served with
independent agencies—at first with a committee, then with a
society, and again with a committee.

3. The Catholicity of the Faith: Although a Lutheran churchman
of strong convictions, Schreuder placed his own work as a mis-
sionary in its true context of the entire church’s obedience to mis-
sion. Far from absolutizing his own confession he emphasized the
need for cultivating in all churches, on the basis of the authority of
the Scriptures, a sense of oneness. As a “good” Lutheran he looked
upon the Lutheran church, not as a separate entity, but as a con-
fessional movement within the total body of Christ. He prayed for
the blessing of God upon his people and his work “in every area
where the church is established.” He rejoiced in the fact of ecume-
nicity: “to have fellowship with God’s children near and far-
avay.”

Schreuder strictly adhered to the apostolic principle “not to
build on foundations laid by others” (Rom. 15:20), and he expect-
ed others to act likewise. The mission is, primarily and fundamen-
tally, the mission of the church of Christ. Missionaries should seek
not their own glory, but the glory of God. They should gather not
for themselves, but for God. The task is “first to further the King-
dom of God; second, to extend our own church and mission.”

It is to be regretted that Schreuder’s comprehensive and well-
thought-out plan for the evangelization of Kwa Zulu, through the
combined efforts of Lutheran and Anglican forces, was rejected.
His plea for comity and cooperation, too, fell on deaf ears. In Kwa
Zulu, as elsewhere, the absence of consultation among the mis-
sions led to proselytism and confusion. Even among missions be-
ongling to the same church family, the sense of mutual
responsibility was, to say the least, very weak. In particular, rela-
tions between the Norwegian mission and the English mission be-
came strained. Not only did the latter establish itself at a place at
which Schreuder already had obtained from the king permission to
settle, but the English mission also maintained that it was not in a
position to regard efforts on its part as superfluous, because the
Church of Norway, in its judgment, had no genuine episcopate.

It was Schreuder’s wish, as he put it in a letter to Bishop Col-
enso, to see Kwa Zulu “filled with the preaching of the pure Gos-
pel,” but he did not believe that this could be accomplished “by
promiscuously intermixing stations of different societies.” He
hoped that new missions, before establishing themselves in the
land, “first had tried to come to some friendly understanding with
the” Norwegian Missionary Society, which had had “the ar-
duous task of opening, under God’s good providence, this country
for Christian missionaries.”

4. The Totality of the Task: The urgency and vastness of the task
that the church faces in the unevangelized regions of the world
was, of course, fully appreciated by Schreuder. “Expansiveness,”
his own word, is of the essence of the mission. Yet he refused to
restrict the missionary enterprise to Africa and Asia. “Foreign mis-
sions” comprise but a part of the church’s total missionary respon-
sibility. By its very nature Christian witness is directed both to
the immediate environment and to the world at large.

According to Schreuder, the point of departure for the Chris-
tian mission is not the geographical area in which the church exer-
cises its ministry of reconciliation, but that ministry itself, which is
the proclamation of the gospel. The strengthening of faith in the
countries of the Christian West is in itself a task of primary im-
portance, but it is also of immense relevance to the missionary cause
among the peoples of non-Christian continents.

“As Christians,” Schreuder writes, “we should confidently
praise, exalt and commend the wonderful works of this glorious
Gospel among the children of men, among those who are far away
and among those who are near at hand.” And again: “God’s true friends of mission do not neglect the home, i.e. the home of the heart, the home of the house, the home of the village, the home of the town—for the home of the heathen outer-world. Such neglect is in itself a negation of the life of faith. It is contrary to God’s ordinance and so excluded from his blessing.”

Schreuder’s theology of mission is surprisingly “modern.” Its basic ideas, notably what we have called “the concept of wholeness,” are largely identical with the views held by leading missionologists and mission administrators in the second third of the twentieth century. The agreement is the more remarkable since, in this period, the biblical and theological basis of the mission has had more attention paid to it than ever before.24

Notes

The following abbreviations are used in the Notes and the Bibliography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABCFM</td>
<td>American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNMS</td>
<td>Church of Norway Mission established by Schreuder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMS</td>
<td>Norwegian Missionary Society</td>
</tr>
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1. Natal Mercury (Durban), Feb. 17, 1882. Cf. ibid. Feb. 1, 1882: “In memoriam.” The Natal Witness (Pietermaritzburg), too, bore “high testimony to the heroic work which that devoted missionary accomplished during the years he sojourneled here” (Feb. 4, 1882). See also letters to the secretary of the ABCFM: by J. Tyler, Sept. 12, 1866; by N. Adams, May 24, 1845; and by A. Grout, Feb. 20, 1850 (ABC FM archives).


5. Schreuder, Nogle Ord til Norges Kirke. As a vindication of the missionary cause, this treatise, published in Christiania in February 1842, holds a unique place within the Lutheran family of churches. In contrast to W. Carey’s Inquiry, the approach is not historical and practical, but biblical and theological.


8. Schreuder, Grammatik for Zulu-Sprogset, a publication of the University of Christiania.

9. C. M. Doke, for many years professor of Bantu languages in Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, South Africa, in a Norsk Tidsskrift for Missjon (Oslo), article on Schreuder’s contribution to Zulu grammar (1950; pp. 222–26). The references are to the author’s English manuscript. The phrases used are largely those of the author.

10. The first edition of this work appeared in 1834. The term “Kafir,” as used here, denotes “Xhosa.”


13. See note 7, above.


17. Wolseley’s Journal, p. 98.

18. The precise of Schreuder’s theology of mission that follows is drawn from his published writings, but chiefly from his letters, reports, sermons, etc., in the NMS and CNMS archives.

19. Schreuder to H. Krolleke (London), March 27, 1863 (NMS archives). Colenso’s gospel being deprived of its real content, his mission, consequently was only a “quasi-mission” (Schreuder’s own description).


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Statement of the Right of the Norwegian Church Mission established by Schreuder to the Entumeni Station in the Zulu Reserve. Christiania: A. W. Bragger, 1886.
vices to several mission boards, but none of them had the necessary resources to support such an uncertain venture. Consequently, he had to launch out on his own.

On a Sunday in June 1865, unable to bear the sight of hundreds of smug Christians in Brighton enjoying the consolation of a Sunday morning service while 400 million people were perishing in China, he left the service and made his way to a deserted beach. There, in an agony of soul, he surrendered to the will of God, and the China Inland Mission (CIM) was born. On the flyleaf of his Bible he wrote: "Prayed for twenty-four willing, skillful laborers at Brighton, June 25, 1865."8

When Hudson Taylor arrived in China in 1866 with a group of inexperienced missionaries, with no denomination behind them and no visible means of support, his closest friends questioned his sanity. When these raw recruits, including single women, were sent upcountry far beyond the protection of the foreign gunboats, where they faced the hostility of the superstitious peasantry egged on by the scholar/gentry class, the incredulity knew no bounds. Everyone predicted disaster; but it did not happen. With no weapon but truth and no banner but love, those young workers, two by two, penetrated the interior of China against incredible hardship and opposition.

By 1882 all but three of the eleven closed provinces had resident missionaries. From time to time special calls went out for more workers: 70 in 1881; 100 in 1888; and 200 in the depth of the depression in 1931–32. In each instance the goal was reached. Eventually the CIM grew to be the largest mission in China, with almost 1,400 Western workers and a church membership of over 100,000.9 All of this was the result, under God, of one man's vision and passion. Kenneth Scott Latourette wrote: "Hudson Taylor was, if measured by the movement which he called into being, one of the greatest missionaries of all time, and was certainly, judged by the results of his efforts, one of the four or five most influential foreigners who came to China in the nineteenth century for any purpose, religious or secular."10

The influence of Hudson Taylor went far beyond China and the CIM. He is widely regarded as the father of the faith-mission movement,11 which today embraces over 30,000 missionaries in well over 500 mission societies in all parts of the world. Many of the so-called faith missions based in England and North America adopted the principles and policies laid down by Taylor. To the present they are popularly known as "faith" missions, though they themselves would be the first to deny that they have any monopoly on faith. In North America eighty-five of these missions are members of the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association with headquarters in Wheaton, Illinois. An even larger number of faith missions remain completely independent, without membership in any association.12

Taylor's periodic visits to the homelands included—besides England—Canada, the United States, Australia, Scandinavia, and several European countries. Everywhere he was in great demand as speaker and missionary statesman. His message was always the same: the speedy evangelization of the most populous nation on earth.

