How do they know England," intoned Rudyard Kipling, "who only England know?" Indeed, how have Christians known their self-identity, until they have been engaged in cross-cultural mission with people of other faiths and ideologies? This issue of the International Bulletin examines various ways in which the church's self-understanding has been challenged, scrutinized, and sometimes clarified through various forms of mission.

William R. Burrows surveys the mounting difficulties that the Roman Catholic hierarchy has had in understanding the relationship of Christianity to other faiths, and all that this implies for the church's self-understanding.

Two prominent evangelical missiologists, John Starn and Arthur F. Glasser, discuss the effect that mission experience has had on the understanding of the gospel and the church among evangelicals—in the revolutionary situation of Nicaragua and in theological construction.

The dean of statistical information about Christian mission, David B. Barrett, presents a statistical report on global mission—the first of an annual feature in this journal—and suggests that some current trends will probably prove surprising to traditional images of the church's self-identity.

In South Africa, as Charles Villa-Vicencio points out, the Afrikaner world-view, which was built on Calvinist doctrinal foundations, is now being challenged from many sides.

A Christian leader in India is featured in our continuing Legacy series as Carol Graham highlights the pioneering contributions of V. S. Azariah, the first Indian Anglican bishop. That the work of Azariah in creating an Indian self-understanding of the church was so controversial in his day and so matter-of-fact in ours may indicate how much change has taken place.

Robert Shuster presents a bibliography and checklist of where foreign missions archives are located in the United States. Research scholars will be greatly helped by his painstaking efforts.

This issue celebrates the thirty-fifth anniversary of our publication. The first issue of the Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library in New York City was a thirteen-page mimeographed report dated March 13, 1950. We have come a long way over the intervening years. It is our hope—and intention—that the Bulletin will continue to illumine the church's self-understanding through reflection on its mission.
Tensions in the Catholic Magisterium about Mission and Other Religions

William R. Burrows, S.V.D.

We begin here a discussion of official Roman Catholic teaching (1) on the nature of mission and (2) on the theology of other religious ways. The effort will be to get at the core of that “magisterium” without pretense of being exhaustive. First a word about the problematics of an “official” teaching.

The Roman Catholic Church’s notion of magisterium is rooted in the conviction of the hierarchy and many other Catholics that Jesus left in the church an office for authoritatively interpreting the meaning of his gospel and applying it infallibly in matters of both faith and morals in the ongoing history of the Christian movement. That concept of magisterium is under assault from two directions—from both theological liberals and conservatives. Its concrete substance is under assault as well in many specific areas. Our study prescinds from the question of the validity of the concept of magisterium and endeavors to clarify some problems in its substance in two areas vital to missiology.

We shall see that the problems of the magisterium on the nature of mission and the theology of other religious ways are inextricably intertwined. Confusion in one necessarily creates confusion in the other. Given the nature of the historical-theological moment in Roman Catholicism today, however, I shall argue that the conceptual confusion is not likely soon to be clarified.

Background

No discussion of Roman Catholic missiology can ignore the challenges and responses of Catholicism presented by the past 100 or so years. To that we must first turn.

By the nineteenth century, when the penultimate chapter in Catholic missions history begins, Roman Catholicism in Europe felt itself besieged by both political-economic and theological liberalism. Protestant Europe and North America clearly triumphed in the political and economic area. The assault from theological liberalism was met by various antimodernist documents and strategies, basic to all of which was a form of fundamentalism that accentuated papal authority in order better to combat a hostile world. Theological liberalism had attempted to adjust and reinterpret Christian doctrine in the light of new insights from critical, post-Kantian philosophy, and both physical and historical sciences. The papacy in a series of turn-of-the-century encyclicals banished these flirtations with modernity from both seminaries and public theological discussion, without, I think, ever successfully answering the fundamental questions that spawned these currents of thought.

It is my contention that the contemporary problem of defining and carrying on mission takes its shape from exactly these questions (for example: that of the absolute supernaturality of Christianity, the role of other religious ways and the possibility of salvation in them, the extent to which either the church or Christianity is historical and therefore evolutionary both in its accidental and in its essential dimensions). The present tensions and difficulties in Roman Catholic missiology are accentuated because they tend to be entwined inextricably in the central theological problem of our times, that of theological hermeneutics in the most radical sense: To what extent is or is not a major reinterpretation of the Christian message necessary in the light of ongoing experience? Conceptual confusion abounds because missiology seldom confronts squarely such far-ranging issues. Ernst Troeltsch said it best once when asked if he were not worried that his relativizing theology might destroy missionary zeal. He thought not: “Missionary enterprise is well enough cared for through the conservative ideals of the great masses of Christians. And missionary enterprise is, in any case, quite different from that of gaining clearness among the perplexities of modern life.” If I am correct about the tensions in Roman Catholic missiology today, exactly the lack of clarity about these complexities is becoming a problem.

Tensions in the Theology of Mission

Pope Benedict XV in his 1919 encyclical Maximum Illud (“On Spreading the Catholic Faith throughout the World”) shared the world-view of contemporary evangelical Christians (though in a particularly Roman Catholic way) when he saw the approximately one billion nonbelievers as people who “dwell in the shadow of death,” sharing a “piteable lot” because they do not know the divine blessings of the redemption purchased by Christ. Dogmatically, Maximum Illud stresses the conversion of nonbelievers to the church so that they may be saved. Presupposed is the doctrine that roots missionary motivation in the likelihood of damnation for those who are not baptized.

Pope Pius XII complements the accents of his predecessors on the need for establishing a local clergy with a call for the establishment of a local church with its own hierarchy. In his encyclical, however, there is no recognition of a possible form of Christianity at variance with the Roman, Latin model. For Pius XII, conversion is the primary goal of mission; establishing the church is a secondary, though always intrinsic goal of mission. In his teaching, too, there is no softening of belief that only in Christ and through his church do people find salvation, though he stresses the rectitude of those who aim to preserve the “natural” culture of pagans, thus preserving a traditional Catholic sense that much in pagan culture is good.

Vatican II’s decree on missionary activity (Ad Gentes), on the one hand, retains both the establishment of a local church and the conversion of all to Christ as the dual focus of mission. On the other hand, the decree adds a new term to the discussion of the nature of mission, and thus blurs the certitude one finds implied in earlier magisterial theology about a probable negative fate for non-Christians. The new term is “sacrament.” Borrowing from the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium), the missions decree sees the mission of the church being one of making Christ present by the entire life of the concrete community as God’s people. The accent, then, goes to the quality of a community’s witness not to the need to convert nonbelievers. The notion of sacrament springs from the patristic era when sacrament had a much broader significance than the seven (or two) rites that Jesus is said to have left with his followers as instruments of his grace. In seeing the church as sacrament, Vatican II accentuates the
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Tensions in the Magisterium on Other Religions

As is well known, the magisterium of Vatican Council II in the Decree on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudeamus et Spe) in article 22 states clearly that “grace works in an unseen way [in] all human beings of good will,” linking them to the paschal mystery. The council does not spell out its reasoning in anything like a complete manner, but even a casual study of the Scriptures cited in Lumen Gentium shows that the council believes that condemnation of nonbelievers is incompatible with the divine will to save all. To be noted is the following: salvation for the conciliar magisterium is still seen to come through Christ alone. The change from more traditional manners of expressing this doctrine lies in the seeming willingness to entertain the notion that there is an extra-ecclesial, nonexplicit manner in which humans are drawn to God. The Declaration on the Religion of the Church to Non-Christian Religions (Nostra Aetate) speaks the language of esteem for other religious traditions in ways that see in them “a ray of the truth of Christ.”12 Hidden beneath this position, to be sure, is a doctrine of analogy: Christianity is partially like other religions, not totally unique.13 This willingness to insert an analogical understanding of Christianity in relationship to other religious ways produces real problems for those who feel called upon to explain it, chief of which is: How does the grace of Christ reach those who have no historical connection with him, his word, or his church?

Karl Rahner has attempted to explain this extra-ecclesial, nonexplicit operation of the grace of Christ in other religions in terms of anonymous or unconscious connection of the nonbeliever to Christ.14 In the end Rahner’s attempt to salvage belief that only in Christ comes grace for salvation has seemed to most of his critics to be unsuccessful, snacking too much of a contrived, scholastic solution, which does not satisfy either Christian liberals or conservatives, or the followers of other religious ways.

One senses in both Rahner and more liberal approaches hints of Justin’s doctrine on the logos spermatikoi that are present in reality as a whole, but all such approaches have the perennial problem of dealing with the hapax (“once-for-allness”) of Christ.15

The failure adequately to explain what Vatican II means, and to square it either with Scripture or with the strong theological tradition that has seen other religious ways as idolatrous is serious. Unless the magisterium can do so convincingly, it will be under fire from two sides. First, it seems to conservatives to give too
much away. Second, to liberals it seems to try to hold on to a discredited supernaturalism. In the early twentieth century, Troeltsch felt such questions need not be faced by missionaries. It is my growing conviction that they are at the core of a missiological dilemma facing Roman Catholicism seventy years later.

The Central Issues for Catholic Missions

At least four issues emerge as central for Roman Catholicism today.

1. The opening of the windows by Pope John XXIII has brought into the church birds that the popes at the start of the twentieth century tried to keep out. The most important of them is historical consciousness, among whose effects is an awareness of the relativity of Catholicism's institutional structures. At a deeper level, historical consciousness raises the hermeneutical question of basic reinterpretations of Christianity in radical ways.

2. Additionally, there is the confusion that we have found between the church's understanding of mission as evangelization and church-planting—with conversion as a goal one seeks or at least does not exclude—and mission as liberation and witness. How are they related?

3. The downturn of men and women in the West presenting themselves as candidates for mission work (however understood) as priests, brothers, and sisters means that mission as implantation of the traditional, hierarchical church, the founding of new churches in full communion with Rome and enjoying a full Roman sacramental life becomes more and more problematic. Either an entire new era in mission is beginning or the mission dynamic of the "official church" has run its course and requires some vitalization. It is hard to see how there will be an increase in "vocations" in the West unless the church abandons its insistence upon clerical celibacy. The failure to allow the ordination of women angers and alienates many potential female church workers.

4. Finally, the question of whether or not Christianity mediates an absolutely supernatural event that surpasses every other form of religiousness remains troubling to Catholicism. It is likely that a downturn in men and women presenting themselves for mission work manifesting growing doubts about the absolute necessity of Christ for salvation and a creeping acceptance of religious relativism among Catholics.

The four problem areas we have raised here all bear upon the mounting Catholic understanding of itself as "world church" in the coming decade will be dull is in for a surprise. My own expectation is that the best parts of the debate will be carried on in third-world journals, which few of us read today, articles whose substance will pivot on the constellation of forces gathering around the realities signified by "world church" and "church universal." Unless John Paul II has more success in forcing local churches into his mold than I think he will have, we are in no way able to forecast a day when Roman Catholic missiology will be as much away. Second, to liberals it seems to try to hold on to a discredited supernaturalism. In the early twentieth century, Troeltsch felt such questions need not be faced by missionaries. It is my growing conviction that they are at the core of a missiological dilemma facing Roman Catholicism seventy years later.

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Notes

1. See Avery Dulles, A Church to Believe In: Discipleship and the Dynamics of Freedom (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 1982), and Models of Revelation (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), for an excellent, ecumenically sensitive treatment of the nature of magisterium and its relation to revelation in Scripture in Roman Catholic theology.


4. See Pius XII, Evangeliæ Praecones, 1951, a. 32.

5. Ibid., aa. 87-90.

6. Ad Gentes, 6-7.

7. Ad Gentes does this, not by repudiating past magisterial implications, but by stating its reverence for other religious ways in a. 9.

8. See Lumen Gentium, a. 1: "By her relationship with Christ, the Church is a kind of sacrament or sign of intimate union with God and of the unity of all humankind. She is also an instrument for the achievement of such union and unity."


11. I largely share the liberals' concerns and substantive positions, but it is important to realize that these ideas go beyond the magisterium, and perhaps contradict it. The magisterium itself is relatively conservative, although trying to overcome the rude triumphalism of the former formulations of Christian self-identity.


13. David Tracy, The Analogical Imagination (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co. 1981), pp. 293-329, gives a nuanced and balanced account of the Catholic tendency to accept such analogical elements along with the more typical Protestant tendency to see the "negative dialectical" side of Christianity, that is to say, the ways in which it differs from other religious ways. Tracy stresses that both are necessary and important in Christian theology, and gives concrete examples of how classical figures in Christian theology, while tending one direction always include the other.


15. See Heb. 7:27, 9:26, along with Rom. 6:10. The difficulty with such once-for-all interpretations in Christology is, of course, that they take one right into the heart of the supernaturalist world-view, which an acquaintance with history of religions makes most problematic. Again Troeltsch formulates the issue well. See his "Uber historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie," in Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 2 (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1962), pp. 729-53. According to Troeltsch, people seeking in theology some absolute point—e.g., Christ as alpha and omega—hanker after something our incurably historical universe cannot deliver.

16. Pope Paul VI's Evangelii Nuntiandi (On Evangelization in the Modern World), attempts to bring order into this confusion. Though there is much of real worth in his apostolic exhortation, there is no way in which one can say it has ended the debate.

The Challenge of the Gospel in Nicaragua

John Stam

Last year I celebrated the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther’s birth with the evangelical community in revolutionary Nicaragua. I began to reflect on the similarities between Luther’s situation and ours in the Nicaragua of today.

Five hundred years of medieval feudalism and the religious order that legitimated it were disintegrating. A new world was being born. The sixteenth-century Reformers, in order to rediscover the meaning of the gospel for their turbulent times, had to peel off layer after layer of cultural accretions superimposed on the Word of God, calling into question the traditions of medieval Christendom.

Evangelicals in Nicaragua today face a similar challenge. They too must ask what biblical commitment really means in a time of profound social revolution. In order to be effective disciples of Christ they must learn to let God be God—remembering that Yahweh’s transcendence may challenge the very traditions and attitudes that have seemed most paradigmatically religious.

My own experience in Nicaragua during the five years since the overthrow of dictator Anastasio Somoza has confirmed my fundamental conviction that the gospel, if freed from cultural baggage, is explosive with radical significance for the people of Central America today. To discover the meaning of evangelical obedience in this revolutionary context, evangelicals are not called upon to become less evangelical or less biblical in order to become supposedly more revolutionary. They must learn to be immensely more biblical and more evangelical than ever. I am convinced that Nicaraguan Christians are leading the way in this truly revolutionary breakthrough, at the “cutting-edge” of theology today.

Luther discovered, for sixteenth-century Europe, that the gospel was not eternally locked into the medieval, feudalistic structures that had shaped culture and theology for half a millennium. In modern Nicaragua thousands of Christians had to discover, painfully, that the gospel was not inseparable from the United States-allied Somoza dynasty that is now yesterday’s nightmare. Too many Nicaraguan evangelicals made the mistake of believing that God would never let the Sandinistas drive out a staunch anti-Communist “Christian” like Anastasio Somoza. Now they know how wrong they were.

The Reformers realized that a rediscovered gospel, purged of all its medieval adornments and distortions, could live perfectly well in the emerging society. Similarly, the Nicaraguan Christians now ask why the gospel cannot live and witness and even thrive within the highly original social and economic experiment that is occurring in their land. Christianity has already flourished under incredibly diverse social and economic systems, and could presumably do so in Sandinista Nicaragua.

Years ago Eternity magazine published a debate that opened my mind and set me off on the long search for an evangelical political ethics. The question debated was, as I recall, “Does conservative theology necessarily imply conservative politics?” I remember that the “Yes, it does” answer corresponded to my own personal biases, but the “No, it doesn’t” reply (written by a staunch Calvinist) began to make more sense to me. Thirty years of foreign-missionary service have now convinced me that my almost instinctive identification of the gospel with capitalism and Western-style democracy was anything but evangelical. In the third world I have found this view untenable and highly detrimental to Christian witness.