Faith missions have sometimes been dismissed as "sects." But Hudson Taylor was anything but sectarian. On his world tours he appealed to missionary-minded people in all denominations and urged them to support more actively their own programs, with their gifts and especially with their prayers. In China he managed to hold together hundreds of workers from most of the major denominations. The first bishop of West China, W. W. Cassels, was a member of the CIM. Hudson Taylor attended and addressed the General Missionary Conference in Shanghai in 1890, which called for a thousand workers for China in the next five years. In Europe and North America he moved freely in ecumenical circles, attending the great missionary conferences in London and New York, where his powerful ministry was always appreciated. In the United States he shared the platform with such ecumenical leaders as Dwight L. Moody, A. T. Pierson, John R. Mott, Robert Wilder and Robert Speer among others.

"Everyone predicted disaster; but it did not happen."

One of Hudson Taylor's outstanding characteristics was his humility. He had no desire to build an empire or to make a name for himself. Indeed, he was constantly bemoaning his own lack of faith, hardness of heart, and general unfitness for the enormous task thrust upon him. It grieved him deeply when people spoke of him as a "great leader." His one ambition was to be well pleasing to God. On one occasion in a large Presbyterian church in Melbourne he was introduced as "our illustrious guest." Taylor quietly began his address by saying: "Dear friends, I am the little servant of an illustrious Master."13 Sherwood Eddy, who heard him speak at the Detroit Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement in 1894, said: "He was one of the purest, humblest, most sensitive souls I ever knew, fervent in prayer, mighty in faith, his whole life dedicated to the single object of doing the will of God. I felt myself in the presence of a man who had received a Kingdom which could not be shaken, without or within."14

Hudson Taylor was also marked by a broad and generous spirit. His first concern, naturally, was for the welfare of his own workers; but he was more interested in the evangelization of China than in the growth of his own mission. He eschewed rivalry and deplored competition. Deliberately avoiding the "occupied" cities near the coast, he sent his workers to the "unoccupied" regions of inland China.

Even though China was Taylor's first love—on one occasion he said that if he had a thousand lives he would give them all to China—he was equally glad when workers were called to other parts of the world. In his thoughts and prayers he embraced the whole household of faith. He knew what it was to rejoice with those who rejoice and to weep with those who weep. He was genuinely interested in the success of others, and was pleased when their work prospered. One reason he refused to appeal for money was his concern that in so doing he might siphon off funds from the established missions and thereby hurt their work. Not without reason has Ralph Winter described the CIM as "the most cooperative servant organization yet to appear."15

Nowhere was Taylor's generous spirit more clearly seen than in his handling of the Boxer indemnities. Following the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 the Western powers forced a prostrate China to compensate the missions for their losses. Although the CIM suffered heavier losses than any other Protestant mission, Hudson Taylor refused to submit any claims or to accept any compensation.16 He considered such demands contrary to the spirit of love as exemplified in the gospel of Christ.

In many respects Hudson Taylor was a man far ahead of his time. Nowhere was the unholy alliance between the gospel and the gunboat closer than in China; yet in the heyday of Western imperialism, when others were waving the flag and demanding the pro-
tection guaranteed to them by the "unequal treaties," Taylor saw the evils of the colonial system and instructed his workers to look to their Heavenly Father, not to the foreign gunboats, for protection. CIM workers were expected to take joyfully the despoothing of their goods (Heb 10:34) and not to seek compensation. When riots broke out, as frequently they did upcountry, the missionaries could request protection from the local authorities, but not from the foreign consuls.

When Hudson Taylor and a group of CIM workers were almost killed in a riot in Yangchow in 1868, the British authorities in China, looking for an excuse to settle old scores, dispatched a flotilla of gunboats up the Yangtze River to Nanking and a company of marines to Yangchow—all against the expressed principles of Hudson Taylor. To make matters worse, the whole ugly affair was debated in the House of Commons and reported in The Times (London), resulting in a clamor for punitive action against China, on the one hand, and the recall of the missionaries, on the other. Though he was helpless to do anything about the situation, Taylor was sick at heart over the developments.

Nor was Hudson Taylor content to remain silent about the infamous opium trade. As editor for many years of China’s Millions, he carried on a running battle with his own government over the evils of the nefarious trade. Closely allied with Taylor in this crusade was Benjamin Broomhall, general secretary of the CIM, a co-founder with James L. Maxwell of the Christian Union for the Severance of the Connection of the British Empire with the Opium Traffic. For years, Broomhall was editor of National Righteousness, the official organ of the antiopium campaign.

Realizing the vast untapped potential in the churches at home, Hudson Taylor appealed for recruits having “little formal education.” What China needed, in the mid-nineteenth century he believed, was evangelists, not scholars and theologians. Later on, when the Bible school movement got under way in the 1880s, many of the recruits came from that source. For many years humble Bible school graduates formed the backbone of the mission. Many of them made excellent missionaries, learning to read, write, and speak Chinese with commendable fluency and accuracy. They, as well as the men, were required to enroll in the stiff language course prescribed by the mission.

As might be expected, these men and women were most effective in reaching members of the lower classes. As a result, the CIM-related churches were composed mostly of the peasants and artisans found in such large numbers in inland China. The mission supported a number of Bible schools, but no colleges or seminaries. The mission did, however, have some outstanding linguists. F. W. Baller’s Primer and R. H. Mathews’s Chinese-English Dictionary were used far beyond the boundaries of the CIM. Moreover, the mission had its own Chinese hymnal and two language schools for new workers—one for women, in Yangchow, and the other for men, in Anking.

Through the years the mission has been blessed with a goody number of fine writers: Mrs. Howard Taylor, Marshall Broomhall, Isabel Kuhn, Phyllis Thompson, Leslie T. Lyall, A. J. Broomhall, Henry W. Frost, Robert H. Glover, J. Oswald Sanders, and others. China’s Millions, first published in 1875 and for many years edited by Hudson Taylor, is one of the oldest house organs of its kind. Altogether the mission has produced 550 books, scores of booklets, film strips, field reports, and one full-length film on Hudson Taylor.

Hudson Taylor never claimed to be a missionary statesman; but he was a good administrator, ran a tight ship, and almost single-handedly opened inland China to the gospel. From first to last he was an evangelist, primarily interested in the “salvation of souls.” Schools and hospitals were opened and maintained, but they were of secondary importance. He believed that 400 million Chinese were lost in sin and darkness and would perish eternally without a saving knowledge of Christ. To this end he gave all his time, thought, energy, and prayer. His burden for the spiritual welfare of the Middle Kingdom was expressed eloquently and passionately in his book China: Its Spiritual Need and Claims, which did for China what William Carey’s Inquiry did for the world.

Taylor was not greatly concerned about the kind of churches raised up. Each pioneer missionary was free to establish denominational polity—Congregational, Presbyterian, or Episcopal; but once established, denominational policy could not be changed by later missionaries—only by the churches themselves.22 He had no desire to build another denomination; consequently the churches were never organized into a national body. This was perhaps his greatest weakness.

Another unique feature of the CIM was the fact that headquarters was located in China, not in the homeland. It made sense to Hudson Taylor to have the directorate as close as possible to the scene of action, rather than having the work directed by remote control from London, Philadelphia, or Toronto. Moreover, the members of the directorate were all missionaries with several decades of service behind them. Missionary work in inland China in the nineteenth-century was a difficult and delicate operation and required the oversight of men with experience as well as wisdom. A weakness of this arrangement was the failure to recruit Chinese leaders to serve on the directorate; but the CIM was not alone in this. Very few missions in those early days had national figures in positions of leadership.

The fact that the CIM had all its work and workers in one country made it comparatively easy to locate the directorate overseas. However, the practice was continued when, following the mass evacuation of China, the mission branched out into ten countries of Asia in the early 1950s. Since then international headquarters has been located in Singapore.

In the mainline denominations married women were not required to function as missionaries, though some of them did. They were primarily homemakers for their husbands; and when children came along, they assumed responsibility for their education at home. Not so with the CIM. All women, married and single, were missionaries in their own right, were required to learn the language, and were expected, within reason, to carry their share of the work. To make this possible Hudson Taylor in 1881 established a school in the coastal city of Chefoo. All parents were required to send their children to the Chefoo School for twelve years of education. Children went home to be with their parents over the long Christmas vacation. Parents spent their summer vacations in Chefoo. In this way they managed to keep in touch with their chiledren. Missionaries working on the borders of Tibet and other remote areas were able to see their children only once every three years.

The Chefoo School grew to be the largest and most sought-after school of its kind in China. The curriculum, based on the British system, was heavily weighted in favor of classical courses designed to prepare the graduates for entrance into Oxford or Cambridge University. A large number of graduates went on to college in the various home countries. Business people and members of the diplomatic corps vied with one another for the few vacancies at Chefoo. The most illustrious graduate was Henry R. Luce, co-founder of Time newsmagazine.

CIM missionaries were a very diverse group. Hudson Taylor drew his recruits not only from all the major denominations in Great Britain but also from the other English-speaking countries as
Taylor was a firm believer in the faithfulness of God. Indeed, it was the cornerstone of his whole theology. Accordingly, he insisted on living by faith, which to him meant looking to God alone to furnish the personnel and the money needed to maintain the operation. On more than one occasion he said that God's work carried on in God's way would never lack God's supply. CIM workers were exhorted to look to God, not the mission, to meet their daily needs.

Taylor adamantly refused to go into debt even when funds were low. He argued that if his ways pleased the Lord, God would meet all his needs according to His promise in Philippians 4:19. If funds were withheld, that was a sign of God's disapproval. In that case, the project was delayed or canceled. Available funds were used first to pay outstanding bills; the missionaries shared what was left over. During times when funds were low, all felt the pinch from the latest recruit to the general director. This practice not only kept the missionaries on their knees, it also made for a strong esprit de corps in the entire CIM family. To this day the mission adheres to this twofold policy—no indebtedness and no solicitation of funds.

It would be a mistake to imagine that Hudson Taylor was a spiritual giant whose inner life was completely free of conflict. Following the Yangchow riot, funds fell off, opposition increased, and difficulties multiplied until Taylor was discouraged to the point of despair. Writing to his sister he said: "My mind has been greatly exercised for six or eight months past, feeling the need personally and for our Mission of more holiness, life, power in our souls. I prayed, agonized, fasted, strove, made resolutions, read the Word more diligently, sought more time for meditation—but all without avail." About that time (1879) as Hudson Taylor reports, a sentence in a letter from a fellow missionary was "used to remove the scales from my eyes and the Spirit revealed to me the truth of our oneness with Jesus as I had never known it before." Later, when recounting the experience to a friend, Taylor exclaimed, "God has made me a new man!"

This experience, as life-changing as his earlier conversion, enabled Taylor for another thirty years to bear the enormous burdens of a rapidly growing mission by casting them on the Lord (1 Pet. 5:7). Never again was he in danger of giving way to despair. Even the horrendous losses of the Boxer Year of 1900 failed to rob him of his peace of mind. He had learned to trust God.

Arthur F. Glasser, for many years a member of the CIM, said of Hudson Taylor: "He was ambitious without being proud . . . He was biblical without being bigoted . . . . He was Catholic without being superficial . . . . He was charismatic without being selfish." By all odds, Hudson Taylor was one of the truly great missionaries of the nineteenth-century.

Notes

1. Hudson Taylor's life bears comparison with that of George Muller, his lifelong friend. Taylor learned much concerning the life of faith from Muller; and Muller, in spite of vast responsibilities of his own, gave periodically and generously to the work of the China Inland Mission.


3. While his mother was in another city praying for his conversion, Hudson Taylor picked up a tract, thinking to read the story and skip the moral, but he was struck by the phrase "the finished work of Christ," which came home to him in full force and with new meaning.


6. The pigtail worn by Chinese men was a sign of the Chinese subjugation to the Manchus over a period of 300 years, which ended with Sun Yat-sen's revolution of 1911.

7. Taylor left the CES without any bitterness on his part.

8. Taylor wanted two missionaries for each of the eleven closed provinces and two for Mongolia.

9. Following the mass evacuation of China in the early 1950s, the membership dropped to around 250. As one by one other countries of East Asia were entered, the membership climbed back to 950, where it stands today.


11. There were faith missions before the CIM, but none of them had the growth and impact of the CIM.

12. Some of these, such as Wycliffe Bible Translators, New Tribes Mission, Christian Missions in Many Lands, and Baptist Mid-Missions, have thousands of members on their rolls.


16. The CIM lost fifty-eight adults and twenty-one children at the hands of the Boxers.

17. In the author's China days (1935-50) Ray Frame was the best Chinese speaker in the mission. He was a graduate of Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills, Alberta.

18. During World War II, when the United States was preparing to send GIs to the China theater of the war, Harvard University republished Mathew's Dictionary for use in its crash course in Chinese.

19. Dr. and Mrs. Howard Taylor's two volumes on the life and ministry of Hudson Taylor constitute the "official" biography of Taylor. The volumes went through eighteen editions and appeared in many European and other languages, but are now out of print. A one-volume condensation, by Phyllis Thompson, was published by Moody Press in 1965.

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The title is *Hudson Taylor: God's Man in China.*

20. Since the CIM is no longer working in China, the name of the magazine was changed to *East Asia's Millions,* to reflect the wider outreach of the mission. In 1965 the name of the mission was changed to the Overseas Missionary Fellowship.

21. The film was granted the 1981 Film of the Year Award by the Christian Film Distributors Association.

22. Missionaries from the same denominational background were usually placed together in the same province. The Anglicans were sent to Szechuan in West China where the CIM-related churches were part of the mission. In 1965 the name of the mission was changed to the Overseas Missionary Fellowship. (Three more volume are yet to come to complete a monumental study of the life and times of Hudson Taylor.)


24. This practice, regarded by many as archaic, still appears to be effective. The total income received in 1981 amounted to $7.6 million in U.S. currency—without a single appeal. *Proving God* (London: China Inland Mission, 1956), by Phyllis Thompson, traces the financial experiences of the mission over a period of ninety years.


26. Ibid., p. 114.

27. Ibid., p. 110.


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*After Thirty Years.* London: Morgan & Scott and China Inland Mission, 1895.


**Materials Written about Taylor**


*Hudson Taylor:* Film produced by Ken Anderson Files, Warsaw, Indiana, 1981.


### Book Reviews

**Catholics in Apartheid Society.**


This symposium of essays describes the apartheid society that is the *Sitz im Leben* of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa. It discusses how the church has reacted and should react in that situation. It is impressive to read the brutally frank assessments by Catholics of how their church (like many another denomination) has been compromised by apartheid; for example, until fairly recently its private schools were for whites only, and the church had both a black and a white seminary. Andrew Prior in his introduction gives a thumbnail sketch of the history of Catholicism in South Africa, culminating in an even more critical attitude on the part of the Catholic bishops toward the state.

Alfred Nolan gives a frightening description of the evolution of South Africa into a national security state à la Latin America, with a particularly lucid account of the origin and development of the racist national capitalistic ideologies in South Africa. Archbishop Hurley, the courageous president of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, discusses Catholic social teaching. He is particularly impressed with the record of the church in Latin America, with its basic communities, and the realization that the church exists to save and serve the world.

Jabulani Nxumalo deals with the perennial question of whether or not the church should be involved in politics. He uses the distinction between "party politics" and "politics." The church should not engage in the former and it cannot but be involved with the latter, especially in defending persons against oppression and injustice.

The late Trevor Verryn, an Anglican, traces the evolution of the attitudes of the Catholic bishops toward apartheid as evidenced by their various statements, starting with a cautious and paternalistic statement in 1952 and becoming more trenchant with the passage of time and the remorseless progress of apartheid.

John de Gruchy, a Congregationalist, considers the relationships between Catholicism and Afrikaans Calvinism. He points out that Afrikaans nationalism has distorted Calvinism, which, like Catholicism, would regard apartheid as unchristian. Sister Brigid Flanagan describes the evolution of Catholic education policy and practice from the days when racially segregated church schools were countenanced to the time when the Catholic bishops courageous-
ly declared their white schools open to pupils of all races.

James Kiernan writes about religious separation, and why the Roman Catholic Church has not been prey to sectarian splits as much as other churches. He speaks about two Catholic churches—the black mission church and the white church. He believes that this has caused a fundamental dichotomy in the church’s attitude to sociopolitical issues.

The late Bishop Mandlankosi Zwane writes perceptively of the different kinds of black Catholics and warns that unless the Roman Catholic Church is more clearly involved on the side of the oppressed for justice many black Catholics will become disillusioned and disaffected. Ken Juber deals with the growing militancy of black Catholic priests and their desire to see the leadership structure of their church reflecting more realistically the racial composition of that community, which is 80 percent black.

Bernard Connor attempts to project what the future holds for the church and describes what he regards as significant events in recent times that have helped to shape the future, for example, Vatican Council II and Latin American liberation theology. He believes that the future Roman Catholic Church will be less clergy-oriented and more lay-oriented. It will move from a white-led church to a black-majority church, and from a passive stance to a more active church.