I believe it would help evangelicals today, needing to take a perspective on Central America and specifically on Nicaragua, to return to the essentials of the Reformation heritage and rediscover their significance. They are too numerous to be covered in their entirety in this essay: we shall not touch, for example, the universal priesthood of believers, or the radically historical character of the Christian faith (which J. Gresham Machen considered essential to evangelical Christianity). Nor shall we consider the unique contributions of the Radical Reformation, in some ways more germane to today’s Central America. We shall limit ourselves to just three emphases of the Reformation, which could revolutionize Central American evangelicals: (1) Scripture alone, sola scriptura, (2) grace alone, sola gratia, and (3) faith as obedience, fiducia/obedientia.

Scripture Alone, Sola Scriptura

During the Middle Ages, Scholastic tradition had been practically equated with divine revelation and elevated to an almost creedal status. Against this, the Reformers insisted on sola scriptura as a theological criterion of radical criticality. This has been called the Protestant principle: the insistence on Scripture as the only authoritative revelation of God and his will for humankind. Tradition and theological systems are not on a par with Scripture, but rather, must be judged by Scripture. Whatever fails to pass the test—such as the sale of indulgences—must go. Hence, sola scriptura is a radically iconoclastic critical principle—in sixteenth-century Europe or in twentieth-century Central America. This relentless two-edged sword spares no fetish or shibboleth.

Today Latin American theologians insist on a similar rule of criticality called sospecha (roughly, “suspicion” or questioning the seemingly obvious with humility and honesty). Exegetical sospecha is the courage to suspect that apparently self-evident “readings” of Scripture might, in fact, be “misreadings”—self-evident only because of their hidden alignment with one’s own ideological bias. Hence this exegetical sospecha should also result in theological “suspiciousness” (critical questioning of theoretical faith-systems) and ideological “suspiciousness” (a keen scent for contraband sociopolitical opinions and options that masquerade as biblical and evangelical but are really ideological).

We must never tire of exposing our ideas to the searchlight of the Scriptures. One Central American pastor, on a crusade to expel colleagues with political views less rightist than his own, expressed quite bluntly that he was never going to get involved in biblical arguments on the issue because “everybody has a different opinion about what the Bible means, and the debate would go on forever.” I answered that for precisely that reason we desperately needed a serious exegetical dialogue.

Nicaragua, since the Sandinista triumph, has been characterized by an honest and humble search among evangelicals for the
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message of God’s Word to their new, revolutionary context. The Nicaraguan church has become a theological laboratory, a hermeneutical community. Almost from the first day, an exciting exegetical and theological agenda started evangelicals thinking. Churches that had put young members under “discipline” for cooperating with the insurrection against Somoza began to question the criteria they had used. Many evangelicals began to realize that the revolution was achieving concrete goals in areas where Christians had been doing far too little besides talking: literacy, housing, land reform, education, health services, etcetera. And added to the theological agenda were the themes of justice, violence (institutionalized, revolutionary, and counterrevolutionary), social revolution, the mission of the church, sectarianism, faith and ideology, etcetera.

The theological debate among evangelicals has been further stimulated by the divisions within the Roman Catholic Church. The Managua curia, led by Archbishop Obando y Bravo, and the conservative newspaper La Prensa have resorted basically to a pre-Vatican II theology of papacy, Mariology, and hierarchical authoritarianism in their heavily ideological opposition to the Sandinista revolution. Their authoritarian ideology is threatened by the broad popular participation within the widespread mass organizations. Much of their basic theology is obviously incompatible with evangelical convictions, and their exegesis (as also that of Pope John Paul II’s Central American homilies) is consistently tendentious, not only against the revolution but against the evangelical renewal of the Roman Catholic Church itself.

Nicaragua’s “Popular Church,” or “Church of the People,” by contrast, reflects far more deeply the processes of renewal in recent Catholicism. (This undoubtedly explains the strong support from European theologians like Karl Rahner, Hans Künig, J. B. Metz, and many other pioneers of contemporary Catholic renewal.) Exegetically, their ongoing searchings are consistently more biblical than the scholastic traditionalism of the curia and La Prensa’s theological material. While the anti-Sandinista Roman Catholic establishment has definitely backed away from the hopeful springtime of renewal for which John XXIII had prayed, the “Church of the Poor” has boldly projected this revitalized faith into the future of Nicaragua.

In the midst of this debate, as a complex social revolution advances, Nicaraguan Protestants have been driven relentlessly back to God’s Word. In the ideological tug-of-war between anti-Communism (with all its echoes of the now dead dictator) and anti-imperialism (all too justified by a long history of interventions and by the murderous, pseudo-Christian “contras” of recent years), Nicaraguan evangelicals are patiently seeking a biblical perspective on their social revolution and its challenges.

A truly biblical church cannot be static; first, because Scripture itself must constantly correct our own misunderstandings of the Word, and second, because the Word must constantly speak to new circumstances and challenges. As an evangelical “hermeneutical community,” Central American Protestantism can well learn from the courageous example of Nicaraguan Christians in their ongoing pilgrimage with the Word, in the midst of an inevitable social upheaval in their impoverished isthmus.

This accords with the Reformation link between sola scriptura and the ecclesia reformata semper reformanda (a reformed church in constant reformation).

Grace Alone, Sola Gratia

Martin Luther described the evangelical principle of sola gratia and its corollary of justification by faith as the article by which the church stands or falls. In the spirit of the great Heidelberg Catechism, the heart of evangelical theology is grace and the heart of evangelical ethics is gratitude. Correspondingly, the opposite of grace must be seen, on the one hand, as justification by works (Pelagianism, legalism) and, on the other hand, as “cheap grace.”

Evangelicals in Central America have every reason to be thankful to God for the great tradition of which they are heirs, but little reason to feel triumphalistic about their own evangelical clarity and fidelity today. Evangelicals have been repeating all the “saved-by-faith” formulas, but in general have tended to fall into unevangelical legalisms, which cast serious doubts on the significance such formulas might really have among them. In fact, evangelicals tend to reflect all too faithfully the individualistic, competitive, success-oriented elements of their society—and even more so of North American evangelicalism (which they also reflect in Central America because of the missionary origin of their Protestantism).

Trying to understand the gospel in the midst of revolution, one can observe that precisely where traditional “evangelicalism” has distorted the gospel into this crass blend of legalism and cheap grace seems to be the very point where evangelicalism has been all too successfully adapted to the individualistic, success-oriented culture from which it was brought to Central America by the missionaries. What is extra-biblical and less than evangelical in this religious ethos proves to be a transplant. It reflects an imported ideology, which must not be identified with the gospel itself.

The Sandinista revolution confronts Central American evangelicals at a moment of great theological crisis, a moment when, despite impressive numerical growth, their evangelical identity is far from clear and pure. It is doubtful that most Protestants in Central America have a deep or faithful understanding of the great evangelical convictions, beginning with the profound and liberating truth of the grace of God. A drastically changing society may cause all of us to become more aware of these deficiencies, and the size of the task ahead may force us to improve our theological equipment.

Faith as Obedience, Fiducia/Obedientia

During the long centuries of the Middle Ages, faith was often seen (by Thomas Aquinas, for example) as mere assensus, mental assent to a set of statements about God. Against this notion of faith, and in the context of the disintegrating social context it tended to legitimate, the Reformers rediscovered the biblical understanding of faith in another, nontheoretical, dimension: that of commitment and obedience, fiducia/obedientia.

This relationship of faith, which Paul calls a “faith which works in love” and “follows the truth in love,” transforms all aspects of life and culture. In the Reformation tradition, later evangelical giants like Jonathan Edwards and the Wesleys also insisted that faith is total personal commitment to Christ issuing in daily, concrete, historical obedience to the Living Lord. Evangelical theology and evangelical ethics here become inseparable.

Despite these Reformation insights, however, it has been deceptively easy for evangelical communities to slip unwittingly back into a faith of mere assent, adding at best a pietism of individual holiness. The ethics of Central American evangelicalism has hardly advanced beyond the “thou shalt nots” inherited from North American fundamentalism, except occasionally to amplify the code of prohibitions to include television-viewing, lipstick and pants for women, or long hair for men.

Without depreciating the need for individual ethics and redemption from personal sin, it must be said that individualistic morality is not enough. A holiness ethic that ignores structural sin and social injustice is an essentially selfish, less-than-evangelical ethic. Much of Central American Protestantism has yet to realize this, but today’s realities demand of us the most profound and cre-
ative ethical reflection in our history, if we would be faithful to our Lord.

What, then, does faith—this biblical faith comprising fiducia and obedientia—require of us in today's revolutionary Central America? For me, three themes have been emerging as central: commitment to life, commitment to the poor, and commitment to the truth.

The first of these is the commitment to life. Massacre and institutionalized violence have been the curse of Central America. In El Salvador, for example, some 30,000 Indians and peasants were slaughtered by the national army in less than two weeks of the massacre of 1932. Since then, writes Salvadoran poet Roque Dalton, "every Salvadoran carries 30,000 corpses on his back." After the CIA-directed overthrow of the Guatamalan government in 1954, revolutionary struggle began to sweep across Central America. In the late 1950s and early 1960s this was met by the violence and repression of counterinsurgency and the ideology of National Security. Mass murders have become the order of the day, and to witness the group funerals resulting from these massacres is to look into the very depths of "the mystery of iniquity." In this dialectical context we must be pro-life!

The second theme brought forward by contemporary circumstances is commitment to the poor. One Sunday in 1514 in Sancti Spiritus, Cuba, a Spanish slave-holder (encamendero) priest named Bartolomé de las Casas had to preach on Ecclesiasticus 34:23-27: "To offer a sacrifice with what is taken from the poor, is like strangling their children before their eyes. The bread of the needy is the life of the poor; to deprive them of their bread is a crime. To rob your neighbor of his food is to kill him; to take away his salary is the same as shedding his blood." Bartolomé de las Casas repented of his sin, freed his Indians, and dedicated the rest of his long life to the defense of those whom he had previously exploited.

But in spite of las Casas's work, and that of countless Christians after him, a tiny minority of Latin Americans still monopolize a shamefully disproportionate share of the wealth in nearly every country, and the vast majority are desperately poor. The evangelical response to undeniable poverty is divided. For some evangelicals commitment to the poor means ministering to them in their misery, but for most Nicaraguan evangelicals this is not enough. Commitment also entails joining the poor in their struggle to achieve the essentials of human existence: food, clothing, shelter, gainful employment. Needless to say, a closer identification with the poor in their struggle is bound to affect one's frequently too comfortable lifestyles. Genuine commitment to the poor will be practical, concrete, nonpaternalistic.

Finally, obedient discipleship in today's Nicaragua demands of evangelicals an unconditional commitment to the truth. Central America today is caught in the whirlwind of a raging propaganda war, a blitzkrieg of arguments and accusations whose major casualty is truth. In the midst of this informational disaster zone, the evangelical community is called upon to exist as a witness to truth.

Some evangelicals have not heard the call of this ethical imperative. But others, pastors and lay people alike, have committed themselves to serious study, perpetual self-scrutiny, and bold testimony. They have realized that a basic commitment to truth is one dimension of our basic commitment to Christ. The fearless honesty of Salvadoran archbishop Oscar Romero challenges all Central American Christians: in identification with the poor he opened himself up to the truth, spoke out the truth in his famous weekly homilies, and paid for it with his life.

In the midst of acute propaganda confrontation, Nicaraguan evangelicals are learning to be an effective zone of truth, especially under the leadership of CEPAD, an evangelical development organization, founded after the earthquake of 1972, which has united the leadership of nearly all the numerous church groups and denominations. They make every effort to check out all rumors, accusations, abuses of power, and the like having to do with religious affairs, and have done a commendable job of clearing up inevitable misunderstandings with government organizations (such as the confusion of Protestant denominations with sects).

Especially in view of the constant misinformation in the foreign press about the Miskitu situation, it is significant that the leaders of the Moravian Church have always maintained that the problems on the Atlantic Coast are ethnic and political in nature and that there is certainly no "persecution" of the church or of individual Christians for their faith.

The greatest witness to truth by Nicaraguan Christians has been their faithfulness unto death. Against the constant aggression by the "contras," scores of faithful pastors, teachers, Delegates of the Word, nurses, and many others, have stood firmly in their places of service and have paid for their convictions with their blood. Today, as yesterday, the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church: of a renewed church, eager to respond with evangelical commitment to the challenge of prophetic witness and sacrificial service.

**Personalia**

James F. Hopewell, former director of the World Council of Churches' Theological Education Fund, died on October 5, 1984, in Atlanta, Georgia, at age 55. Dr. Hopewell, an Episcopal priest, was Professor of Religion and the Church at Candler School of Theology, Emory University. As an Episcopal missionary in Liberia, 1954-60, he served on the faculty of Cuttington College and Divinity School, then on the staff of TEF from 1960-70, and on the faculty of Hartford Seminary, 1970-72, before going to Emory University, Atlanta, in 1972.

The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization has appointed Carl J. Johansson to succeed Gottfried Osei-Mensah as Executive Secretary. An ordained minister of the Lutheran Church in America, Johansson has served as Executive Director of the United Mission to Nepal since 1974.

Upon the retirement of David M. Stowe, the United Church Board for World Ministries elected Scott S. Libbey as Executive Vice President. The 175th anniversary of the founding of its predecessor agency, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810) and the sailing of the first missionaries (1812) will be celebrated in 1985.

The Franciscans of the United States have established a Chair of Mission Studies at the Washington Theological Union, a Catholic seminary, in Silver Spring, Maryland, through a gift of $500,000. Vincent Cushing, O.F.M., President of the Union, announced that the first appointment to the new Chair, for a Visiting Professor, will be in September 1985. William McConville, O.F.M., is Director of the Program in Contemporary Mission at the Union.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches and a contributing editor of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1984. He has also been appointed as the first black Anglican bishop of Johannesburg.

Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, has appointed Ted Ward as Professor of Education and Dean for International Studies and Programs. Ward will commence his responsibilities at Trinity in the school year 1985-86 when he retires as Professor of Education and Director of Programs in Non-formal Education of the Institute for International Studies at Michigan State University.
The Evolution of Evangelical Mission Theology since World War II

Arthur F. Glasser

Howard Snyder stands taller and sees further than many evangelical writers today. Having been a missionary in the third world (Brazil) gives him considerable insight into the contemporary scene. Not only is he biblical through and through. His theologizing is disciplined reflection on the total witness of the Bible on the basic issues facing the church in our day. As a result, what he writes I read, and when he speaks I listen.

In 1983, at a conference at Colorado Springs, Colorado, I heard him discuss the significance of Jesus Christ’s preoccupation with the kingdom of God. Snyder then went on to relate this to the present need of the church. I was fascinated. But it was his initial statement that particularly grasped my attention. Without qualification he introduced his presentation with the following judgment: “The recent partial recovery among evangelicals of the kingdom of God theme is surely one of the most significant theological developments of this decade—perhaps of this century.” This brought me to a full stop. But I heartily agreed!

In this article I shall seek to show the defensibility of this statement. I shall do this by tracing the postwar evolution of evangelical perspectives on the theology of the Christian mission. “Evolution” of evangelical theology? You know how tricky it is even to attempt a definition of “evangelical.” And when have evangelicals ever admitted that their theologizing reflects “evolution” (that very bad word)? From Tübingen’s Olympian heights Peter Beyerhaus discerns at least six different kinds of evangelicals (Bosch 1980:30). But even he would be hard put to judge where the midstream of their theologizing exists, whether among the separatist dispensationalists, or the traditional orthodoxy, or the neo-evangelicals.

Hence, while I beg your indulgence, I shall attempt to indicate successively the shifts in thought and emphasis that seem (to me, at least) to have characterized the evangelical debate on mission theology since 1947, when, according to Max Warren, those who met at Whitby (International Missionary Council) were hopeful “that the most testing days of the Christian mission, at least in our generation, lay behind us” (Goodall 1953:40).

Affirming the Great Commission (plus “Follow-up”)

The only significant student gatherings on the mission of the church in the first decade after World War II were triennially convened by the InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF) at the University of Illinois (Urbana). In the late 1940s and early 1950s their mission theology had but one burning theme: the Great Commission (Mt. 28:18–20). Even though the worldwide political scene drastically changed during this period, none of the leaders of these gatherings saw fit to broaden this biblical focus. Colonial empires were breaking down, communists were triumphing in East Asia, and the Korean War was trying the West, but no matter. And this despite Max Warren’s solemn warning (at the International Missionary Council gathering in Willingen, 1952) that “we know with complete certainty that the most testing days of the Christian mission in our generation lie just ahead” (Goodall 1953:40).