An “outsider,” Adrian Hastings, has the final word. He answers the question why the church in South Africa matters. He gives cogent reasons why the world must be concerned about the South African situation in the face of persistent arguments that this smacks of the pernicious evil of double standards. He claims that the world is facing a spiritual and moral struggle in which South Africa and its image bear what he believes to be a distinctive role. South Africa is a microcosm of the global scenario. The church in such a situation must demonstrate three attributes: that it really is a koinonia that transcends all kinds of barriers; that it identifies with its poorer and oppressed members; and that its leadership in a power institution reflects the realities of its composition.

Although there is a great deal of chaff in the church, there is even more wheat waiting to be harvested. Ultimately it is the church, albeit feeble and beset with human frailty, that will be the saving of South Africa. Against this church not even the gates of hell (let alone apartheid) can prevail.

—Desmond Tutu

The Compassionate God.


C. S. Song’s latest work carries forward the kind of theologizing that he believes Asians should be doing.

Song’s central themes and preoccupations reappear here, among them his rejection of “salvation history theology” (“a straight-line God and a straight-line theology”); his advocacy of the “disruption/dispersal principle” in God’s savings design, with its insistence on discontinuity (vs. a tradition that passes through and within Judeo-Christian history); his basic project, restated here as “transpositional theology” (“from the point-nosed to the flat-nosed Christ”); his reiterated conviction that the task of Christian theologians in Asia is to show “how God is involved in the life and history of the nations beyond the orbit of the Christian Church” (p. 83; cf. more fully, p. 160).

Thus The Compassionate God moves through demonstration of the “disruption/dispersal principle” in the history of Israel, through the cross and resurrection of Jesus as God going “out of the Holy of Holies” away from all local or religious centrum, into the life-stream of all peoples and into the secular oikoumene, thus grounding the transpositional theology (of Part 3), which attempts to show “how some historical and human experiences in Asia disclose to us the heart of God in agony and compassion” (p. 17).

By now it is well known that Song’s writing is generally eloquent and insightful, searching and exciting; one meets passages that, by turns, charm, question and disturb, or move the heart. The Compassionate God, as one might expect, moves on several regis-

STEPHEN NEILL
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Contemporary Theologies of Mission.


Will we never leave the 1960s? Unresolved issues from that tragic decade seem to plague much of contemporary life, especially for missionaries, according to Arthur Glasser and Donald McGavran. Both authors are affiliated with the School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary, where Glasser is dean emeritus and senior professor of theology and East Asian studies, while McGavran is senior professor of church growth and South Asian studies.

The writers claim that the book is the “first attempt to describe accurately the various theories and theologies of mission which dominate the last third of the twentieth century” (p. 13). Despite much variety of activity and organization, until the 1960s missionaries “all were united in a common belief that the great goal was to win men and women in faith in Jesus Christ with consequent forgiveness of sins, the gift of eternal life, and gradually thereafter the reformation of society” (pp. 47-48). Then things became unglued and we have arrived in the mid-1980s with four major theologies of mission: the evangelical (or “classical mission”), the conciliar (following the 1961 Assembly of the World Council of Churches), the Roman Catholic (i.e., Vatican II documents, “The Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church” and “The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church”), and liberation (following the 1968 Medellin Conference of Latin American Roman Catholic Bishops).

For the authors, the central issue in all this is a view of the Bible, “whether [it] is regarded as God’s one authoritative revelation—at the same time ‘God’s Word’ and ‘voiced by humans’—or as simply one of many ‘revelations of God’ or the religious insights of humans. One’s definition of mission and theology of mission will be formed in accordance with the convictions held on this point. Conciliar and liberationist theologies of mission are on one side of the watershed. Evangelical and Roman Catholic theologies of mission are on the other side” (pp. 9-10).

Glasser writes five chapters deal-
ing with the biblical base for mission and the historical development of the four approaches. McGavran contributes eight chapters discussing the theology of the movements. Each contributes a final chapter on an issue of particular importance to evangelicals: interreligious dialogue (Glasser) and religious freedom (McGavran). A helpful bibliography is included.

The historical review provided by Glasser is very helpful in attempting to "make sense" out of missiological developments of the last twenty years. The whole book, pleasantly free of sexist language, still needs a much firmer editorial hand to sharpen the focus at many points, particularly in the McGavran chapters. Glasser carefully documents his account from appropriate sources and so does McGavran in his discussion of Vatican II. However, McGavran's cavalier dismissal of the need to cite particular sources in his discussion of conciliar theology (pp. 64-65) severely weakens his argument.

Through style and tone writers often convey visual images that hover around their words. McGavran stands high on the ramparts of the castle "classical mission," intent upon awakening and rallying the troops within. Glasser has studied both the troops within and the "hosts camped round about," thrown down the drawbridge, and is willing to ride out for a chat. Maybe that is the way missiologists will leave the 1960s.

—David A. Schattschneider

Church versus State in South Africa: The Case of the Christian Institute.


This is an exceptionally lucid chronicle of the Christian Institute (CI) from its birth in 1963 to its banning in 1977. During these short fourteen years of its existence, the CI had an impact on church and society in South Africa far greater than might be thought possible given its small membership and the power of its political and ecclesiastical opposition. But size notwithstanding, it is difficult to understand church-state relations and political developments in general during the past two decades in South Africa without some knowledge of the story that Walshe tells so well.

The story is, in essence, that of a group of white Christians, led by Dr. Beyers Naudé, who, through their growing encounter with the aspirations and agonies of blacks under apartheid, discover some of the more radical imperatives of biblical faith. The personal journey of Naudé provides the paradigm for the CI as a whole. A member of Afrikanerdom's elite, Naudé sacrificed an established career within the Dutch Reformed Church, and possibly within Afrikaner politics, when he began to place the demands of the gospel above the claims of his own culture. Those who rallied to his leadership, especially the inner circle of the CI, did not all start at the same point, but all had to learn the same costly lesson. From seeing reality through white, usually liberal, and often paternalistic eyes, they began to perceive it through increasingly radical black eyes. As a result, their understanding of Christian commitment inevitably led to confrontation with the state, and as the state refused to change course the moment came when the CI could no longer be tolerated.

Perhaps the title of the book

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John de Gruchy is Associate Professor of Religious Studies, University of Cape Town, South Africa.
should be Christians (rather than Church) versus State in South Africa. Of course, the members of the CI were members of the church, but one of the themes of Walsh's treatment is the intransigence of the white Dutch Reformed Church, and the indifference or impotence of the multiracial churches, in the struggle for justice in South Africa. In the end, the CI identified itself with the emerging black church, the product of black consciousness and theology, and in some ways acted as a midwife at its birth.

There are a few minor errors in the text, some of fact and others typographical. But these detract very little from a discussion that is historically grounded, theologically sharp, and passionately written.

—John de Gruchy

New Religious Movements.

Edited by John Coleman and Gregory Baum.

In this volume of the Concilium series the editors provide us with twelve thought-provoking articles, all of them by eminent scholars, on the daunting subject: new religious movements. It is obvious that a venture of this nature can cover only certain features of a vast and diverse phenomenon, which is currently estimated to span some 96 million adherents and which includes the fast-growing: (1) neo-orthodox or neo-fundamentalist versions of Christianity and Judaism; (2) neo-Oriental movements in Europe and the United States; and (3) various human potential movements, for example, Werner Erhardt's EST.

All three of these sectors are dealt with. The articles of C. O'Donnell and C. R. D'Epinay, for instance, provide insights into neo-Pentecostalism in Europe and America, and in Chile, respectively, while C. Dillon-Malone contributes an excellent survey of African Independent Churches. The limitations of brevity, inevitably imposed on the contributors, becomes manifest in the latter article. Dillon-Malone's typology of secession and spirit churches could prove misleading to the uninformed, insofar as it creates the impression that secession from the established mission churches predominates in the nonprophetic and not in the spirit-type movements. Nevertheless, his positive and accurate evaluation of the African Independent Churches as "viable socio-religious communities in which millions of individuals can find security, identity and a sense of belonging" (p. 59), can only be commended.

The major focus, however, is on neo-Oriental new religions, an emphasis that stimulates renewed consideration of Christianity's dialogue with emergent religious movements. D. O'Hanlon's sympathetic approach provides significant insights into the reasons why Westerners join ashrams and monasteries in the East, while R. Ellwood's historical account of neo-Orientalism in America, and the treatment by B. Hardin and R. Hummel of Asian religions in Europe add interesting perspectives in both width and depth, which, among other things, con-

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M. L. Daniel, Professor of Missiology at the University of South Africa, Pretoria, since 1981, is from Zimbabwe. His publications include the two-volume work Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches.

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International Bulletin of Missionary Research
firm that we are not confronted here with a marginal or transitory phenomenon. To the theologian the attempts of R. Bergeron and J. Coleman to evaluate new religious movements is of special interest. The former, on the basis of a typological method, characterizes these movements as *Neo-Gnosticism*: incompatible with and hostile to Christianity, because the new gnostic dis-credits all sacramentality, rejects the historical principle and, with its emphasis on experience as the final criterion of truth, is fiercely antidogmatic. The latter, by way of contrast, suggests the use of a historical comparative method, which searches for "analogous depths" between Christianity and Asian religions and urges a shift from anathema to dialogue. Here the focus is not on ontology but on the transformative power of meditation and the challenge it poses to Christianity. One can only conclude that the diversity, originality, and challenge contained in these articles make this volume of *Concilium* a valuable contribution to all scholars of religion—be they theologians, sociologists, or religious scientists.

—M. L. Daneel

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**Evangelizing Neo-Pagan North America.**


Alfred Krass has done it again. In his earlier work, *Five Lanterns at Sunset,* he put evangelism in an eschatological setting shaped by the biblical story of ten virgins and the sociological insights of Emil Durkheim. That volume, though not easy reading due to its style, proved very useful to those of us who teach evangelism.

In this work Krass again borrows from the social sciences, merging these insights with theological reflections based in the Gospels to make his case. His social science this time is psychology. Borrowing from the 1978 work of Christopher Lasch, Krass positions the church's evangelistic task in the context of a society turned narcissistic. Lasch, historian and social critic, sees North America as deeply narcissistic in its particular orientation and therapeutic in its cultural ethos. Krass agrees and sets about to explain the implications of this for the church's evangelistic task.

Krass's theological perspective comes from an incident in Mark's Gospel, the casting of the demons from the Gerasene madman into the herd of swine and their subsequent destruction in the sea. Krass sees in this a modern application for the church's ministry, evangelism as a kind of exorcism. And the demons of modern society? The usual list one would expect from pilgrims like Krass whose experience in society raises a different set of questions about the nature of ministry in the world. The demons range from lust for power on the part of mega-congregations and America's unquestioning commitment to the military, to the "little" frustrations of ordinary people when their expectations fail to materialize. It is a stifling mood, called by Lasch "the world view of the resigned."

But evangelism, for Krass, is not merely a matter of casting out these modern demons. It is also a matter of seeing people made whole in community; the naked person is clothed, recovered from aloneness and alienation and brought home. And the cost of such ministry? Persecution at the hands of the profiteers. Then discipleship is inextricably bound to justice, and for Krass that is kingdom business. Evangelism is "the work of God's kingdom."

Readers will find Krass helpful as he seeks for an understanding of the church's agenda in the 1980s. His topics range from definitions of the gospel vis-à-vis the kingdom motif to the relationship between transcendence and immanence of God and the influence of these views on evangelism. In his assertion that the kingdom belongs to the poor, Krass joins the global debate about the relationship between evangelism and justice and the call for the church to recognize the emerging leadership of the "Two-Thirds" world. An explication of these items would be...
worth the book’s price, although the author does not attempt an exhaustive handling of those themes.

Krass is at his best, and his most controversial for many, when he asserts that the hindrance to the church’s successful execution of its agenda is its captivity to Western modes of biblical theology. Krass sees this as a near hopeless exercise in imposing on the text of Scripture a rigid Western academic approach and a “faith in a technology of scientific study.” This rigidity frustrates any attempt to develop a true kingdom theology adequate to our evangelistic task. His plea for “another hermeneutic” is forceful and should delight the cultural anthropologists among us who have for years argued for a more culturally specific hermeneutic for biblical studies and missions. Thus Krass positions himself squarely in the debate—and probably the next big controversy in evangelical circles—over the relationship between the gospel and culture.

One of the strengths of this book lies in Krass’s free acknowledgment of those sources that have shaped his hermeneutic approach. These range from his own experience as a missionary in Africa to scholars such as John Howard Yoder, Brevard Childs, Juan Luis Segundo, and Walter Hollenweger. Krass has developed into a true ecumenist and is clearly at home within the broad body of Christ worldwide. But this does not mean an easy or uncritical acceptance of all dictums issued from every source. He is clear about evangelism and its costliness to those who practice it. To Krass, evangelism is proclaiming Christ as Lord, and the kingdom of God as the object of good news. He allows no mushy liberalism, old school or new, to cloud his vision. “The most important thing Christians know about the kingdom is that Christ is the key to it,” he claims. Christ, then, is the church’s model for doing evangelism, and the church ignores his example to its detriment.

The book is strong in its blending of the social sciences and theology to produce an understanding of the social context in which evangelism is practiced. At this point the book serves as a fine model of how these sciences can serve to illuminate the church’s task today.

The author’s selection of the central statements on evangelism from the major bodies of the church since 1970, included at the end of the volume, are alone worth the price of the book. Such a collection is a first in a book on evangelism and provides a fine source for use in congregational studies as well as in the seminary classroom. This reviewer has used this material to a great extent in on-campus situations and with lay persons off campus.

By all criteria, this is one of the finest studies on evangelism written in years. I commend it to the prayerful and thoughtful concern of the churches.

—William E. Pannell

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Worship and Politics.


Rafael Avila has two theses in this book: first, that the way we celebrate the Eucharist reflects our political stance, whatever that stance may be; second, that the Eucharist is true to its nature only if it celebrates the commitment of the church to radical reordering of society in favor of the poor.

Avila lays a double foundation for these theses, one biblical, tracing a gradual purification of the concept of worship in the Bible, the other in church history, showing how as the centuries went by, eucharistic celebration became more and more turned in on itself and separated from the political context of the community. The argument of history is sometimes very taut, mainly because Avila tries to cover too much ground: one section of ten pages has the unreal title "From the First Centuries to Vatican II."

But Avila is persuasive when he puts forward his own position. He makes no attempt to hide that he writes from a specific context. In a special Foreword to this English translation he reminds readers that he is in Colombia, the year is 1977, and he is concerned with "the general critique of religion addressed by Camillo Torres to the Christian world."

This explicit contextualization is helpful as it invites us to work out our own conclusions. I think we would have to give more consideration to facts such as the repeated failure to effect social change or the need to accept compromises that we may have found necessary. We would also need to pay more attention to the value of the Eucharist as sacred space and the nature of the church as a community within the state and having its own dynamic. But in working out our own theology of the Eucharist we shall certainly be helped by Avila's well-argued and passionately written piece of sacramental theology. We must be grateful to Alan Neely for having made it available to the English-speaking public.

—Michel de Verteuil

The Lord's Prayer: The Prayer of Integral Liberation.


This work by the well-known Brazilian Catholic theologian may come as a surprise to those who have dismissed Latin American theology as an extreme example of "secular" theology. It should also serve to restore some balance to "progressive" Protestants who have often seemed to overreact against the "spiritual" dimension of Christian witness.

Boff has divided his reflections into eleven brief chapters. Two introductory chapters situate the Lord's Prayer sociologically and exegetically. Before the closing "Amen" there are sections on each of the eight supplications in the prayer.

"Prayer," says Boff, "is not the first thing that a person does. Before praying, one experiences an existential shock. Only then does prayer pour forth" (p. 10). Involvement in struggles against injustice can provide the "shock" that forces us to our knees. Properly understood, the Lord's Prayer can help us to maintain the religious and political dimensions of our faith in creative tension, avoiding deadening reductionisms.

This prayer is also a source of hope. In a "fatherless world" (p. 31), the invocation "Our Father" becomes truly meaningful if we can also pray "Thy Kingdom come," thus affirming that "utopia is more real than the weight of facts" (p. 31). Similarly, "Give us this day our daily bread" has both structural and personal connotations. "Heavenly bread," Boff reminds us, "deprived of earthly bread, is incomprehensible" (p. 82). In a world of institutionalized injustice, the plea "Forgive us the wrong we have done" (p. 90) acquires a very specific—and uncomfortable—meaning.

Boff has demonstrated once again his mastery of biblical scholarship and his commitment to the Jesus Christ of Scripture. This "devotional" book is not an ivory-tower exercise. It is the fruit of a life of dedicated witness to the totality of the gospel. My only objection is to Boff's sometimes overly free use of redaction criticism, which, I believe, does a disservice to his subject.

—Guillermo Cook

Henry Venn—Missionary Statesman.