However, evangelicals remained unmoved. Whereas they sought to heed Jesus’ word not to be alarmed by deteriorating world conditions (Mt. 24:6), they did not respond to his injunction to be creatively responsive to “the signs of the times” (Lk. 12:56). They also largely perceived the missionary task in terms of evangelism. So far as they were concerned, the world had yet to be fully evangelized. Their personal, liberating encounter with Jesus Christ gave them but one desire: to share him with all those making up their generation. Furthermore, Jesus’ final wish, expressed as a command, was that they “make disciples of all nations.” I can still recall how the Bible addresses at those IVCF student gatherings were largely taken with personal discipleship, not with anything approximating a comprehensive mission theology. And as for the revolutionary changes upsetting the status quo of the world, the typical comment was: “So what, hasn’t the world always been in a mess?” Then would follow the clincher: “What Christ has commanded we must obey! No disciple of his can be indifferent to the missionary mandate!”

Nothing seemed to catch the imagination so much as the individualism reflected in Edward M. Bounds’s memorable salvo: “Men are God’s method. The church is looking for better methods; God is looking for better men” (1963:5). Obviously, an elaborate theology of mission was not felt necessary. What counted was personal discipleship: the sort of devotion to Christ that made one a faithful witness to his gospel, particularly in those places where he was largely unknown.

This emphasis on discipleship was greatly strengthened and popularized by the Navigator emphasis on “follow-up.” During the war many American service personnel came under the spell of Dawson Trotman and this movement. When Billy Graham increasingly began using Navigator personnel and methods in his crusades to establish new converts in the faith, it became increasingly apparent to even his most relentless critics that permanent results were indeed being achieved. However, this rigorous Navigator additive only confirmed to many the truncated and individualistic nature of evangelical Christianity. Something else was needed.

Discovering Church Growth (plus the Anthropologists)

My own missionary experience as a member of a large, multinational and interdenominational society (the China Inland Mission) from 1945 to 1951, and followed by four intense years teaching a growing number of missionary volunteers (Columbia Bible College) from 1952 to 1955, were largely shaped by the emphases just described. Our preoccupation was with ardor rather than method, and the texts we used stressed Christology and soteriology, rarely ecclesiology. In China my evangelistic activity was initially among the Chinese and was only marginally related to the deliberate outreach of local congregations. I never heard anyone discuss the need for devising plans to increase the membership growth of ex-

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isting congregations or to multiply the number of congregations in populous areas. Such strategizing would have been regarded as unspiritual. Our concern was to focus the energies of Christians on their own spiritual development that they might be vigorous and authentic in their witness to Christ. We did not critically evaluate our work; our ministry was indifferent to measurable results. After all, God alone gave what increase we enjoyed (1 Cor. 3:6).

Later, I found myself in the midst of a tribal-people movement in which the emergence of new congregations was a significant reality. But no one suggested that we analyze the reasons for this phenomenon. All were agreed that it too was totally of God. Donald A. McGavran called a halt to all this in 1955 with his epochal work, The Bridges of God. Slowly at first, but increasingly, evangelicals began to talk of “church growth.” This stimulated the beginnings of evangelical theologizing. True, many had read Roland Allen, Johannes Bavinck, Robert Glover, A. J. Gordon, Arthur T. Pierson, and others, but it was McGavran who pressed us to “think church.” He argued that the key to worldwide evangelization was the multiplication of churches, not the multiplication of evangelists. Yet, even though he eventually made a massive impact on evangelicals worldwide, as late as 1976 his perspectives were still struggling for acceptance. In that year Christian Missions in Biblical Perspective appeared, written by a highly respected evangelical, J. Herbert Kane. It soon became a widely used text in evangelical schools worldwide, although only ten pages are devoted to the role of the church, and even these pages are devoid of any specific discussion of its essence, structure, or functions in terms of mission outreach.

Those who began to listen to McGavran, however, started to concentrate on the growth and multiplication of local congregations. This was God’s will: a chief and irreplaceable element in mission praxis. At first the focus was almost entirely methodological, but eventually this stimulated the beginnings of a reflection on the church as a reality in its own right. The new thesis was: when any particular church ceases to grow in an area where other churches are growing, something fundamental has been lost in its very essence as the people of God in the midst of the nations. Increasingly, the closing clause of the Great Commission came into focus. Converts must not only be “taught to observe” all that Jesus had commanded. They must be baptized—and this pointed in the direction of their entrance into the life, worship, witness, and service of the local congregation.

Evangelicals both within and outside the conciliar churches (World Council of Churches-oriented) flocked to hear McGavran. The Church Growth movement began to take shape and multiply, and so forth. The list keeps growing.

A new stream of input came into the midst of this church-growth ferment, through a journal subsidized by the American Bible Society called Practical Anthropology. Growing numbers of evangelical anthropologists began using it as a vehicle for promoting cultural sensitivity and exposing the mono-cultural stance and culture blindness of the missionary movement. Charles Kraft, Eugene Nida, Kenneth Pike, William Reyburn, William Smalley, and many others slowly awakened missionaries to the possibility of receiving help from the social sciences in their efforts to understand the nature of culture, cross-cultural communication, leadership selection and training, revitalization movements, and the like. Looking back, one can confidently affirm that in the three decades since Bridges appeared, evangelicals have been increasingly using these insights to probe every aspect of the church—its decay as well as its growth.

Indeed, since 1955 a significant literature has been produced on church growth as well as mission anthropology. Some missionaries even began to tackle the task of developing an integrated mission theology that was consistently biblical. Johannes Blauw gave unexpected impetus to this with his 1962 survey of the biblical theology of mission: The Missionary Nature of the Church. But it took Charles Van Engen’s massive study, The Growth of the True Church (1981) to convince evangelicals that a biblical ecclesiology could be married to church-growth theory. The writings of such evangelicals as Peter Beyerhaus, Harry Boer, David Bosch, Orlando Costas, Richard De Ridder, John Stott, and Johannes Verkuyl helped along the way.

Challenged by Ecumenists (and by the China Withdrawal)

At the beginning of the 1960s evangelicals were only marginally interested in the ecumenical movement. The dwindling commitment of its member churches to evangelism as biblically defined, and to mission as traditionally understood—“where there are no Christians there ought to be Christians, and where there are no churches there ought to be churches”—made evangelicals less than curious as to what was emanating from Geneva. Furthermore, the radicalization of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in the 1960s, paralleled by signs of the growing vigor of evangelicals, confirmed to many that they were on the right track. But were they taking the full measure of what was happening in the world? I was personally baffled over the lack of interest of many in the sober lessons I thought God was seeking to teach arising from the missionary encounter with communism in China and our subsequent withdrawal from that country. Not a few in mainline churches seemed to care, although I became impatient with those conciliar churchpeople who wrote of the whole China mission as a massive failure—nothing less than the judgment of God. But what provoked me more was their suggestion that the whole mission movement come to an end, the sooner the better.

In the midst of the growing radicalization of the 1960s, evangelicals began to receive new insights, and these came from surprising quarters. Pope John XXIII and Vatican II shattered the long-held stereotype that Rome was incapable of change, and that missionaries even began to tackle the task of developing an integrated mission theology that was consistently biblical. Johannes Blauw gave unexpected impetus to this with his 1962 survey of the biblical theology of mission: The Missionary Nature of the Church. But it took Charles Van Engen’s massive study, The Growth of the True Church (1981) to convince evangelicals that a biblical ecclesiology could be married to church-growth theory. The writings of such evangelicals as Peter Beyerhaus, Harry Boer, David Bosch, Orlando Costas, Richard De Ridder, John Stott, and Johannes Verkuyl helped along the way.

Yet not entirely. Believe it or not, many evangelicals are not solely activists. Many read. Although the probability is that their own publications are largely read by their own constituencies, many evangelical leaders are likely to be up on the literature of their opposite numbers in the WCC. They know something about such writers as Wilhelm Andersen, Gerald Anderson, José Miguez Bonino, Ferdinand Hahn, Johannes Hoekendijk, Kosuke Koyama, Paul Loeffler, Hans Margull, Paul Minear, Stephen Neill, Lesslie Newbigin, Eugene Smith, Bengt Sundkler, John Taylor, Georg Vicedom, and Max Warren. And they are something like the authors that some evangelicals began to sit up and take notice, for not a few of the authors wrote with genuine evangelical concern. Furthermore, they often showed themselves remarkably at home in the Scriptures, and the passages they used were often those that evangelicals tended to overlook. A case in point: when the WCC’s Commission on World Mission and Evangelism delegates met in Melbourne (1980) under the rubric “Your Kingdom Come,” they used passages from the synoptic Gospels. When evangelicals met a few weeks later in Pattaya, Thailand, their motif was “How...
This dichotomy and polarization seemed strange. Was it theologically necessary? Actually, during the 1960s some evangelicals were beginning to wonder whether they were really listening to the total witness of Scripture, or not. Had they been preoccupied with an “evangelical canon” within the larger corpus of revealed truth?

Struggling for a Holistic Gospel (and Listening to the Mennonites)

When I joined the faculty at Fuller Theological Seminary in the fall of 1969, I found the atmosphere anything but tranquil. War in Vietnam, the Civil Rights movement, and the confrontational tactics of the students all challenged evangelical preoccupation with evangelism, discipleship training, and church growth. Among those who welcomed me was one who conveyed the “official” suggestion that I do what I could to “get some Bible into that Church Growth movement!” Although administrative duties largely absorbed my time, I felt I should review all that evangelicals had written on mission and social responsibility. This largely drew a blank. The evangelical “right” was fearful of publishing anything that might be interpreted as even a whiff of the long-discredited “social gospel.” (An innocuous article that I wrote in Freedom Now [January 1969], stressing the importance of evangelical social concern, was dismissed as “favorable toward this deadly menace” by the then chairman of the Board of Trustees of San Francisco Baptist Theological Seminary [Faith, May/June 1974, pp. 7-9].)

Understandably, evangelicals had long since dismissed the old liberal ethic as bankrupt. Its political and social philosophy had not stood the test of time. It had proved itself both naïve and impractical. Its mission theory reduced the gospel to a social message and the church to a mere social institution. This resulted from its nonrecognition of the fall and its unwillingness to accept the absolute necessity either of Christ’s vicarious atonement or of the new birth—if one is to see, much less enter, the kingdom of God (see Walhout 1963:519–20).

The only consistent breath of relevant evangelical insight into social responsibility seemed to be coming from the public witness and hard-working pens in the Mennonite tradition. The Mennonites alone seemed to have escaped an encapsulated, individualistic evangelicalism as well as the reduction of the gospel to a vapid “Christian” humanism. But why did not the writing of Guy Hershberger, Paul Peachey, and John Howard Yoder include creative approaches to evangelism and church growth, at home and abroad? Only later, with the appearance of Mission Focus in 1972, did we begin to sense the breadth and depth of their missionary concern. In contrast, the writings of Reformed theologians stressed the Lordship of Christ over all of life yet seemed only marginally concerned with the urgency of the unfinished evangelistic task.

At this point, evangelicals here and there began to fall back on what proved to have acceptable missiological credentials, if one was to judge by the standards of Gustav Warneck (1834–1910). He believed that the Kulturbefehl should have a central place in mission thought and practice (see Kasdorf 1976:54–67). Among others, I had been preaching and writing on my growing understanding of this theme (“The Cultural Mandate,” e.g., Horner 1968:178–88), contending that evangelicals were remiss in their handling of Scripture if they neglected what it had to say about life in this world. The Bible is not solely a revelation of redemption. Actually, two streams of obligation course through its pages. One is rooted in the creation story and reflects God’s concern for this world—all its social patterns and political institutions.

To participate in the renewal of human civilization and to seek the amelioration of all its destructive tendencies is pleasing in God’s sight. The other stream of obligation is rooted in the redemptive concern that comes to a climax in the salvific work of Christ—his death, resurrection, issuance of the Great Commission, and sending of the Holy Spirit. Both of these mandates are clearly stated as response to the question, What does the Lord require of his people but “to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with . . . God” (Mic. 6:8 and Mt. 23:23).

At first it seemed that the acceptance of responsibility for both mandates provided evangelicals with a holistic gospel. But in the early 1970s some began to realize that this neat equation did not solve the issue of priority. Which came first, evangelism or social responsibility? Then came Billy Graham’s massive 1974 “Lausanne Houseparty” (the International Congress on World Evangelization, consisting of 4,000 guests). It wonderfully affirmed the validity of both mandates in its Covenant (especially paragraph 5), but evangelicals almost immediately thereafter began to divide over the issue of priorities. To some the answer was obvious. Others disagreed. This debate continued throughout the 1970s.

Listening to the “Third Force” (and Making Your Mission Theology Trinitarian)

One of the great signs of hope during the entire postwar period has been the growing vitality and size of the “Third Force” (Henry P. Van Dusen’s phrase). Until the 1970s Pentecostals and the mainline charismatics tended to pursue their own goals for world evangelization. They largely ignored the evangelicals despite the high level of theological agreement and personal commitment they had with them. Unfortunately, certain segments within evangelicalism either openly criticized their exegetical conclusions or despised their social roots. Then these ardent spirits started to invade evangelical seminaries. Fuller’s provost, the late Glenn W. Barker, used to say: “Twenty years ago we were not sure they would make it; now they are running away with all the prizes!” The charismatics began doing what evangelicals could only envy. They were not only multiplying churches all over the world but bringing significant renewal to mainline congregations. Here was something separatist dispensationalists thought impossible.

Moreover, these joyful Christians were initiating all sorts of lay evangelistic movements and launching a variety of significant mission societies. Although unashamedly evangelical in their high view of Scripture and their enthusiasm for evangelism and church growth, they tended to draw back from involvement in interdenominational evangelical enterprises prior to the 1970s. Following Lausanne (1974), however, they came into their own, and caused many non-charismatics to sit up and take notice. Stereotyped impressions and entrenched prejudices began to give way. In no time at all new light was being gained on the previously baffling and divisive question of mission priorities. It came about because of their introduction of the subject of spiritual gifts.

By the mid-1970s Pentecostals and other charismatics had everyone talking about spiritual gifts, their diversity, and their exercise in ministry. A distinct and impressive literature began to appear as the Society for Pentecostal Studies began to function. Eventually Paul Pomerille produced a Ph.D. dissertation on the Pentecostal contribution to evangelical mission theology (1982). He raised the question whether Pentecostal perspectives constituted either a distortion or a correction to mission theology, and then went on to show that if one focuses on the kingdom-of-God motif, not only is the role of the Holy Spirit within a trinitarian view of mission clarified, but the essentiality of the kingdom of God to mission theology is wonderfully established.

The sheer diversity of spiritual gifts listed in various parts of
the New Testament (Rom. 12; I Cor. 12; Eph. 4; I Pet. 2) cannot but mean that God does not force his people or their congregations to adopt any one “authorized” agenda. Spiritual gifts make possible a congregation’s obedience to both the cultural and the redemptive mandates. Since all Christians are the recipients of the Holy Spirit’s indwelling presence and enablement for confessing Jesus Christ before non-Christians, each congregation must be seen as primarily a confessing presence in society. But in the full exercise of the gifts Christians have individually received, there will always be those involved in the apostolate, serving as God’s envoys to the non-Christian world. There will always be others involved in the prophetic calling, reminding churches and Christians of their societal responsibilities. And there will always be those whose concerns are pastoral, assisting local congregations in their worship, nurture, study, and mutual helpfulness (1 Cor. 12:28–31). What this means is that one cannot establish biblically the thesis that evangelism should be the priority of all Christians although all are under obligation to bear witness to Jesus Christ.