Doubters that, in mid-Victorian England, Henry Venn was identified with the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and vice versa, will certainly be persuaded of its truth by even a superficial reading of this fascinating study of the man. Wilbert Shenk, a North American Mennonite mission administrator, shows himself to be in control of his wide-ranging and multiple sources. From Venn's own correspondence, writings, minutes of meetings, and missionary instructions, the author draws the portrait of a Victorian evangelical clergyman who is a giant among many others of that period.

Lawrence Nemer, S.V.D., Associate Professor of Church History and Acting Director of the World Mission Program at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, did his own doctoral research on the Church Missionary Society. He has served for brief periods in the Philippines, and for the past fifteen years has been involved in the personal and academic formation of missionaries.
Shenk briefly describes Venn’s evangelical background, early years in ministry, and early connection with CMS. However, the author wisely concentrates on Venn’s years as honorary clerical secretary of the Church Missionary Society between 1846 and 1872. He sees Venn as a perceptive mission theorist in an age when theory was just developing, one who came to his insights by studying the New Testament church of Antioch and letters from contemporary missionaries. He also describes Venn as a strategist, showing with great clarity how Venn came to refine the goal of the mission: the development of indigenous churches under indigenous leadership, which would lead to a “euthanasia of mission.”

This mission theory and strategy informed the many decisions Venn made as an administrator. Shenk rightly points out that Venn’s leadership was never questioned although structurally he had no power over other secretaries and would always oppose such a structure. He relied, rather, on persuasion, compromise, and consensus, although some critics found him at times brusque and authoritarian. Shenk also examines Venn’s dealings with Africa, India, and New Zealand.

The appendices, on “Native Churches” and “Politics and Missions” are sure to stimulate a more frequent return to Venn’s writings. The bibliography is certain to remain the best on Venn for some time to come.

—Lawrence Nemer, S.V.D.

Planning Strategies for World Evangelization.

By Edward R. Dayton and David A. Fraser.


Edward Dayton, director of the Evangelism and Research Division, World Vision International, and David Fraser, research consultant for the Mission Training and Resource Center in Nashville, have together written what might be described as a do-it-yourself handbook for mission agencies concerned about the large numbers of people who have not heard the gospel. They dismiss many of the debates that currently divide missiologists as peripheral to the work of mission, and apply the insights of sociology, anthropology, and modern business methods to the task of preaching the gospel meaningfully across the boundaries that separate the thousands of unevangelized “people-groups” from the Christian churches.

There will be those who feel that the Holy Spirit can manage the church perfectly well without the help of human management consultants. Yet there are few mission agencies that refuse all planning. The methods advocated in this book are flexible and stress the need constantly to see what has been achieved and how one’s goals need to be rethought.

The book is well written with many practical illustrations. There is much sensitive wisdom and not a little

Reader’s Response

To the Editors:

In the October 1983 issue of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Ward L. Kaiser, Senior Editor and Executive Director of Friendship Press, wonders why his publications sell no better than they do, given an apparent automatic constituency of millions. “Are the churches guilty of malpractice?” he asks. Perhaps they are, but part of the problem is certainly the publications Friendship Press is giving us. The materials for this year’s Africa study will not convince anyone to use them who is accustomed to the standards of commercial publishers. Let me give a few specific examples of the problems.

Granted that the names of countries in Africa have changed frequently in recent years, the omission of a major boundary of a country in which many United States churches have a strong interest is difficult to explain. In “Maps ‘n Facts,” the major map resource, the boundary between Zaire and Congo is omitted altogether on the large map, and Congo does not exist on the map as a country. Why, then is “Congo” used for the name of the river rather than “Zaire”? The Gambia, one of the smallest countries in Africa when the map was produced, (now part of Senegal-bia) is indicted by typeface larger than that used for Nigeria. On the supplementary map “Precolonial Empires,” Axum is in the wrong country; tea, a major crop in some countries, is not even listed as a commercial crop. Diamonds, which most statistical reports show as the major earner of foreign exchange for Sierra Leone, are not indicated for that country at all.

Unfortunately, problems are not limited to the map. The textbook, Journey of Struggle, Journey in Hope, begins with an introduction obviously intended to help the reader overcome the unfortunate stereotypes many Americans have about Africa. Yet the cover picture seems chosen to reinforce the stereotype of the African as primitive and exotic. Beginning to read, how can the reader be convinced by the argument in the introduction when on page ii the following statement appears: “Africa was the cradle of the world’s civilization along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers?” In the first twenty-six pages, a cursory reading shows thirteen errors in punctuation, spelling, and grammar. For example, on page 5 we read: “By 1925 the heavy hand of colonialism has sorted out all that...” No doubt what is meant is “The heavy hand of colonialism had sorted out all that.” The statement on page 27 that “all history books on the continent begin with the coming of the colonial powers and/or missionaries” is simply not true today. The excellent pictures of African art are not bound between the same pages in all copies of the books, a minor point, perhaps, but another annoyance to a group leader asking participants to turn to them to share an appreciation of the great accomplishments of African artists and artisans. The errors in fact, grammar, and punctuation as well as unfortunate problems in production make this book an embarrassment. It contains ideas I
implicit criticism of the cultural arrogance that has characterized much mission work in the past and still characterizes some. There are insights drawn from evangelical and ecumenical sources and a refusal to define people out of the kingdom. The concept of “people-groups,” which will already be familiar to many, will help others who have got stuck with the concept of the “national church” and become dif-

dent about taking initiatives.

Recommended as a tonic for jaded mission executives, this book needs to be read with care. It just could bring about a painful reappraisal of what some organizations are doing in the light of the imperative given by the gospel.

—Graeme C. Jackson

Graeme C. Jackson is Secretary for Asia and the Pacific of the Methodist Church Overseas Division, London. Previously he served for ten years with the Methodist Church in Sri Lanka, and then for nine years as Asia secretary for the Division of Inter-Church Aid, World Council of Churches.

Into All the World: A Biography of Max Warren.


Writing about Max Warren was an act of homage, the author confesses: “I re-
gard him as the greatest all-round Christian leader of my own genera-
tion.... I have often heard warnings about the perils of hagiography. I can
only say that this man came nearer to my own conception of what constitutes
a saint than any other I have known” (p. 6). As one reads through Dilli-
stone’s book, it is not difficult to detect why he holds Max Warren in such
high esteem. Part 1 of the biography introduces the young man, Max War-
ren, to the reader, his family background, his school days, the glorious
years at Cambridge where he not only developed his love for both theology
and a study of history, but especially, met Mary—his future bride. Warren’s
story, even at this early stage, had all the elements of tragic drama. Less
than one year after boarding the Apapa in Liverpool on his way to Nigeria where
he proposed to spend his life in service of his Lord, he was back in Plymouth,

deathly ill, seemingly a broken man.

Part 2 is devoted to Max Warren the missionary leader, for Warren re-
covered and in 1942 was invited to steer, as general secretary, the Church
Missionary Society (CMS) through the difficult war years and postwar period.
For twenty-one years Warren had to lead the large missionary society into a
new age. Decisions had to be made, vi-
sions to be opened to the many mem-
ers of the CMS, as well as to the
Christian community worldwide. A se-
ries of books and pamphlets, and espe-
cially the CMS Newsletter, written
during these years were eagerly read,
the advice followed, by church and
missionary leaders at home as well as
abroad.

Pat Meiring is a pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in Pretoria, and is lecturer in Missiology at
the University of South Africa. His doctoral disser-
tation (1988) was devoted to Max Warren’s contribu-
tion as missionary theologian.

Author replies:

The sin of pride is a terrible thing. On occasion God seemingly sends a messenger to restore a proper hu-
mility. Ms. Maclin’s letter serves well that divine
function, and I am grateful for it.

Friendship Press strives for high standards of ac-
ccuracy, responsibility and editorial quality. Clearly we
failed to achieve these in the instances cited. We have
been painfully aware of this fact, which reflects a par-
ticularly pressured work situation that we are acting to
correct.

Having experience also in other publishing set-
ings, including commercial enterprises, I would
strongly reaffirm that Friendship Press typically exer-
cises very careful editorial quality control. At the same
time, I recognize that a long record of reliability is of
little use to persons who are called upon to use materi-
als that without a doubt fall short.

So to our sincere apologies to Ms. Maclin for the
problems that have resulted from our inadequate edit-
ing I would add: Please bear with us; I firmly believe
we will again achieve standards of excellence that will
support the high expectations that thousands have of
Friendship Press. That, surely, will be legitimate pride!