A case can be made (in part) for what the Reformers, and many others subsequently, believed—that the Great Commission was primarily given to the first apostles. In Acts 1:2 Luke pointedly states that prior to the ascension, Jesus gave this commandment “through the Holy Spirit to the apostles whom he had chosen.” This means that in their leadership of the emerging church, they were particularly responsible to see that the constant focus of all congregations must be on making disciples of all people. And so ever since. Because of the “sensitiveness” of the church, all Christians must be reminded by their leaders to give a high priority to the sending forth of those gifted for evangelism and outreach to the regions beyond, where Christ has yet to be named (2 Cor. 10:16). God is concerned that his people be constantly reminded of the need for apostolic advance into neglected areas and among unreached peoples. And significantly, there has yet to emerge a vital mission-oriented congregation whose pastor has been indifferent to the central priority of the Great Commission.

Reaffirming the Kingdom of God (and Entering the Ecumenical Debate)

How can the church be liberated to evangelize this generation? If it confines itself to maintenance activity, to “churchly” affairs, it becomes preoccupied with religious behavior and with its own kind of people. It feels itself threatened by the world and retreats from positive interaction with it. But when it becomes kingdom-oriented a buoyancy of spirit takes over. The priority becomes broad, for kingdom activities include all human concerns and this world as well. As Howard Snyder correctly affirms:

When Christians catch a vision of the Kingdom of God, their sight shifts to the poor, the orphan, the widow, the refugee, the wretched of the earth, to God’s future—to the concerns of justice, mercy and truth. Church people think about how to get people into the church; Kingdom people think about how to get the church into the world. Church people worry that the world might change the church; Kingdom people work to see the church change the world . . . If the church has one great need, it is this: To be set free for the Kingdom of God, to be liberated from itself as it has become in order to be itself as God intends. The church must be freed to participate fully in the economy of God [1983:11].

Evangelicals here and there are increasingly coming to sense that the kingdom-of-God motif provides what Johannes Verkuyl has called “the hub around which all of mission work revolves” and adds, “If it be true that we who practice mission must take the kingdom of God as our constant point of orientation, it is imperative that we pay close heed to the whole range of burdens and evils plaguing mankind” (1978:203). If God’s tomorrow means the end of exploitation, injustice, inequality, war, racism, nationalism, suffering, death, and the ignorance of God, Christians must be “signs” today of God’s conquest of all these “burdens and evils” through the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ. No longer can evangelicals confine themselves to the single priority of proclaiming the knowledge of God among the nations and settle for the status quo of everything else. Of course, Christians shall not establish the kingdom, much less bring it to fullness. Any trinitarian theology of mission worth its salt will show that God alone will accomplish this. The consummation of human history and the manifestation of the kingdom in power and glory will be the work of God alone. But this does not mean that Christians today dare indulge the luxury of indifference to the moral and social issues of today. Only those are “blessed” who are the merciful, the peace-makers, the persecuted for righteousness sake: “Their is the kingdom of heaven” (Mt. 5:7–12).

One theme remains. If evangelicals are to develop an adequate trinitarian mission theology based on the kingdom of God, they must face up to the implications of the ecumenical problem: What must we do with those whose confession of Jesus Christ we must take seriously, yet whose perspectives on the Christian mission differ markedly from our own? Are they to be consigned to outer darkness—excommunicated or ignored—because they “know” only “in part” and “see through a glass darkly” while we possess all truth in perfect balance?

The tragedy is that no Christian’s life embodies in fullness the understanding of truth that that person claims to possess. And evangelicals should never forget that the truth they possess is not for them alone but for all the people of God. This means that evangelicals have no alternative but to enter the arena of public debate on the mission of the church in our day. They must expose their insights to the scrutiny of others. They must listen as well as speak. Only thereby will they make any significant contribution to the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day. To retreat from this obligation is to impoverish themselves as well as others. It goes with the maturity of the church in our day.

One final word. After almost forty years of wilderness wandering, evangelicals convened Wheaton 1983: their first international conference on the nature of the church. And they made sure that the keynote address was on the kingdom of God! Were they now ready to enter the Promised Land? Many hope so.
The Covenant Restructured: A Shift in Afrikaner Ideology

Charles Villa-Vicencio

It is difficult to escape the realization that South Africa is at the same time among both the most “Christian” and the most oppressive countries in the world. This situation has enticed social analysts, aspirant seers, and many intrigued students of theology persistently to inquire into the self-understanding of white South Africa, and especially the mind of the Afrikaner. In a sense this essay is simply another such exercise, although the intent is of a more modest kind: Namely, to identify what is commonly perceived as a shift in white ideology, and to inquire into the possibility of this shift contributing to meaningful sociopolitical change in a country racked with racial conflict while the churches of the region continue to provide support, in theology and praxis, for both the forces of liberation and the oppressive status quo. Because of the importance attached to “context” in both post-Vatican II theology and contemporary Protestant ecumenical debate, it can be said that this kind of analysis is an inherent part of the missiological task concerning South Africa. Or, leaving such theological trends aside, if one is to minister with theological integrity in a situation, it is necessary to know something about that situation. The purpose of this essay is to contribute to this process.

Briefly stated, a concerted effort is being made by the present government to convince both South Africans and people around the world that peaceful, evolutionary, and orderly change is taking place in what has hitherto proved to be one of the most ideologically rigid countries in the world. Yet there is also another perspective on the present shift in ideology, which suggests that it is no more than a clever propaganda trick, designed to ensure continued white hegemony. Between these two positions are several other divergent groups, some conservatively resisting all change, and others looking for more than the government is anticipating or prepared to allow. What these groups have in common is the expectation, for the former grounded in fear and for the latter in hope, that once it is conceded that change is necessary, it is not possible to contain the change process in a society that is as politically volatile as the South African. It is a persuasion grounded in a sociological realization that social movements are more powerful than people, and that ultimately such forces, rather than those who sanction and seek to control them for their own purposes, will determine the future of South Africa. What follows is a brief account of these two divergent perspectives on South Africa’s shift in ideology, followed by a comment on the likelihood of meaningful change, with a view to discerning the mission of the church both within and in relation to this country.

From Divine Politics to Secular Adaptation

The Afrikaner people, schooled by dominée and volksleier, have during a difficult history come to convince themselves that they are a deeply religious, God-fearing, Calvinist, Christian people, placed by God on the southern tip of Africa to fulfill a purpose. In many ways this “white tribe of Africa,” which soon isolated itself from a diverse and rebellious European parentage, and obsessed with a Puritan sense of being an instrument in the hands of a divine Architect, is not vastly different from the “ideal-type” Puritan found anywhere in the so-called New World. Compelled by the familiar need of such religiously driven settlers, entrepreneurs, politicians, and nationalists to obtain visible evidence of divine approval and sanction, they applied themselves to their task with breathless urgency, while their seers, prophets, and priests identified the “hard evidence” of God’s ratification of their enterprises. Afrikaner history, like that of Puritans elsewhere, is liberally punctuated with symbols of this divine affirmation. The prime example is the annual celebration of the Day of the Covenant, commemorating a vow that a small group of approximately 200 Afrikaner trekkers into the hinterland in 1838 are reported to have made to God, promising to keep that day as a sabbath and to build a church, if he would give them victory over a marauding 10,000 Zulu fighting men. Needless to say, with the help of superior fire-power, and driven by a religious fervor, victory was theirs. The Ncombe River, to be renamed Blood River, flowed red with Zulu blood, while the trekkers survived with minimal casualties. This event has since become both a religious and political symbol of resistance, annually celebrated by Afrikaner loyalists as evidence of God’s special favor.

What distinguishes Afrikaners from Puritans elsewhere is their persistence in “true belief” well into the last decades of this century. Afrikaners did not move to the cities in any significant numbers until the 1930s, and they remained largely un secularized until very recently. In many instances the present generation of Afrikaners is the first to have no actual link with rural living and farming. Throughout this history the Dutch Reformed churches have consistently seen it as their duty to share in the Afrikaners’ pilgrimage and determination to forge a place of white dominance in Africa with the approval of God, providing the motivation and theological justification of apartheid, which entrenches white
privilege and ensures black subjugation.

It is essentially this history of divine politics that has motivated Afrikaner leaders to resist both internal black demands and international economic pressure for change, threatening to stand alone if necessary and to relive the experience of Blood River. The less doctrinaire and less ideological English-speaking whites have, in turn, under the threat of hearth and home, slowly moved further and further into alliance with the Afrikaner. While never having shared the Afrikaners' religious ideology of divine favor, their socioeconomic pragmatism has strengthened the white laager and perhaps, as more traditional Afrikaners would contend, gradually diluted their spiritual will to resist. Yet ultimately the difference between the Afrikaner and the English in Africa, as one has come to see in successive independence struggles elsewhere in Africa, and most recently in Zimbabwe, is one of degree. In summary form, the story of white resistance in South Africa is well stated in Hendrick Verwoerd's observation that "this is a white man's country and we mean to keep it that way," which is a statement not vastly different from Ian Smith's "Rhodesian adages." For all the meanderings of South African politics, this has remained the official stance of the status quo. The Afrikaans Reformed churches have consistently convinced the Afrikaners that their resistance is both moral and of God, which has resulted in expulsion of these churches from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1982, and in apartheid being declared a heresy.9

Against this background a publication distributed by the South African embassy in various countries around the world is both perplexing and disarming:

Yes, we still have racism, colour discrimination and the denial of certain human rights. But every day more and more whites are agonizing and changing their attitudes towards it. And changes are taking place in a stepped up evolutionary manner while stability, law and order are maintained. In fact, more changes for the better have already taken place during the last three years than the previous 300 years. . . .

The constitution has been amended to include "coloured" and Indian participation in the legislative process, although in separate houses of parliament and with an entrenched minority status. It does, however, mean that members of these racial groups will be appointed to cabinet posts, and there is little doubt that such appointees will be visiting Western capitals around the world, speaking of the reality of change in South Africa, even though approximately 80 percent of the population, which happens to be black, continues to be excluded from the process. Ban­tustan leaders continue to opt for "independence," and the recent Nkomati Peace Pact between South Africa and Mozambique, with rumors of similar pacts with other states, is hailed in many Western quarters as evidence of significant change in South Africa. P. W. Botha, until recently prime minister, and under the new constitution executive president, is able to undertake an extended tour of several major European countries, something denied the South African head of state for many years. There is talk of urban blacks being given some form of legislative responsibility, and a massive attempt is underway to create a black middle class, with a view to at least establishing the myth that suggests that everyone can move up the social and economic escalator.

Questions abound concerning these possibilities, but there is a certain amount of truth in the suggestion that people live in a description of a society and not its reality, and what the present leadership in South Africa is doing is endeavoring to change that descriptive process. This has two intended implications, one internal to South Africa and another for international relations. The internal implication is to convince black people that change is possible by working with the government, and at the same time to re-create the mind-set of whites who have for generations been indoctrinated to resist change. This internal dynamic is most difficult to accomplish, and to this we need to return in a moment. The external implication is to convince the West that South Africa, so rich in economic investment possibilities, is moving away from legally structured racism, which is so unpalatable to the Western liberal conscience, to a society that is essentially divided along class lines, although one within which the majority of the poor will continue to be black, and the majority of the rich white. What this means is that the South African problem will tend to be seen as an acute form of the capitalist malady, and if the West says No to the reformist moves it is in a sense saying No to itself. The implication can only be an increasingly ambivalent attitude by the West in its opposition to oppressive practices in South Africa, provided the present reformist moves can be given substance and credibility.

When P. W. Botha was elected prime minister a few years back, he delivered a major speech contending that white South Africans need to "adapt or die." Even as hardened a campaigner for human rights in South Africa as author Alan Paton has rejoiced that for the first time we were dealing with a secular government. George Schultz, the United States secretary of state, has, in turn, stated: "Change in South Africa is inevitable. If it is to be peaceful, we urge the South Africans to get on with the job." Certainly the old rhetoric of divine politics is giving way to a form of secular adaption, but the inevitable question is: Will whites in South Africa ultimately be prepared voluntarily and peacefully to surrender their privileged status in order to afford the huge mass of oppressed people a just share in the resources of the land of their birth? The story of human nature seems to witness against this possibility, and suggests that there comes a time when the majority of even the most reformist of privileged people will say, "No more."

From Rejection to Revolution

Bishop Desmond Tutu's observation that the present shift in South Africa's self-understanding is "a colossal hoax," designed to persuade the outside world that there is a move away from apartheid, while doing nothing for the black majority who continue to experience the brunt of oppressive legislation at home, provides a different, and essentially a black, perspective on South Africa's recent moves. It is a recognition that, in spite of reformist talk, the full panoply of apartheid legislation remains intact, and that this makes a mockery of white propaganda about meaningful change in South Africa. The nature of such legislation is too well known to be spelled out here in any detail. It is enough to identify three overriding realities that militate directly against meaningful political negotiation and change in South Africa: The first is the continuing implementation of the Bantustan policy and forced re­movals, which systematically excludes millions of people from every citizenship right in South Africa as roughly 80 percent of the population are politically assigned to 13 percent of the land, with the breadwinners being obliged to leave their families for eleven months each year in order to earn an income in urban areas. Since 1962, 3.5 million people have been forcibly relocated and a further 1.75 million live under the threat of removal. Such fundamental denials of human rights and political oppression place apartheid in a qualitatively different category from racial discrimination as practiced elsewhere in the world. The second factor concerns the continued banning and detention of political leaders in South Africa. A negotiated resolution to South Africa's problems is not possible while the recognized leaders of the majority of the people are excluded from the negotiation process. The third reality is that two major liberation movements exist in exile, a fact that simply cannot be ignored in any serious quest for peace in the country. At
present there appears to be no possibility of a meeting between these groups and the present government, although the necessity of such a meeting is from time to time signaled by even government supporters.

Until such time as it is recognized that peaceful change by definition must include the full cooperation of black people, any talk of change is without substance or the possibility of success. Blacks are not demanding merely a modification of a system that excludes them from full participation in the creation of their own destiny. Bishop Tutu has captured the mind of black people in saying, "We don’t want to be picking up the crumbs at the Master’s table anymore: we want a hand in planning the meal." In this sense, given the nature of the South African society, nothing short of a radical political transformation or revolution is demanded. The only question is by what means it is to be accomplished.

When Is Change Real?

The short answer to this question is when the poor, the outcast, the marginalized, and the oppressed peoples of society—those toward whom, according to the Bible, God shows a preferential option—are structurally included within the decision-making processes, and are allowed to share equally in the resources of their own land.

Yet, because politics is the art of the possible, the pertinent question is whether or not, given the history of white intransigence, the present symbolic shift in self-understanding is a first step toward a more inclusive society. Certainly Robert Bellah argues that all political change necessarily begins with symbolic change. "No one," he tells us, "has changed a nation without appealing to its soul, without stimulating a national idealism...." The fundamental problem with the new South African vision is, however, that it continues to be exclusively a white dream, and because it excludes blacks from the projection process, it necessarily fails to provide the social tissue binding both blacks and whites together in a common struggle, toward a common goal.

The new constitution of South Africa, for example, actually entrenches apartheid by locating "coloured" and Indian people in separate houses of parliament, totally excludes blacks from the process, and constitutionally guarantees a white majority, ensuring that white hegemony is maintained. The result is a strong and dangerous gap between idealistic propaganda and political reality, which is a mark of the kind of idealism that has always characterized the esoteric dreams of apartheid ideologues. They have constructed the most grandiose ideals of different racial groups, each enjoying its own culture and prosperity within its own homeland, uncontaminated by alien influences in a realm of "separate but equal development." For blacks, however, it has meant resettlement camps, group areas, migrant labor, pass laws, influx controls, bad housing, inadequate land, inequality before the law, white bosses and black informers, paternalism, and powerlessness. Mesmerized by their own dreams, apartheid leaders have again refused to allow those who have paid the price of their idealism to share in what is now projected as a new vision for South Africa.

The new idealism is little different, and does not constitute the fundamental change that the oppressed people are demanding. It is a perpetuation of what they have come to know as white arrogance and paternalism and, as such, offers no chance for a peaceful resolution to the present conflict. Recognizing this, all the major nonracial and black churches in South Africa have rejected the latest moves by the government as totally inadequate, and continue to demand a national convention of all the legitimate leaders of all the peoples in South Africa, some of whom are presently in jail and some in exile, in order to create a viable new dream grounded in political reality for the creation of a new South Africa.

A Missiological Postscript

Each age makes its own demands on the gospel, and a cursory glance at missiological history shows the different ways in which the church's mission has been pursued. Witness to the truth and an affirmation of the saving power of the gospel remain constant and non-negotiable. What these mean in a specific situation at a specific time in history may, however, vary. José Míguez Bonino strikes a powerful biblical emphasis when he argues that "there is no truth outside or beyond the concrete historical events in which men are involved as agents." His argument is that a cerebral, conceptual understanding of the truth unrelated to historical reality is contrary to Old Testament teaching on God's revealed Word. Here truth is seen as a history-making pronouncement, and the human response to this truth in faith, as an act of obedience to God's creative and redemptive initiative. Biblical faith, he tells us, "is portrayed not as a gnosis, but as a way." It is essentially this understanding of truth that is incorporated into Jesus' message when he calls people to follow him and to walk in the way of obedience to God's declared purpose, as seen in the Johannine emphasis on "doing the truth.""7

In this sense the emphasis of the church's mission has shifted during the course of history, as God has continued to make known his declared purpose for his people. The various phases of this movement in missiological emphasis need not be identified here. I suggest, however, that it can loosely be described as a shift from the "salvation of souls," via "service to the world," to "the development of peoples," and ultimately to "solidarity with oppressed groups struggling for liberation." Such trends have, of course, been criticized in some circles as tending too heavily toward social-justice issues to the neglect of the evangelistic task, and the mainline liberal churches have responded with the customary both/and stance on both evangelism and social service. The consequence has been a division of labor between departments of evangelism and social services in denominational bodies, and between developmental agencies and mission boards.

This dichotomy between spiritual salvation and social service or political liberation is overcome in liberation theologies, which have emerged in response to the needs of oppressed peoples around the world. By engaging in a broad-based, all-inclusive liberation process, adherents of such theologies have experienced a deep spirituality, which both sustains and enables them in their struggle, reminiscent of the struggle of many Christians throughout the ages who have become engaged in the quest for human and political rights in obedience to their understanding of the gospel. In such a struggle there is a sense in which the relationship between social action and salvation has been reversed. Salvation is not experienced in a vacuum, with social action being a consequence—and all too often an optional consequence—of this experience, but as the ground within which salvation is experienced, thus overcoming the separation of the spiritual and material realms of existence. This is a theology that recognizes that in the major trends of biblical teaching, divine transcendence is inextricably linked with holiness and justice. "God’s majesty makes men tremble not only because the divine wholly transcends human proportions, but because God judges the sinful world, and God’s holiness is attractive not only because it offers consolation but because it promises to turn right-side up a world that has been placed upside down by sin." It is a theology that is emerging from the perspective of the oppressed, and the underside of history. It is a holistic spiritual quest for emancipation, and a call from Christians, who first heard the gospel from missionaries sent to them...
by what are today called first-world churches, to these churches to share in a mission of mutuality and partnership designed to affirm the integrity of the gospel in oppressive situations around the world (like that of South Africa), which are at once both aggressively “Christian” and blatantly oppressive. It is a realization that it is no longer possible to separate “orthobelief” from “orthopraxis.”

For the integrity of the gospel, and in solidarity with Christians who suffer, South Africa must remain high on the world church’s agenda. The World Alliance of Reformed Churches 1983 declaration that apartheid is a heresy has placed the struggle against racism, and more especially against apartheid, on a different plane. It has shown that this struggle is part of the theological definition of what it means to be a Christian. It is this affirmation, grounded in both Reformed and liberation theologies, that moves missiological theory beyond both evangelism and social action to an integrated theology of spiritual soteriological praxis.

Notes

7. Ibid., p. 89.

The Legacy of V. S. Azariah

Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah, evangelist, apostle of India, and prophet of the worldwide church, could not have come from a humbler background. He was born in 1875 in a small village in the depths of South India, a child of many prayers in a home of deep evangelical piety. He attended the village school, learned to read from palm-leaf books and to write with his finger in the sand. His father died early, so he was reared by a widowed mother who neither spared the rod nor spoiled the child but was a paramount influence in his life.

Those were the days of missionary paternalism, and as Azariah pursued his way through various mission institutions he came under the influence of some very remarkable men until he finally reached the B.A. class of the Madras Christian College, which owed its origin to the Church of Scotland but was famous for its ecumenical outlook. Owing to illness he was unable to take his degree but emerged as a deeply dedicated young man with obvious gifts of leadership and a genius for friendship.

Azariah was immediately offered the post of secretary to the YMCA of South India, which he occupied for thirteen years and which brought him to the center of a group of young enthusiasts, Indian, British, and American. Here was a generation of Christian leaders sharing in the dawn of the newly awakening national consciousness of India, with whom he came under the influence of two outstanding American evangelists, John R. Mott and Sherwood Eddy. They opened for him new vistas of biblical scholarship, so that old truths were flood-lit by new interpretations. He interpreted for them the awakening of new Indian aspirations beginning to fret under Victorian dominance. Above all the experience opened the possibility of a degree of interracial friendship that had hitherto seemed out of the question.

Sister Carol Graham was an Anglican missionary in India from 1927, with interruptions during World War II, to 1960. She first met Bishop Azariah during a trip to India in 1925, and returned to India to do women’s work in his diocese. She is now living in retirement in England at Farnham, Surrey.

So it was that in the year 1902, at dead of night on a lonely beach beside a brilliantly moonlit sea, in a remote corner of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Azariah found himself kneeling in an agony of prayer. He had come on a mission to Jaffna, where he had found a completely indigenous missionary society, worked and supported entirely by Tamil Christians, and for the first time faced the bitter truth that India, with all its religious heritage, had allowed the spread of the gospel to be undertaken by foreigners. This lonely midnight vigil gradually became a deep personal struggle. Was God calling him away from an ever widening sphere of exhilarating service? And for what? To lead a crusade against Western supremacy in the “younger churches”? But out of the travail of his soul that night was conceived and dedicated to God a purpose that never wavered and was to bear fruit a hundredfold.

Back in India, Azariah imparted his vision to a few kindred spirits, including his beloved and devoted wife. For in 1898 he had married Ambu Mariammal Samuel, one of the first Christian women in South India to take a college course, whom he described as “the most spiritually minded girl in Tirunelveli.” From the first it was a true partnership and all through life they grew together, she keeping pace with him, sharing his inward growth and outward responsibilities. She once showed me an entry in an old diary: “Started to pray for an Indian Missionary Society” and it was literally prayed into being. No public appeal was made but both workers and money were forthcoming. Within a very few years the National Missionary Society of India, with its special Offset in Tirunelveli became a living fact. Its avowed principles were Indian workers, Indian money, and Indian management, but its greatest difficulty was to find an area in which to work out these new ideals. The Tamil Nadu was already overflowing with missions from the West, and the little Indian group had to push its way northward until, in a corner of the old Hyderabad State, they found sixty miles of jungle into which Christianity had never penetrated.

It was, however, within the far-flung limits of the then Mad-
ras Diocese that Azariah made yet another vitally important friendship. Hitherto he had been something of a free-lance within an ecumenical and international environment, and his meeting with the bishop of Madras was a revelation to both of them. Azariah found in Henry Whitehead a deep sympathy with the urge for greater freedom within the Indian church, and the bishop saw in Azariah the possible answer to his dearest wish. Whitehead was in charge of a hopelessly unwieldy diocese and desperately in need of an assistant bishop, who, he was convinced, should be an Indian national. When Azariah appeared with his plan for a purely Indian mission it seemed as if their two dreams might come true.

The choice of Dornakal as the center of the new venture was a happy accident. It was a small railway junction where there happened to be a disused brewery in which they established a chapel, a school, and living space for two missionaries, all under one roof; and in due course Azariah and Ambu took up their abode there. It must have demanded heroic courage on her part, for Dornakal was a far cry from her familiar surroundings, and to transport a young family to what was virtually a distant country, among primitive people speaking a foreign language, was a risky business, especially with a husband continually on tour. But for Azariah his home was always the center of his life to which he returned for deep personal refreshment. To his six children he was a revered if somewhat strict father. It was their mother who provided the solid background to life in their early years, but the perfect partnership of the parents was always the secure foundation of their home.

Meanwhile Azariah’s growing contact with Bishop Whitehead was ripening into a lifelong friendship and also opening his eyes to the value of true catholicity and tradition in order and worship, which led him to offer himself for ordination to the Anglican ministry. A period of preparation spent largely in the bishop’s house in Madras convinced Henry Whitehead that he had indeed found the first Indian bishop of the Anglican Communion and to begin the process of convincing other people. The ordination took place in 1909, and in 1910 came Azariah’s first introduction to the world at large, when he attended the great Missionary Conference at Edinburgh where his passionate plea for greater freedom in the relation between missionaries from the West and Indian church leaders has become a classic: “The Indian Church will rise up in gratitude to attest the self-denying labours of the missionary body. . . . You have given your goods to feed the poor, your bodies to be burned. . . . We ask also for love. Give us Friends.” This was indeed the cat among the pigeons, especially in view of the proposed bishopric; but by 1912 most of the opposition had melted away. It was wisely decided that the first Indian bishop should rule over a diocese of his own with Dornakal as its center. The consecration took place in Calcutta in the presence of both church and state dignitaries. An eminent member of the Church of Scotland wrote at the time: “The Anglican Church has done some big and brave things in India but among the biggest and bravest I would rank the appointment of Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah as Bishop of Dornakal.”

The new diocese was roughly the size of Wales, with no town of any importance but with a rapidly growing church in the villages. There were only six ordained Indian clergy with a number of lay workers, and the obvious need was for an adequate ministry. The bishop began by gathering together a small group of men with outstanding gifts of leadership, who responded enthusiastically to his vision of an indigenous church. Several gave up good jobs to come to Dornakal with their wives, living in great simplicity and in intimate fellowship with the bishop and Mrs. Azariah, who took a leading part in training the women. This was to grow into the famous Divinity School, which concentrated on a family ministry at every stage in the life of the church. The mass movement was taking place entirely among the outcastes, or “untouchables,” who were wholly illiterate, living in unbelievable squalor and desperate poverty. The coming of a Christian teacher and his wife to live among them was usually their first contact with any form of uplift, and a great deal depended on their joint witness as well as their teaching.

Meanwhile the movement as a whole was spreading throughout Andhra Desh, and two other big Anglican missions began to look to Azariah for leadership. By 1920 all racial feeling had disappeared and there was a unanimous request for these, too, to be included in the Diocese of Dornakal. In that year Azariah went to his first Lambeth Conference, knowing that he would return to administer a diocese roughly the size of England with about 90,000 Christians, most of whom were living under very backward conditions. He also foresaw that he would have to face the transfer of authority from the overseas mission to the local church. The desire for independence and freedom of expression in political life was finding its counterpart in the religious world, and on this Azariah delivered his own balanced judgment: “Our young theologians want autonomy at one step; sober minds are willing to work more slowly but legitimate aspirations must be met.” These he defined as follows: the curtailment of missionary power; the training of Indian leadership in the government of their own church; the preparation of the whole Christian community for indigenous leadership and self-support. This was his clarion call to both East and West: “Do not fear to take risks. Believe in the Holy Spirit and trust men.”

The scene was now set for the growth of a church truly indigenous in life and worship, for which Dornakal, although geographically remote, was the obvious center, since it had known no other tradition. The village population, spread over what had now become a vast area, varied considerably, from the primitive jungle dwellers of the north to the comparatively sophisticated cultivators of the southeast, but the social pattern of village life remained rooted in the rigidly kept Hindu caste system. This meant that every individual lived and worked, married and died, as a member of the particular group into which he or she had been born. Against this background Azariah saw the mass movement as the natural and inevitable outcome of a way of life. He realized the risk of such an enormous intake into a comparatively young church in so short a time, and tried to minimize the danger by his insistence on the witness they must give through a transformed life and a zeal for evangelism. The preparation for baptism was long and testing. Gone were the days when a more-or-less repetitive knowledge of the catechism might be sufficient. Azariah’s vivid application of Christian truth to Christian life gradually produced wonders, and his special slogan to the newly baptized, “Woe unto me if I preach not the gospel,” solemnly repeated by them with their hands on their heads, was far more than lip service.

Azariah was convinced that there did exist a culture, specifically Indian but not necessarily Hindu, which must be brought into the life of the church. Illiterate people learn best through singing and the Karnatica school of music, very rhythmic and tuneful, produced a fine collection of Telugu Christian lyrics, common to all the different traditions. The love of drama also was natural and spontaneous. Above all, the love of festivals, particularly those connected with rural life, provided opportunities for big gatherings. Thirty-six hours of glorious, crowded life, with processions and worship, drama and singing, often crowned with a baptism by immersion in a nearby river, emphasized a truly Christian fellowship, which filled a great need in the lives of a hitherto despised people.

The legacy of Bishop Azariah to his own country was, first and foremost, the vision of an indigenous church, rooted in the
As the missionary strategy of the future. At this distance it is hard to realize what a gulf Azariah had to bridge, so far ahead of his time, for the changes that have come so rapidly in Christian era in ecumenical understanding and cooperation. Today it seems incredible that, out of well over 1,000 delegates from all five continents, fewer than twenty were nationals from their own churches, but the breath of fresh air from that northern city stirred into being a whole series of National Christian councils all over the world. One of the first of these was in India, of which Azariah was chairman for many years. By the time the International Missionary Council met in Jerusalem in 1928, over 25 percent of the delegates were nationals sent by their own councils for whom the chief interest was no longer the “foreign missionary enterprise” but the Christian message of the indigenous church. Could Azariah be anywhere but in the forefront of such a movement?

The road to union in South India began at Tranquebar in 1919 when a group of Indian Christian leaders of what was the forerunner of the United Reform Church met at the invitation of Azariah and the Rev. V. Santiago. These men were convinced that only their connections with the various churches of the West were responsible for their unhappy divisions, and their express purpose was to discuss the possibility of church union without the presence of naturally prejudiced foreign missionaries. As a result they discovered so much common ground that they issued an appeal to all the denominations they represented to consider the whole question of Christian unity in the Indian setting. From this grassroots beginning sprang the whole train of events that finally resulted in the inauguration of the Church of South India.

Azariah believed that certain conditions in South India made Christian unity both more practicable and more demanding than in other parts of the world. First, there was the background of a common Dravidian racial stock with a common social and cultural life, although sadly divided into four language areas. Second, there was a very rich Christian heritage ranging back to the first century with the apostle Thomas, through the established church of the Middle Ages, and on into the reformed traditions of the modern evangelistic movement. That all this richness of belief and worship should have imposed upon Indian Christians a bewildering number of separate churches seemed to him an outrageous denial of the one true Lord whom they had come to know and love.

Therefore Azariah laid upon the worldwide church on every possible occasion his burning conviction: “We must have one church, a Church of India, in which Indian religious genius can find the natural expression of visible unity. . . . Divisions may be a source of weakness in Christian countries; in non-Christian countries they are a sin and a scandal.” He made it abundantly clear that, beyond the evil of a divided Christendom in a sinful world, he estimated the bitter hurt to Christ himself. “The cost of union is penitence, with agonizing prayer that the high-priestly prayer of Our Lord himself may be answered through the dedication of all our knowledge, possessions and prejudices to this great cause. Are we ready to pay the cost?” Perhaps his hardest task was to convince his own brother bishops of the Anglican Communion. At the Lambeth Conference of 1930 he challenged them straight out: “Have you sufficiently contemplated the grievous sin of perpetuating your denominational bitterness in your daughter Churches? We want you to take us seriously when we say the problem of Union is a matter of life and death to us. Do not, we plead, give your aid to keep us separate but lead us forward to fulfill the prayer ‘that they all may be one.’”

The different strands of Azariah’s life came together in a wonderful climax at Christmastide 1938 when the World Missionary Conference met in Madras. Fifty percent of the delegates were sent by self-governing churches, and one-third of those delegates were under thirty-five. The theme of the conference was “The Church, Its Life, Witness and Environment,” showing how the whole emphasis had been transformed in the past thirty years. Here Azariah was indeed on his native heath. His name had long since become a legend; he was regarded as one of the architects of the worldwide church, an elder statesman, yet completely accessible to all. He celebrated the Eucharist on Christmas day, when surely there had seldom if ever been such a gathering of so many races and traditions at the Lord’s own table on the Lord’s own day. Then he hastened back to Dornakal to prepare for the consecration of the Cathedral Church of the Epiphany.