Alice Maclin
Atlanta, Georgia

Ward L. Kaiser
Executive Director
Friendship Press

The writer was a United Methodist missionary in Africa for
nearly twenty years. Currently she is coordinator of ESL composi-
tion courses at De Kalb Community College, Clarkston, Georgia.
When Warren retired from the CMS in 1963 he did not stop writing and reflecting on mission. He was appointed canon and subdean of Westminster Abbey, but, the author maintains in Part 3, “he steadfastly pursued his aim of bringing the missionary movement face to face with the realities of the second half of the twentieth century” (p. 193). Like his hero the Old Testament prophet Habakkuk about whom Warren wrote so eloquently in his early book, The Truth of Vision, Warren pressed himself to be faithful to his calling, to mount his watch-tower and give an honest report concerning what he saw.

Dilistone’s book was carefully planned and is a well-written story. He combined a lifetime of friendship and extensive research with access to Warren’s personal diaries, to provide—with the help of Mary Warren who opened to him her treasure trove of personal memories and letters—an outstanding biography. The author does tend to hagiography, in spite of what he himself said. A critical note on what Warren did and said is seldom heard. He also does not undertake a critical analysis of Warren’s theology of mission. But Dilistone does succeed in introducing to the reader, charmingly, one of the missionary giants of our time.

—Piet Meiring

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**Revolutionary Clergy: The Filipino Clergy and the Nationalist Movement, 1850–1903.**


This is the story of clergy who served the cause of Philippine nationalism from its first bourgeois articulation in the 1850s to its last defense as a lost cause against American imperialism in 1903, told by the leading authority on the development of the Philippine independence movement, Jesuit John Schumacher of the Ateneo de Manila University, a naturalized Filipino citizen.

The cover design pictures five of the major protagonists. Pedro Palaez was a Spanish Creole who first awakened the Filipino clergy to opposition to their subordination to foreign friars. José Burgos, an academician with eight university degrees, imbued a younger generation with a sense of the moral, legal, and racial injustice of colonial domination, and was executed on trumped-up charges for his efforts. Pedro Dandan was a former political exile who supported the revolution when it broke out in 1896, and disappeared into the hills with retreating Filipino forces. Gregorio Aglipay was a subversive coadjutor who was appointed vicar general of the revolutionary forces in 1898, led a resistance movement in Ilocos in 1900, and accepted the leadership of a schismatic church, which broke with Rome in 1902. Mariano Sevilla was a theologian who served the short-lived republic loyally, but would not follow nationalism into schism and influenced many other Filipino priests to submit to foreign prelates newly appointed from Rome in 1903.

This is a long book with 300 tightly packed pages, exhaustively researched, voluminously annotated, well edited, and printed on inexpensive paper. It contains more information on nineteenth-century Filipino clergy than all other sources available, supersedes all previous studies of the Philippine Independent Church, and is written without passion or polemic. Father Schumacher sees the Filipino clergy as a thread through the amassed data unifying the revolutionary efforts of disparate social classes with mixed or
conflicting motives. It is a thin thread, which might have been strengthened by a demonstration that the clergy influenced their revolutionary relatives and classmates rather than vice-versa, or that they responded as a class with greater enthusiasm or unanimity than the laity. As Father Schumacher unravels the thread, it runs directly from Burgos to Sevilla: "Sevilla clearly stands as the legitimate heir of Palaez and Burgos in the real leadership of the Filipino clergy" (p. 280). Those who read or purchase the book for its title will be disappointed that its final accolade is given to a man distinguished for his "obedience and respect for his ecclesiastical superiors" rather than to one who defied authority, took to the field of battle, suffered excommunication, and headed a Filipino church that was nothing if not revolutionary.

—William Henry Scott

Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa.


This is an ethnohistorical anthology that presents a new chapter in missionary historiography. Generally speaking, the field of Christian missionology has been well documented in the voluminous works of Kenneth Scott Latourette and Stephen Charles Neill. However, the paucity of information and identification of participation by Afro-Americans in the missionary enterprise during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries suggests that this publication fills a significant void in mission ideology. With its 12 compact chapters, 455 notes, name and subject index, and a 9-page bibliographical essay, this book is an impressive piece of research. Missionologists owe a debt of gratitude to a group of nonchurch historians for an invaluable resource for mission history courses.

Editor Sylvia M. Jacobs, professor of history at North Carolina Central University, Durham, came to the attention of students of history in 1981 with the publication of her first book, The African Nexus: Black American Perspectives on European Partitioning of Africa, 1880–1920. In this, her second publication, she has brought together the copiously researched papers of eight other historians.

The book's first eleven chapters are organized into four sections with the following topical headings:

"Section I—Mission Ideology" (2 chapters).

"Section II—The Mission: Motivations, Objectives and Results" (4 chapters). This section is introduced with a descriptive essay by Thomas C. Howard, the section's coordinating editor/contributor. He helps to clarify the missionary role and impact of Tuskegee Institute and educators Booker T. Washington and Robert R. Moton. Howard is associate professor of history at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

"Section III—The Missionary: Methods, Interests and Activities" (4 chapters). The introductory essay for this section is written by Walter L. Williams, author of Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa, 1877–1900.

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Pearl L. McNeil, an anthropologist, is Professor of Missions and Global Christianity, School of Theology, Virginia Union University in Richmond, Virginia. She is a past chairman of the Board of Managers of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and immediate past ecclesiastical officer of the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.
(1982) and associate professor of history at the University of Cincinnati.

“Section IV—The Mission Movement” is the concluding one-chapter overview by Sylvia Jacobs entitled “The Impact of Black American Missionaries in Africa.” She points out that the singular impact might be elusive but black American missionaries did help to dispel some myths and negative stereotypes about Africa, its people and their culture; and they did help to bring about some social and political reforms in African society. Moreover, “. . . a greater Pan-African alliance between Afro-Americans and Africa” (p. 225) came into being.

The most enduring value of this volume resides in the careful documentation, much of it from hitherto unused primary sources. Missiologists and seminarists will find the book informative and provocative.

—Pearl L. McNeil

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**Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1878–1834.**


Mary Turner, who teaches at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia, has given a clear and concise account of the common life of slaves and missionaries in colonial Jamaica from 1878–1834. In seven chapters she narrates the contributions and contradictions of missionaries as they related religion to the suffering and abuse of slavery.

Although the book ostensibly focuses on forty-seven years (1787–1834), Turner also relates the work to the contribution of the Moravians who began missionary work on the island in 1754, and the black American Baptists who arrived in 1783. It is not clear, then, why Turner chose 1787 as the point of departure for reflection on the role of slaves and missionaries in colonial Jamaica. A more appropriate starting point would have been 1754.

The particular merit of Turner’s book is its combination of integrity with insight as she relates the world of the missionary to that of the planter and calls attention to the dilemma of the missionary. On the one hand, missionaries were the servants of the planter class and had to reflect the latter’s interest, while on the other hand, they were engaged in efforts to make life more human for black people. According to Turner, “The circumstances in which the missionaries established a place for themselves in Jamaican society made them more responsive to the influence of their patrons . . . The missionaries, therefore, as reformers of the slave system, found themselves allied with the planters who sought only to preserve it” (p. 30).

The high point of the book is chapter 6, “The Baptist War.” Turner points out that as a result of their reading the Bible for themselves, the native Baptists concluded that God wanted them to destroy the cruel system of slavery. Led by “Daddy Sharp,” a rebel leader of the group, the slaves burned estates in their attempt to overthrow the system of slavery. The Baptist War of 1831 was an important instrument for emancipation, which came in 1834.

—Noel Leo Erskine

---

Noel Leo Erskine, a Baptist pastor from Jamaica, teaches on the faculty of Candler School of Theology, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia. He is the author of Decolonizing Theology. In 1983–84 he was a Visiting Professor at the University of Ile, Nigeria.
Reaching Our Generation.


If you want to know what conservative evangelical mission leaders are thinking about and involved in these days, Reaching Our Generation is not a bad place to find out. The book is a compendium of the major addresses of a joint meeting of the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association (EFMA) and the International Foreign Mission Association (IFMA) held September 28 to October 2, 1981, at Overland Park, Kansas. The editors, Wade T. Coggins and Edwin L. Frizen, Jr., are the executive directors of EFMA and IFMA, respectively.


The eight articles include an amazing and sometimes bewildering variety of materials and ideas, but it is possible with some stretching and overlapping to group them around three principal foci: the necessity and challenge of mission, by Seamands and Davies; the strategy of mission, by Thompson, Webster, and the Deynekas; and personnel for mission, by McQuilkin, Pocock, and McKinney.