Dornakal had grown into what was virtually a homemade cathedral village. There were still no roads, but land had been cleared and one after another the necessary buildings had sprung up, all very simply built of homebaked bricks and tiles with whitewashed walls. The only stone building, standing right in the center, was the famous cathedral. Since this, too, must be purely Indian both in architecture and in cost, it had taken a quarter of a century to build while the growing congregation had continued to worship in the little old church beside the old brewery. Now at last, by a supreme effort, the cathedral was finished and the consecration took place amid a large gathering from the surrounding villages plus friends and fellow Christians from all over the world.

Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in rango as the knock came on the great west door, and surely He did come in when 2,000 people joined in the Eucharist where forty years earlier there had not been a single Christian. On that Epiphany day, under the snowy towers reaching up into heaven, were surely manifested three things that sum up the life and work of Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah: the evangelical fervor of a witnessing church; the beauty of the catholic heritage in faith and worship; and the glory that India can bring to the unsearchable riches of Christ.

Within a few months the world was at war and India became threatened with a Japanese invasion. Azariah observed his birthday in 1944, surrounded by his closely knit family. His eldest daughter had long since been at his right hand; his two elder sons were both serving in his diocese, one as a doctor and the other as a priest, and his youngest daughter, a true follower of her mother, was married to a Tamil missionary priest working in the original Indian mission area. Two younger sons and eight lively grandchildren now completed the family. Azariah spent his last Christmas in a remote village area, walking from place to place, but after his return to Dornakal the end came suddenly, his marvelous constitution completely worn out by the pace at which he had lived and worked. Never wherever he was he had failed to keep his tryst with God at 4:30 A.M. Now on New Year’s day, 1945, he slipped away into the nearer Presence with such a radiance on his face as to forbid all clamorous mourning. At sunset they laid him to rest in his beloved cathedral garden as they sang very softly the Telugu Easter lyric.

Like many a pioneer Azariah died in faith, not having obtained the promise but having seen it from afar. He himself said there are mountaintops in every religion, but it is when common people are changed that we see Christ. The secret of his power...
was that he believed in ordinary men and women until he made them believe in themselves. The Church of South India and the World Council of Churches have long since become solid realities; the Church of North India and Vatican II would have been to him a crowning joy. All through his life, deep in his heart, Azariah held fast to his favorite text: "By the grace of God I am what I am; yet not I but the grace of God in me."

**Works by V. S. Azariah**


1936  *India and the Christian Movement*. Madras: CLSFI.

**Works about V. S. Azariah**


1938  *Christian Marriage*. Madras: CLSFI.


**Documentary Sources in the United States for Foreign Missions Research: A Select Bibliography and Checklist**

**Robert Shuster**

1. Introduction

The modes of the preservation of documents about human activities are as varied, paradoxical, and complex as the activities themselves. For every hour of the race’s existence, only a split second of that hour is recorded, with greater or less degrees of bias, in any kind of artifact or written record. And only a fraction of this fraction winds up being what is somewhat arrogantly called “permanently” preserved in a repository created for that purpose. Perhaps this is just as well, for this fraction of a fraction is an enormous mountain of dried mud and paper and film and tape. Or it would be if it were ever brought together. However, it is not together. The fraction of a fraction is further fragmented among archives, manuscript collections, record centers, libraries, and repositories of a dozen other types.

The unpublished primary documentation of mission history is an example of this fragmentation. Missionary activities, whether they be evangelism, church planting, education, medicine, literature, radio, or whatever, involves two locations at least, the site from which missionaries are sent and the site to which they go. The distance between them might be a mile or half the width of the globe. The greater the distance, the greater the number of sites, the greater the likelihood of the dispersal of the official documents of the mission’s activities—documents such as reports, prayer letters, minutes of meetings, personnel files, photos, and others. Some material will be kept at the home office, some at the field office, some will wander hesitantly between the two (or more) until dispersed by an accidental wind, or a fire, or a flood, biases of different types, or a move from one building to another. This, of course, relates only to the official documents of the mission agency, which we shall call “records.” There are innumerable types of unofficial documents, which we shall call “papers.” First and foremost, there are the papers of missionaries. These consist of the letters, diaries, photos, and memorabilia that a person accumulates in a lifetime and which may or may not give an accurate picture of that life. A related group of increasingly popular documents are the oral and oral/visual-history interviews recorded with missionaries (as well as with politicians, generals, magnates, cowboys, and magicians), which are usually intended to preserve their experiences for others to study. Then there are the accounts of mission activity in government records, travelers’ accounts, newspaper articles, records of ecumenical organizations and professional associations (whose members may include missionary doctors or educators), and so forth.

These materials could be found in many different repositories. Most denominations, religious orders, and mission boards have some kind of program for preserving inactive records. Some of these programs are admirable, some not so admirable. For some the program consists of a written collection, retention, and access policy carried out by a trained staff. For others, the program consists of sticking files that have been around the office too long in the garage or similar place out of sight. Of course, many boards, orders, and agencies feel that they do not have the resources in people or funds to maintain archives. However, the fact that the daguerreotypes from India or the correspondence from China are in the mission’s all but inaccessible attic or under the leaky waterpipe does not detract from their intrinsic value to the researcher, who needs a heart stout enough to leave published sources behind and seek out the most neglected materials. The search won’t necessarily all be dust, though. It could take the researcher to one of many professionally run religious archives in the United States. But tempting as it is for the missiologist or church historian to limit research to a few excellent institutions such as the Presbyterian Historical Society or Concordia Historical Institute or the Archives of the Maryknoll Sisters because of their helpful staff and well-organized materials, he or she should be aware that there are many other places where documents can be sought. Town, county, and state historical societies may have the private papers of missionaries or people involved in mission work. They may also have the files of local congregations that contain information of that group’s support of, and attitude toward, missionary work. Colleges and universities, especially those that have a religious affiliation or had religious origins, may have a variety of materials from graduates dealing with missions. Or the college archives or special collections or manuscript repository may have its own unique collecting area that causes it to acquire materials relevant to mission history. Witness the Midwest China Center at Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary in Minnesota or the papers of women missionaries in the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women at Radcliffe College.

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The jigsaw puzzles are scattered wide indeed, and there is little help in putting them together. There is no one source that comes anywhere close to listing all the documentary resources available in America. The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, published by the Library of Congress, contains brief accounts of collections reported by different institutions. But the reporting is voluntary and many institutions send nothing in or do not update their reports. The National Historical Publications and Records Commission’s Directory of Archives and Manuscript Repositories/1978 contains very brief descriptions of 2,675 repositories out of the 6,000 to 11,000 estimated to be in the United States.

Missions material is mentioned if it is a particular emphasis of an institution’s collection, but inevitably many denominations, parachurch groups, and orders that maintain their own records are not listed, probably because they do not think of their materials as “archival” and never received or returned a reporting form. If there is no comprehensive guide to American collections, there is certainly no all-inclusive guide for missionary materials. In 1963 the Hoover Institution published Americans in Africa, which was a superior attempt to combine brief information about the holdings of denominations, missionary societies, archives, libraries, and other historical repositories relating to missions in Africa. Unfortunately, much of it is now out of date, owing to combinations, separations, relocations, and other changes in the reporting institutions. Scholar’s Guide to China Mission Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States (Pennsylvania Fascicle), the first volume in a series that is intended to cover the whole country, was published in 1983. The excellent Women Religious History Sources, edited by Sister Evangeline Thomas and also published in 1983, contains a wealth of information on the documents of women’s religious orders, including those involved in mission work. August Suelow’s A Preliminary Guide to Church Records Repositories lists the official archives for most, though not all, of the major denominations at the time it was published—1969. It, too, is outdated now, but there is no more recent publication to replace it.

Apart from the volumes mentioned above and a handful of other books and articles, there are no publications concerned solely with mission material. However, there have been many guides published, either to a single institution’s holdings (such as Arthur Breton’s Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the New-York Historical Society), or to the locations of institutions with a particular type of material (such as the monumental Women’s History Sources, edited by Andrea Hindig and published in 1979), which contain incidental mentions of mission material. Just as thorough researchers will need to investigate many institutions, they will need to browse through many institutional guides.

The following bibliography (alphabetical by authors) and checklist (by states) are intended to make the search a little easier. Although by no means complete, an effort has been made to include the major institutions and the most important guides for a researcher interested in American missionary activity outside the continental United States. In addition, the bibliography also includes several publications with information about home missions. As mentioned above, “papers” refers to the private papers of an individual and can include such things as correspondence, diaries, scrapbooks, photos, and so forth. “Records” or “archives” refers to the documents generated by an institution in the course of its activities and which are preserved for their historical and/or administrative value. They can include reports, minutes, personnel files, and photos, among other items. The descriptions in both the bibliography and the checklist are very brief and are intended only to highlight material relevant to missions. If the title of the book or article of a bibliographical entry makes reasonably clear what the relation of that publication is to missions studies, no annotation is included. No attempt is made to describe documents at an institution or information in a guide that relates to other subjects. Nor is there information on access to documents or photo-duplication rules or hours of operation. These arrangements will vary widely from one place to another and, to avoid unpleasant surprises, it is essential for researchers to contact by phone or letter the staff of the repositories they want to visit before they actually arrive.

Some final notes. Although major collections of, and guides relevant to, mission history make up most of the entries on both lists, some institutions and guides with only a small (but useful) amount of information on missions have been included. This is to emphasize the point that information on missionaries, their work, their supporters, and their influence on the church in other lands and in the United States can be found in many locations, some of them highly likely. Also, please note that in each listing, the names of churches do not include all of the changes or variations in names for each denominational group. Furthermore, all of the name changes for the countries listed are not indicated either: generally (but not always) the name of the country given is the one used at the time material was written. For example, listings for “the Belgian Congo” would be for the colonial period, and listings for “Zaire” would be for the independent country.

II. Bibliography


Ash, Lee. Subject Collections. 5th ed. New York: R. R. Bowker, 1978. Contains five columns of entries about mission collections, most of which consist of published material but some are archives or manuscript repositories. Author and Added Entry Catalog of the American Missionary Association Archives. 3 vols. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., [1970?]. This collection, and the entire Amistad Research Center, is now in New Orleans. A microfilm copy of the material described in this catalog is available at the Center for Research Libraries.


---. "Library and Archives of the Church Historical Society: Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Mexico Papers 1878-1911." Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 37 (June 1968): 155-63.


of the Episcopal Church, in Austin, Texas.


Burr, Nelson R. "Sources for the Study of American Church History in the Libraries of the Episcopal Church, in Austin, Texas." *Church History* 22 (September 1953): 227–38. The sections in the article concerning mission documents are mainly concerned with the materials of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and of Spanish missions. The SPG materials mentioned here are on microfilm. For a description of the total holdings of the SPG, which are in England, see Brenda Hough’s article, “The Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” in the September 1977 issue of *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*.

Cammack, Eleanor, comp. *Indiana Methodist: A Bibliography of Printed and Archival Sources in the Archives of DePauw University and Indiana Methodistism*. Greencastle, Ind.: DePauw Univ. and the Conference of Indiana Methodism, 1964. Includes information on the private papers of foreign missionaries as well as the records of mission organizations based in, or with branches in, Indiana.


Chaff, Sandra L. "Archives and Special Collections on Women in Medicine at the Medical College of Pennsylvania." *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association* 66 (January 1978): 55–57. Includes information on materials in the archives about alumnae who were missionaries.


Courtsey, W. Tony, and Robert Doohan. "Guides to Manuscript Collections in the Southeast: A Bibliography." *Provenance* 2 (Spring 1984): 79–93. *Provenance* is the journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists. Many of the entries in this bibliography describe repositories with missionary holdings, such as the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill, N.C. The states covered by the bibliography are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. There is also a section on regional guides.

Craig, Tracey Linton, ed. and comp. *Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada*. 12th ed. Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, [1982]. Gives basic information on most historical societies, such as hours open, collecting policy, and so forth. Has a number of specialized indexes, including one labeled "Ethnic, Race, Religion."


Daly, Lowrie J. "Microfilmed African Materials from the Archives of the Sacred Congregation ‘De Propaganda Fide.’" *History in Africa* 5 (1978): 361–64. Description of material relating to Africa in the Vatican Film Library of Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri.

———. "Microfilmed Materials from the Archives of the Sacred Congregation ‘De Propaganda Fide.’" *Manuscripta* 10 (November 1966): 139–44. A description of some of the holdings of the Vatican Film Library of Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri.


Davis, Richard C., and Linda Angle Miller. *Guide to the Catalogued Collections in the Manuscript Department of the William R. Perkins Library, Duke University*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Clio Books, 1980. Includes descriptions of material relating to Anglican, Baptist, Catholic, Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal, Methodist, Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian, missionaries in Bolivia, Brazil, Cape Colony, China, Ecuador, Formosa, Georgia, Guatemala, India, Iowa, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Liberia, Macao, Malaya, Mexico, Mississippi, Mozambique, Natal, Nigeria, North Carolina, Palestine, Persia, Santo Domingo, Sarawak, Shetland Islands, Sierra Leone, South Carolina, South Sea Islands, Tanganyika, Texas, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, and United States.


Donat, Nafi. *The Archives of the Case Memorial Library*. Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1975. Includes brief mention of records of the Kennedy School of Missions as well as the private papers of missionaries who graduated from, or had some connection with, Hartford Seminary.

Dove, Kay L. "Resources on China, Japan, and Korea within the Presbyterian Historical Archives in Philadelphia." *Ch’ing-shih Wen-t’ i 4* (1980): 130–34. This journal, based in Washington, D.C., publishes studies of the Ch’ing (or Manchu) dynasty.


tion of America, 1976.


Hefner, Loretta L. The WPA Historical Records Survey: A Guide to the Unpublished Inventories, Indexes, and Transcripts. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1980. This valuable finding aid includes a chart showing the location of many unpublished 1930s and 1940s inventories of church records. Many of these records include information on congregation-level attitudes toward, and support of, foreign missions.

Heuser, Frederick. "Archival Resources." Journal of Presbyterian History. A feature that has begun to appear periodically in recent issues of the Journal. It consists of several page-length descriptions of record groups in the holdings of the Presbyterian Historical Society, including important mission documents. For example, the spring 1984 issue had a description of the secretarial files of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA.

Hinding, Andrea. Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in the United States. 2 vols. New York: R. R. Bowker, 1979. Numerous descriptions of mission-related collections. Most collections described are the private papers of woman missionaries, although institutional collections are also described. Index includes the names of various denominations as well as entries for different kinds of missionaries, such as "Missionaries, medical," and "Missionaries' spouses."


Jones, Charles Edwin. A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement. Metchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press and the American Theological Libraries Association, 1974. There is no direct information on document repositories in this or the following entry. However, in both cases, the acknowledgments include the names of most major libraries where there are documents on the Holiness or Pentecostal movements, including documents on their mission efforts. Also, both guides give very valuable background information on denominations and mission societies and bibliographic data on missions history and biography, among other topics.


Journal of American History. Each issue usually contains brief reports on archives/manuscript collections opened to the public. Occasionally some of these relate to missions.

Journal of Pacific History. This journal, which is published in Australia, regularly has a feature called "From the Archives," which consists of brief descriptions of little-known document collections relevant to the history of the Pacific area. The repositories described are usually either in Australia, the United Kingdom, or a Pacific island nation. Many of the collections described are of missionary documents.


Larson, David R., Fred Honhart, and William Myers, eds. Guide to Manuscript Collections & Institutional Records in Ohio. N.P.: Society of Ohio Archivists, 1974. Detailed listing of the holdings of individual congregations, including in many cases their mission-society records. Seemingly every institution in Ohio with some kind of collection is
included. Thus, for example, the holdings of Oberlin College are described, including the papers of some missionaries.

Library of Congress. *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, 1959–1961. Ann Arbor, Mich.: J. W. Edwards, 1962. This and the volumes published subsequently consist of brief descriptions of collections reported to NUCMC staff by institutions throughout the United States. The NUCMC is the closest thing to a detailed, comprehensive description of United States document holdings. Indexes to the entries are very detailed and contain many references to topics.


Palm, Charles G., and Dale Reed. *Guide to the Hoover Institution Archives*. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1980. Description of the papers of nineteenth- and twentieth-century missionaries to California, Cameroon, China, Japan, and Nigeria. Baptist, Catholic, and Methodist missionaries are included, as well as workers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the YMCA, and theYWCA.

Pierson, Roscoe M. "A Survey of the Manuscript Holdings of the Seminary Library." *Lexington Theological Quarterly* 3 (January 1968): 1–11. This description of the records of the Disciples of Christ denomination at the Lexington, Kentucky, school includes information on both the records of its mission organizations and the papers of various missionaries.

Price, Frank W. "Specialized Research Libraries in Missions." *Library Trends* 9 (October 1960): 175–85. Much of this article is now out of date, but it does have brief descriptions of the holdings of the American Bible Society Library, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions material at Harvard University, the Case Memorial Library of Hartford Seminary Foundation, the Day Missions Library at Yale University Divinity School, the Missionary Research Library, and the Speer Library of Princeton Seminary Library. Although the emphasis of the article is on published materials, it also contains descriptions of archival and manuscript collections.


Riggs, John Beverly. *A Guide to the Manuscripts in the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library: Accessions through the Year 1965*. Greenville, Del.: Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, 1970. Correspondence between the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and members of the DuPont family. Also information on the foreign missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church and correspondence with missionaries in Africa, California, China, Hawaii, and Japan.


1975. Brief descriptions of California repositories, including many
with mission material, such as the Mennonite Historical Library (Center
for Menonite Brethren Studies), in Fresno.
Sokolosky, Barbara A., ed. American Sunday School Union Papers 1817–1905:
ration of America, 1980. Includes a helpful brief history of the ASSU
as well as a detailed description of the contents of the papers, which
are housed at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadel-
phia, Pennsylvania.
Spence, Thomas H. The Historical Foundation and Its Treasures. Montreal,
Spencer, Leon P. “African Archival and Manuscript Materials at Predom-
inantly Black Institutions in the American South.” Georgia Archive 6
(Fall 1978): 54–59. Georgia Archive was the predecessor of Provenance
as the journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists. This article includes a
brief mention of institutions with information about black missionar-
ies to Africa.
Suellflow, August R. A Preliminary Guide to Church Records Repositories.
N.p.: Society of American Archivists, 1969. Although there have been
many changes in church repositories since the publication of this
guide, it is still the most recent one of its kind. The archives of thirty-
one denominations are listed, along with brief descriptions of the
holdings of each.
Sumners, Bill. Selected Guide to the Archival and Manuscript Collections in the
Dargan-Career Library. Nashville, Tenn.: Historical Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention, 1984. This pamphlet is a reprint of an
article that appeared in the April 1984 issue of Baptist History and Her-
tage. It includes description of the records of the Southern Mission
Board and their other mission-related branches of the SBC as well as infor-
mation on the papers of some of the more prominent missionaries.
Thomas, Evangeline, ed. Women Religious History Sources: A Guide to Repos-
the archives of women’s active and contemplative orders in the Epis-
copal, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist, Orthodox, and Roman Cath-
oclic churches. Many of these orders of course, are wholly or partially
involved in mission activity, as is indicated in the collection descrip-
tions.
from the Association’s data bank of United States Catholic missionary
personnel working abroad.

III. Checklist

California

Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies
Hiebert Library
1717 South Chestnut
Fresno, CA 93702
(209) 251–7194, ext. 79
Archives of the denomination, including its mis-
sionary organizations. Papers of missionaries.

Sokolosky, Barbara A., ed. American Sunday School Union Papers 1817–1905:
ation of America, 1980. Includes a helpful brief history of the ASSU
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oclic churches. Many of these orders of course, are wholly or partially
involved in mission activity, as is indicated in the collection descrip-
tions.

from the Association’s data bank of United States Catholic missionary
personnel working abroad.

Claremont Colleges Libraries
Honhold Library
Special Collections Department
800 Dartmouth Street
Claremont, CA 91711
(714) 621–8000, ext. 3977

Transcripts of oral-history interviews conducted with forty-four retired missionaries to China who were
there between 1900 and 1950. The interviewees included educators, medical administrators, doctors, translators, and ministers. They
represented fifteen different mission boards.

Hooiver Institution on War, Revolution and Peace Archives
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305
(415) 497–3563

Papers of twentieth-century Baptist, Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, and YMCA missionaries to
Cameroon, China, Japan, and Nigeria.

Pacific School of Religion
Chas. Holbrooke Library
1798 Scenic Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94709
(415) 848–0528

Files of the Women’s Board of Missions for the Pa-
cific, record book for 1885–97 of the Angola Dis-
trict Conference of the South Central Africa
mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Santa Barbara Mission
Archives-Library
Old Mission
Upper Laguna Street
Santa Barbara, CA 93105
(805) 682–4713


——. “India and Ceylon in the Archives of the American Board of Foreign Missions.” The Indian Archives 7 (July–December 1953): 95–99.


——. “Printed Guides to Archival Centers for American Catholic His-

——. A Select Guide to California Catholic History. Los Angeles: Western,
1966.


Williams, Sam , comp. Guide to the Research Collections of the New York Public Library. Chicago, Ill.: American Library Association, 1975. Narrative descriptions of documents dealing with Catholic (Jesuit) and Protestant
missions in Africa and China.

get, personnel, and so forth of all North American Protestant groups
in missions with any kind of foreign-mission involvement. Many of the denomi-
 nations and non-denominational organizations listed in this volume
maintain their own archives or at least have their inactive files at their
headquarters. Indexes group missions according to countries they
work in, type of activity, and tradition.


archives with information about almost 100 different ethnic groups
(Byelorussian-Americans, Egyptian-Americans, Indonesian-Ameri-
cans, etc.). Many of the collections described also have information di-
rectly or indirectly relevant to mission studies.

Records of early Catholic missionary work in Cali-
ifornia, Mexico, and other parts of the Spanish empire in the Americas.

University of California at Berkeley
The Bancroft Library
Manuscript Division
Berkeley, CA 94720
(415) 642–3781

The division has the papers of several nineteenth-
and twentieth-century missionaries to China.

Weilfeiche Bible Translators
19891 Beach Blvd.
Huntington Beach, CA 92649
(714) 536–9346

Over 100,000 photographic images relating to mis-
ionary linguistic work around the world. Most of
the material is post-1968, but some goes back to the 1930s.

Colorado

Sister of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross
3001 South Federal Boulevard
Denver, CO 80236
(303) 935–4740

Memoirs and reports of sisters who served in
China and South America.
### Connecticut
- **Bridgeport Public Library**
  - Historical Collections
  - 925 Broad Street
  - Bridgeport, CT 06604
  - (203) 576-7417

- **Papers of Hazel Kirk** include items from a missionary to China and, from Samuel A. Moffett (1864-1939) and his wife, missionaries to Korea.

- **Hartford Seminary**
  - Case Memorial Library
  - Archives
  - 55 Elizabeth Street
  - Hartford, CT 06105
  - (203) 232-4451

- **Papers of missionaries**, including American Bible Society workers, to Arabia, China, the Congo, India, Kuwait, Malaysia, the Sudan, and Turkey. Also the papers of several professors of missions, including Edward W. Capen (1870-1947), dean of the Kennedy School of Missions.

- **Yale University Libraries**
  - Divinity School Library
  - 409 Prospect Street
  - New Haven, CT 06510
  - (203) 436-8444

- **Papers of American Protestant missionaries in China, 1834-1950; records of the World Student Christian Federation, 1895-1938 and of the Student Volunteer Movement; papers of Arthur Judson Brown (1856-1963), general secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; papers of historian and missiologist Kenneth Scott Latourrette (1884-1968) papers of John R. Mott (1865-1939), and his wife, missionaries to Korea. Also the papers of several professors of missions, including Edward W. Capen (1870-1947), dean of the Kennedy School of Missions.

### Delaware
- **Eleutherian Mills Historical Library**
  - Greenville, DE 19807
  - (302) 658-2401

- **Material about the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions**, the missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, mission activity in Africa, China, Hawaii, and Japan.

### District of Columbia
- **African Methodist Episcopal Church**
  - Department of Archives, Manuscripts, and Museum Collections
  - Washington, DC 20064
  - (202) 635-5800

- **Material on Catholic missions among American Indians.**

### Georgia
- **Emory University**
  - Robert W. Woodruff Library
  - Special Collections Department
  - Atlanta, GA 30322
  - (404) 329-6887

- **Papers of Methodist missionaries to China and Japan.**

- **Emory University**
  - Candler School of Theology
  - Pitts Theology Library
  - Atlanta, GA 30322
  - (404) 329-4166 or 329-4167

- **Records of the African Orthodox Church (1880-1974).**

### Hawaii
- **Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library**
  - 553 S. King Street
  - Honolulu, HI 96813
  - (808) 531-0481

- **Private papers of missionaries to Hawaii, correspondence between the Sandwich Islands Mission (later the Hawaiian Evangelical Association) and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, letters of missionaries to the Marquesas and Micronesia.**

### Illinois
- **Billy Graham Center Archives**
  - Wheaton College
  - 200 East Seminary
  - Wheaton, IL 60187
  - (312) 260-5910

- **Collects documents of North American, non-denominational Protestant evangelistic and missions organizations, such as Africa Inland Mission, Evangelical Foreign Missions Association, Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association, and Overseas Missionary Fellowship. Oral history interviews with, and private papers of, missionaries active in all parts of the world. The archives also have a very rudimentary card catalog of the location of other missions and evangelism document collections around the United States, cross-referenced by type of mission, denominational tradition, personal names, and names of the collections.**

- **Brehm Historical Library and Archives**
  - 1451 Dundee Avenue
  - Elgin, IL 60120
  - (312) 742-5100

- **Center for Research Libraries**
  - 6046 South Kennedy Avenue
  - Chicago, IL 60637
  - (312) 955-4545

- **Evangelical Covenant Church of America Archives and Historical Library**
  - 5125 North Spaulding Avenue
  - Chicago, IL 60625
  - (312) 583-2700, ext. 5267

- **Loyola University of Chicago Archives**
  - E.M. Cudahy Memorial Library
  - 6525 North Sheridan Road
  - Chicago, IL 60660
  - (312) 274-3000

- **Northwestern University Library**
  - Africana Division
  - 1935 Sheridan Road
  - Evanston, IL 60201
  - (312) 491-7684 or 491-7685

- **Robert W. Woodruff Library Special Collections Department**
  - Atlanta, GA 30322
  - (404) 329-6887

- **Papers of Methodist missionaries to China and Japan.**

### January 1985
Council and Conference of British Missionary Societies (1910–45), papers of David Livingstone in the National Archives of Zimbabwe, inventory of the London Missionary Society, private papers of missionaries to Africa. Also, not on microfilm, the papers of some missionaries to Africa.

University of Chicago Library Department of Special Collections 1100 East 57th Street Chicago, IL 60637 (312) 753-4308

Papers of missionaries to China; material about the China Education Commission, the Friends Goodwill Mission to the Orient, and the Oriental Education Commission.

Young Men's Christian Association Development Office 6400 Shafer Court Rosemont, IL 60018 (312) 393-2895

Archives of the National YMCA formerly at Bowne Library in New York City are currently at this address. It is expected that they will soon be housed at a major university. For further information, contact this address.

Indiana

Archives of DePauw University and Indiana United Methodistism Roy O. West Library Greencastle, IN 46135 (317) 653-9721, ext. 21

Papers of Methodist missionaries to China, India, Japan, Latin America, and the Philippines. Records of several Methodist Women's Missionary societies.

Archives of the Mennonite Church 1700 South Main Street Goshen, IN 46526 (219) 533-3161, ext. 327

Official repository of the church, including its mission agencies, and of the papers of missionaries.

Christian Theological Seminary Manuscripts Collection 1000 West 42nd Street Indianapolis, IN 46208 (317) 924-1301, ext. 34


Iowa

American Lutheran Church Archives Warburg Theological Seminary Dubsque, IA 52001 (319) 536-8151

Archives of the ALC and its antecedents. Included in the collection is information on the work of missionaries in Ethiopia, India, and New Guinea.

Dutch Heritage Collection Ramaker Library Northwestern College 107 7th Street, SW Orange City, IA 51041 (712) 757-4821

Includes papers of Reformed Church in America missionaries to Arabia, Bahrain, and Japan.

Kansas

Dominican Sisters Immaculate Conception Convent Archives 3600 Broadway Great Bend, KS 67530 (316) 793-3593

Holdings include records of the sisters' work in Nigeria.

Mennonite Library and Archives Bethel College North Newton, KS 67117 (316) 283-2500, ext. 310

Archives of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church, including the Foreign Mission Board, plus oral-history tapes and the papers of missionaries to China, Germany, India, Paraguay, and other countries.

Saint Mary College Library Special Collections Department Leavenworth, KS 66048 (913) 682-5151, ext. 263

This department has the papers of some Catholic missionaries.

Kentucky

Lexington Theological Seminary Library 631 South Limestone Lexington, KY 40508 (606) 252-0361

Contains material on the missions of the Disciples of Christ and papers of missionaries.

Louisiana

Amistad Research Center Old U.S. Mint 400 Esplanade Avenue New Orleans, LA 70116 (504) 522-0432

Contains the archives of various antecedents of the United Church of Christ, including the files of the American Missionary Association from 1828 to the present; the files and photos of American Missionary magazine for 1922-34; the papers of various officials and missionaries of the American Missionary Association.

Maine

Sisters of Mercy Archives 605 Stevens Avenue Portland, ME 04103 (207) 797-7861

Administrative records of this Roman Catholic congregation, including information about its involvement in foreign missions.

Maryland

Academy of American Franciscan History Library 9901 Carmelita Drive Potomac, MD 20854 (301) 365-1763

Includes material about Franciscan missionary work in Brazil, Latin America, and the United States. Also has microfilm of relevant material from other institutions, including the Vatican archives.

Holy Ghost Fathers Missionary Building Wheaton, MD 20902 (301) 933-6130

File of photographs of the fathers' work in African countries.

Massachusetts

Albert Schweitzer Center Hurfburt Road Great Barrington, MA 02305 (413) 528-3124

Correspondence and manuscripts of Schweitzer.

Andover Newton Theological School Franklin Trask Library 210 Herrick Road Newton Centre, MA 02159 (617) 964-1100

Records and correspondence of the Brethren (organized 1808) and the Society of Inquiry (1871); correspondence and manuscripts of Judson; papers of the Miles Bronson family, and of Chapin Carpenter.

Congregational Library 14 Beacon Street Boston, MA 02108 (617) 523-0470

Materials relating to Congregationalism, plus documents about the work of missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Harvard Divinity School Andover Harvard Theological Library 45 Francis Avenue Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-5768

Letters, cables, and memoranda of Albert Schweitzer (130 items).

Harvard University Harvard College Library The Houghton Library Manuscripts Department 22 Divinity Avenue Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-2440

Records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810-1960).

Radcliffe College The Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America 3 James Street Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-8647 or 495-8646

Papers of women missionaries to China, India, and Mexico. Also some material about the American Missionary Society.

Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur Archives 54 Jefferson Neck Road Ipswich, MA 01938 (617) 356-4381

Records of the order's missionary work in the Belgian Congo, China, Japan, and Kenya.

Smith College Sophia Smith Collection and the College Archives Northampton, MA 01060 (413) 584-2070

The collection contains the papers of women in various walks of life, including missionary doctors and teachers to China, Greece, India, Japan, South America, Syria, and Turkey.

Michigan

Calvin College and Seminary Library Colonial Origin Collection 3207 Burton Street, SE Grand Rapids, MI 49506 (616) 949-4000, ext. 313

Microfilm of records of Christian Reformed churches, records of the Reformed Missions Union, papers of missionaries to China.