It is clear that much of the ferment of current missiological debate is being followed closely and taken seriously by evangelical mission leaders. Such issues as the need for contextualization, concern for "hidden peoples," the possibilities of "tentmaking" ministries, the importance of statistics and research, and others appear throughout.

McKinney and the Deynekas present perhaps the most controversial ar-

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Malcolm J. McVeigh is Professor of the Theology of Mission and African Christianity in the E. Stanley Jones School of Evangelism and World Mission of Ashbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky. He was a United Methodist missionary for nineteen years, serving in Angola, Zaire, and Kenya, and was for five years a lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of Nairobi.
Students of the Christian mission are aware of volumes dealing with the bib-

lical theology of mission (Hahn, Blauw, Kane, Peters, and others) and, of

course, with Roland Allen’s Missionary Methods: St. Paul’s or Ours. But rarely, if

ever, has anyone combined a treatment of Paul’s theology and mission practice

in one volume. The author through his own professional career has qualified

himself in both areas, having for twenty-one years been a missionary in Ni-

geria, earned a doctoral degree in mission studies, and is now teaching in

that field at Fuller Theological Seminary.

After a beginning section on Paul’s theological concepts, the book treats in
detail four main areas of missionary concern: Conversion, New Life, the

Church, and the Missionary. In each case the author is careful to base his
discussions on thorough expository treatments of the relevant portions of

Acts and the Pauline corpus, and in the

process brings in personal observations

and appropriate contemporary missio-

nological material. The section on Con-

version, for example, has many helpful

insights on the phenomenology, the

reality, the experience, and the process

of conversion, and every missionary will

feel with Dr. Gilliland as he tells of the

excitement with which animistic peo-

ples respond to the gospel. More nota-

bly he identifies a small group of

Muslims in northern Nigeria who,

through an interesting sequence of

events, gradually accepted the Lord-

ship of Christ.

Some readers, however, will be

disappointed that there is no attempt

to relate Paul’s experience theologically
to the present-day discussion as to the
validity or nonvalidity of conversion
among the major religions, ever since
the Hocking-Kraemer debate an im-
portant issue in the conciliar-evangelical
dialogue. This problem, however,
inherent as it is in any attempt to make
meaningful application to our day the
experience and practice of an earlier
time, does not significantly detract
from the value of the book. This re-
viewer would strongly recommend it,
especially to teachers, strategists, and
practitioners of mission.

—James H. Pyke

Irruption of the Third World:
Challenge to Theology (Papers
from the Fifth International
Conference of the Ecumenical
Association of Third World
Theologians, August 17-29, 1981,
New Delhi, India).

Edited by Virginia Fabella and Sergio Torres.
xx, 280. Paperback $10.95.

This volume contains the papers and
reports from the New Delhi 1981 con-
ference of the Ecumenical Association
of Third World Theologians. The edi-
tors are Virginia Fabella, a Maryknoll
Sister from the Philippines, and Sergio
Torres, a Chilean priest, executive sec-
tary of the Ecumenical Association.
Sergio Torres, in his introductory essay on the theme, suggests that the most significant factor is "The irritation of the poor" (p. 3). But he does not ignore the encounter of Christianity with world religions (p. 10). Part 2 deals with "Emerging Theologies in Third World Contexts." These theologies have to be different according to cultural and religious contexts. Part 3, "Common Elements of Third World Theologies," the paper of Aloysius Pieris on "The Place of Non-Christian Religions and Cultures in the Evolution of Third World Theology," relates the condition of the poor to their religions because "the vast majority of God's poor perceive their ultimate concern and symbolize their struggle for liberation in the idiom of non-Christian religions and cultures... Hence we need a theology of religions that will expand the existing boundaries of orthodoxy as we enter into the liberative streams of other religions and cultures" (pp. 113-14). Parts 4, 5, and 6 deal with "Personal Experiences and Liturgy," "Final Statement," and "Evaluation and Interpretation."

—Yves Raguin, S.J.

Yves Raguin, S.J., born in France in 1912, arrived in Shanghai in 1949. He worked four years in mainland China, five years in Vietnam, and twenty-five years in Taiwan, where he is presently Director of the Rits Institute for Chinese Studies in Taipei.

Sharing One Bread, Sharing One Mission: The Eucharist as Missionary Event.


"The missionary importance of the Eucharist," repeatedly affirmed at the World Conference on Mission and Evangelism held in Melbourne in May 1980, is the central theme and focus of the twenty-one reflections, stories, poems, personal testimonies, and meditations offered in this book. Complied and edited by Jean Stromberg, secretary for publications of the World Council of Churches' Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, its contributing authors range from a Serbian Orthodox bishop in Yugoslavia to an economist from Ivory Coast.

Interspersed throughout its two sections—one entitled "Sharing One Bread," and the other "Sharing One Mission"—are portions of the Melbourne report, "Thy Kingdom Come," stressing the absolutely crucial role of the Eucharistic experience in the evangelistic task of the church.

A reader's reactions to these pieces will reflect one's own tradition and be tempered by one's ecumenical exposure. Several pieces reminded this reviewer of the Eastern Orthodox emphasis in recent years on "the liturgy after the liturgy." Lakshman Wickremesinghe, for example, in "The Eucharist and the Struggle" (pp. 33-36), says that "prayer must be accompanied by action," that "we have to go out after this service." And Alan Neely, in "The Eucharist—Missionary Medium" (pp. 60-66), states that the Eucharist is "the Kerygma of the Christian Story." He reminds us that "Communion with God in Christ and community with God's people are two aspects of the one sacrament."

Several pieces ponder the divisive-ness of the Lord's Table. Indeed, one might wonder if it is the Lord's Table or "your" table and "my" table, with the arrogance and pride that these imply, which divides.

Arthur C. Cochrane's assertion in "As You Do It to One of the Least of These..." (pp. 31-32) that "Jesus makes social and economic questions the final criterion of our love of Jesus" hits the mark. He points out that the needs that Jesus lists for the least of his brethren are all bodily needs. One might suppose that Jesus tried to drive that point home by giving bread and wine (body and blood, food and drink) to confirm his abiding presence among us.

The exuberance of the final testimony, Michael Oteka's "Overwhelmed by Joy" (pp. 69-76), is a fitting conclusion to this compilation, with its reminder that "a Christian is one who sees Christ wherever he looks and rejoices in him."

These short pieces, from one to seven pages in length, are excellent stimuli for thought and action. Individuals or groups seeking to relate the Eucharist to witness and mission endeavors will find them helpful for meditation, to provoke discussion, or as calls to action.

—Dimitrios Couchell

The Rev. Fr. Dimitrios Couchell is Director of the St. Photos Foundation and the National Greek Orthodox Shrine in St. Augustine, Florida.

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April 1984
Are Southern Baptists "Evangelicals?"


This question may seem trivial, but it has urgency for many Southern Baptists. Garrett (Southwestern Baptist Seminary) takes the affirmative, while Hinson (Southern Baptist Seminary) argues with "more passion . . . than a historian's objectivity should allow" (p. 131) that a proper distance should be maintained.

In an opening chapter, Tull (Southeastern Baptist Seminary) poses "The Shape of the Question." Surveying the history of the term "evangelical," he finds that a certain party of evangelicals today would deny the right to that designation to any who do not accept the inerrancy of Scriptures. "Our problem then boils down to this: are we going to accept the broad, historical use of the term . . . or the more restrictive definition(s) which the Fundamentalists and New Evangelicals would like to impose upon us?"

Garrett, after careful delineation of "evangelicals" and of "baptists," recognizes a core of mutual concerns. While Southern Baptists have not thought of themselves as part of the evangelical movement, he thinks it desirable to find ways of making common cause in Christian witness and avoiding "the danger of succumbing to a cultural or sociological or ecclesiastical captivity" (p. 126).

Convinced that "evangelicals" are commonly perceived as fundamentalists, Professor Hinson would maintain clear distinctions between them and the Southern Baptists: "Make no mistake about it, we come from different wombs. Evangelicals are the descendants of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Protestant Scholasticism. They are the children of English and American Millenarians and Fundamentalists. . . . Baptists, by contrast, are the descendants of the persecuted and harassed dissenters of the seventeenth century who came forth from the womb crying for liberty" (p. 166). Southern Baptists, whose identity incorporates a tension between polarities of "voluntarism" and evangelistic concern, need clarity about identity for the sake of an effective witness and ministry.

—Norman H. Maring

Norman H. Maring is Emeritus Professor of Church History, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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