Hope College Archives Holland, MI 49423 (616) 392-5111, ext. 2257

Papers of Reformed Church in America missionaries in Arabia, China, and India.

International Bulletin of Missionary Research
January 1985

Minnesota

American Lutheran Church Archives
Luther Theological Seminary
2375 Como Avenue West
St. Paul, MN 55108
(612) 641-3205
Records of the ALC, including missionary mate-
rial about work in Cameroon, China, Hong Kong,
Madagascar, Norway, South Africa, Taiwan.

Benedictine Sisters of Pontifical Jurisdiction
St. Benedict's Convent
Archives
St. Joseph, MN 56374
(612) 363-7711
Oral history interviews, private papers, organi-
zation records of Americans and Chinese who
lived and worked in China, including many mis-
ionaries.

Midwest China Study Resource Center
Oral History and Archives Collection
Gulixson Hall
2275 Como Avenue West
St. Paul, MN 55108
(612) 641-3238
Oral-history interviews, private papers, organi-
zation records of Americans and Chinese who
lived and worked in China, including many mis-
ionaries.

Minnesota Historical Society
Division of Archives and Manuscripts
1500 Missisippi Street
St. Paul, MN 55101
(612) 296-6980
Papers of missionaries to Canada, China, Japan,
Syria, and Turkey, including over 200 boxes of the
papers of Dr. Walter Judd. Several boxes of Amer-
ican Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mis-
sion records.

Mississippi

Mississippi Department of Archives and History
P.O. Box 571
Jackson, MS 39205
(601) 354-6218
Papers of Hallie Bui, missionary to Korea, 1909-
40.

Missouri

Assemblies of God Archives
1440 Boonville Avenue
Springfield, MO 65802
(417) 862-2781
Official archives of the Assemblies of God. Papers
of Assemblies’ missionaries.

Church of the Nazarene International Headquar-
ters
Archives
6401 The Paseo
Kansas City, MO 64131
(816) 333-7000, ext. 437
Official repository of the records of the Church of
the Nazarene and its antecedents, including the
records of the church’s worldwide foreign-mis-
sions program and of the Women’s Foreign Mis-
sionary Society. The archives also collect the
papers of Nazarene missionaries.

Concordia Historical Institute
801 DeMuun Avenue
St. Louis MO 63105
(314) 721-5934, ext. 297 or 351
Official archives of the Lutheran Church-Missouri
Synod, including the synod’s mission organiza-
tions. Records of the Lutheran Women’s Mission-
ary League. Private papers of Lutheran missionaries.

Saint Louis University
Fluxi XII Memorial Library
Vatican Film Library
3655 West Pine Blvd.
St. Louis, MO 63110
(314) 658-3090
Microfilm of thousands of documents from the
Vatican Library, including some about Jesuit activ-
ities in North and South America.

New Hampshire

New Hampshire Historical Society
1500 R St.
Lincoln, NE 65808
(402) 432-2793
Papers of missionaries to China.

New Jersey

Archives and History Center of the United Meth-
odist Church
36 Madison Avenue
Madison, NJ 07940
(201) 822-2700 or 822-2826
Official repository of UMC documents, including
mission boards. Also collects the private papers of
members, which include information with church leaders.

New York

American Baptist Historical Society
1106 South Goodman Street
Rochester, NY 14620
(716) 473-1740
Records of American Baptist agencies, such as the
American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the
American Bible Union, and the papers of individ-
ual missionaries.

American Bible Society
Library
1865 Broadway
New York, NY 10023
(212) 581-7400, ext. 202
Archives of the ABS, plus the papers of some of its
members.

Christian and Missionary Alliance
Box C
Nyack, NY 10960
(914) 353-0790
The records of the denomination, including mate-
rial on its mission activities.

Colgate Rochester/Bexley Hall/Crozer Theological
Seminaries
Ambrose Swasey Library
1100 South Goodman Street
Rochester, NY 14620
(716) 271-1320
Among the holdings of the library are the files of
the Baptist Missionary Training School.

Columbia University
The Oral History Collection
Box 20
Butler Library
New York, NY 10027
(212) 854-2273
Transcripts of interviews with missionaries to
Amoy, China, Iraq, and Switzerland.

Cornell University
Libraries
Department of Manuscripts and University Ar-
viers
101 Olin Library
Ithaca, NY 14853
(607) 256-3350, ext. 2342
Papers of William Bouck (1786–1859), treasurer of
the Lutheran Foreign Missionary Society; papers
of missionaries to China and Hawaii.

Lutheran Council in the USA
Archives of Cooperative Lutheranism
360 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010
(212) 532-6350
Collects the documents of inter-Lutheran cooper-
ative efforts, including the records of the Lutheran
Foreign Mission Conference of America, Lutheran
World Convention, Lutheran World Ministries,
Lutheran World Relief, and oral-history inter-
views with church leaders.

Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers
Archives
Maryknoll, NY 10545
(914) 941-7590
Files and photographs of the order, and papers of
individual members, which include information
about the order’s work in Africa, Bali, Burma,
Central America, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Nepal, the Philippines, South America, Taiwan, and other countries.

Maryknoll Sisters of Saint Dominic Archives
Maryknoll, NY 10545
(914) 941-7575
Archives of the order as well as oral-history interviews with, and the papers of, individual missionaries. Documents go back to 1912, date of the order’s founding, and concern, among other topics, missionary activities in Bolivia, Ceylon, Chile, China, East Africa, Guatemala, Hawaii, Japan, Korea, Mauritius, Mexico, Micronesia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, and Thailand.

National Board Archives Project
National Board, Young Women’s Christian Association
726 Broadway
New York, NY 10003
(212) 614-2716
Records of the YWCA, which include information on the activities of American workers in other countries, particularly China. Also the private papers of YWCA staff.

New-York Historical Society
Manuscript Division
170 Central Park West
New York, NY 10024
(212) 873-3400
Papers of missionaries to Africa, Canada, Greece, Hawaii, the Middle East, and the West Indies. Also, material about the American Bible Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Presbyterian Church’s Board of Foreign Missions, and the United Foreign Mission Society.

New York Public Library
Manuscripts and Archives Division
Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street
New York, NY 10018
(212) 930-0889
Papers of missionaries to China, Japan, and Peru; account books of the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1826-30).

Order of Saint Helena
Bethesda, MD 20816
Vails Gate, NY 12584
(no telephone listed)
Archives of this Episcopalian order of sisters includes material on school and parish work in Africa and the Bahamas.

Rockefeller University
Rockefeller Archives Center
Hillcrest, Pocantico Hills
North Tarrytown, NY 10591
(914) 631-4505
Center has the records of the China Medical Board (1913-29), which include information on medical missions. Rockefeller family papers also have some material on missions.

The Salvation Army Archives and Research Center
145 West 15th Street
New York, NY 10011
(212) 620-4392
Papers of missionaries to Africa, China, India, and Japan. Also, copies of Army books and periodicals with information on missions.

Sisters of Saint Mary of Namur Archives
3756 Delaware Avenue
Kenmore, NY 14217
(716) 875-4205
Records of the order and papers of sisters relating to their mission work in Belgium, Cameroon, Canada, the Congo, Great Britain, Rwanda, and the United States.

Syracuse University
George Arents Research Library
222 Waverly Avenue
Syracuse, New York 13210
(315) 280-2273
Manuscripts, correspondence, notebooks, lectures, sermons, photographs, and so forth, of Albert Schweitzer.

Union Theological Seminary Library
3041 Broadway at Reinholt Niebuhr Place
New York, NY 10027
(212) 662-7100, ext. 276
Includes what was the document collection of the Missionary Research Library. Included in the MRL were such valuable collections as the records of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910; the International Missionary Council; the Movement for World Christianity, 1936-37; papers of Protestant missionaries to all parts of the world; and papers on missionary Freeman John R. Mott. It is difficult to get current information on the library’s manuscript holdings, and gaining access to the materials may not be easy.

North Carolina
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Wilson Library, Box 282
Chapel Hill, NC 27514
(919) 933-1345
Papers of Episcopal and other missionaries to Africa, China, and Japan.

Ohio
Community of the Transfiguration
495 Albion Avenue
Glendale, OH 45246
(513) 771-5338
This Episcopalian community of women is mainly involved in social work. Their archives include documents about their work in China, Japan, and Puerto Rico.

Oberlin College Archives
Oberlin, OH 44074
(216) 775-8285, ext. 247
Papers of Congregational missionaries to China, Jamaica, and other countries.

Wilberforce University Archives and Special Collections
Stokes Learning Resources Center
Wilberforce, OH 45384
(513) 376-2911, ext. 227
Archives include the papers of several bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church who were actively involved in missions to Africa.

Oklahoma
Carmelite Sisters of St. Therese of the Infant Jesus
Villa Theresa Convent
1300 Classen Drive
Oklahoma City, OK 73103
(405) 232-4286
Records of the congregation’s work in Guatemala (1962-72)

Oregon
Northwest Christian College Learning Resources Center
828 E. 11th Street
Eugene, OR 97401
(503) 345-1641
Special collections include the papers of Disciples of Christ missionaries

University of Oregon Library
Eugene, OR 97403
(503) 686-3069
Papers of missionaries to Angola, China, the Congo, Ecuador, Germany, India, Israel, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, Paraguay, the Philippines, Rhodesia, and Taiwan. Traditions represented include Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian.

Pennsylvania
American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.
International Ministries Library and Central Files
Valley Forge, PA 19481
(215) 768-2365
Microfilm of documents going back to 1813 relating to American Baptist foreign missions in fifty-three countries. Also material on the life of Adoniram Judson.

Haverford College Library
Quaker Collection
Haverford, PA 19041
(215) 649-9600
Papers of Society of Friends missionaries to Africa, Japan, and Palestine.

Lancaster Mennonite Conference Historical Society
Library and Archives
2215 Mill Stream Road
Lancaster, PA 17602
(717) 393-9745
Records of the conference, including files on every Mennonite mission field and pictures of missionaries.

Lancaster Mennonite Conference Historical Society Library and Archives
2215 Mill Stream Road
Lancaster, PA 17602
(717) 393-9745
Records of the conference, including files on every Mennonite mission field and pictures of missionaries.

Medical College of Pennsylvania
Florence A. Moore Library on Medicine
Archives and Special Collections
3300 Henry Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19129
(215) 842-4910
Nineteenth- and twentieth-century correspondence and other records about the work of alumnus.

International Bulletin of Missionary Research
of the college as medical missionaries in India and other countries.

Messiah College
Engle Archives
Grantham, PA 17027
(717) 766-2511, ext. 388.

Archives of the Brethren in Christ Church, including the minutes of its foreign mission board and the correspondence of the secretary of the board, which deals with the church’s work in such countries as Cuba, England, India, Japan, Nicaragua, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Foreign-mission materials go back to the 1890s. Also, the private papers and diaries of missionaries.

The Moravian Archives
43 West Locust Street
Bethlehem, PA 18018
(215) 866-3285

Among its holdings are reports, correspondence, and other material about Moravian missions from the eighteenth century to the present, mainly in North America and the West Indies. Some documents of Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf.

Presbyterian Historical Society
425 Lombard Street
Philadelphia, PA 19147
(215) 627-1852

Records of the United Presbyterian Church and its antecedents, including mission boards. Private papers of missionaries. Records of the American Sunday School Union and the National Council of Churches. Information on missions to Alaska, Brazil, Canada, Central America, China, Colombia, Cuba, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Lebanon, Mexico, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Spain, Syria, Venezuela, West Africa, and many other countries. Also information on the American Foreign and Christian Union, the Independent Board for Presbyterian Missions and the Student Volunteer Movement.

Westminster Theological Seminary
Library
Chesterhill
Philadelphia, PA 19118
(215) 897-5911

Papers of J. Gresham Machen, which include correspondence and reports about the formation of the Independent Board of Presbyterian Foreign Missions.

Rhode Island

Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society
401 Washington Trust Building
Westerly, RI 02891
(401) 596-4326

Minute books of the society, going back to 1842. Correspondence, reports, and other records relating to the society’s work in Burma, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Malawi, and the Philippines.

South Dakota

North American Baptist Seminary
Archives
1321 West 22nd Street
Sioux Falls, SD 57105
(605) 336-6588

Denominalional archives.

Tennessee

Disciples of Christ Historical Society
Library and Archives
1101 19th Avenue South
Nashville, TN 37212
(615) 327-1444

Official repository of the church. Also, the records of the United Christian Missionary Society and documents about the Disciples’ Greek-Yugoslavian mission.

Free Will Baptist Bible College
Free Will Baptist Historical Collection
3606 West End Avenue
Nashville, TN 37205
(615) 297-4676

Archives of the denomination.

Southern Baptist Convention Historical Library
and Archives
901 Commerce Street
Nashville, TN 37224
(615) 251-2660

Records of the national convention, records of Baptist groups in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico; records of nineteenth-century missionary work in Nigeria; a portion of the files of the Foreign Mission Board’s records dealing with its activities in seventy-nine countries; files of the Commission on Evangelism and Missions of the Baptist World Alliance. Papers of missionaries to Brazil, China, and India. Microfilm of the records of the Baptist Missionary Society of London, England.

Texas

Historical Society of the Episcopal Church
Archives and Historical Collections
600 Rurtherfurd Place
Austin, TX 78705
(512) 472-6816

Records of the Episcopal Church, including those relating to missions. Papers of missionaries, such as Frederick Rogers Graves (1858–1940), missionary to Shanghai.

Utah

The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints
Historical Department
Church Library-Archives
50 East North Temple Street
Salt Lake City, UT 84150
(801) 531-2272

Official archives, including the records of the missionary department and the papers of Mormon workers overseas.

Virginia

Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention
P. O. Box 6767
Richmond, VA 23230
(804) 353-0151

Correspondence between missionaries and the board, internal administrative records of the board. Materials deal with all SBC’s mission fields around the world.

University of Virginia
Alderman Library
Charlottesville, VA 22903
(804) 924-0311

Papers of Samuel Higginbottom, English missionary to India, and his family (1874–1958).

Washington

Yakima Valley Museum and Historical Association
2105 Tieton Drive
Yakima, WA 98902
(509) 248-0747

Papers of Martha Wiley, an American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions missionary to Foochow from 1900–1948.

West Virginia

West Virginia University
Library
Main Campus
Morgantown, WV 26505
(304) 293-2240

Papers of missionaries to Colombia, India, Mexico, and the Philippines.

Wisconsin

Sacred Heart Fathers and Brothers
Provincial Archives and Provincialate Offices
Hales Corners, WI 53130
(414) 425-5575

Archives include mission materials, oral-history interviews, and papers of members of the order.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin
Archives and Manuscripts Division
816 State Street
Madison, WI 53706
(608) 262-3338

Papers of industrialist Cyrus McCormick, including the correspondence of his wife with Robert E. Speer of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; with missionaries involved in educational work in China, Egypt, India, Korea, and Newfoundland; and with John R. Mott and other leaders of the World Student Christian Movement, the YMCA, and theYWCA. Other collections include the papers of missionaries to Hawaii and West Africa.
Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1985

David B. Barrett

Introduction

The table opposite is the first of an annual series. It is a brief, abbreviated, quick-reference, statistical summary of the present status, in the year 1985, of the Christian world mission in its totality. It views this mission under sixty different criteria or indicators or variables. It depicts the broad sweep of global mission over the years by setting the 1985 data (in bold type) in the context of the twentieth century. This is done by giving three earlier years of reference (1900, 1970, 1980), and a later one (A.D. 2000, with estimates based on present long-term trends).

The Century of Massive Growth (lines 1–17)

The twentieth century would have startled all earlier Christian observers by the sheer magnitude of its numerical increase. Just about every category has experienced uncontrolled growth since the year 1900: population (line 1, opposite), children, city dwellers and starving (now over 1.5 billion in number). Urban dwellers increase by a million a week. Psychotics at present number over 45 million, psychoneurotics over 800 million. For the Christian who cares about God’s world, and His mission in it, it has already become a global nightmare.

The great non-Christian world religions share in this growth too. Muslims (line 8) increase by 17 million a year, Hindus (line 10) by 12 million, Buddhists (line 11) by 4 million. By virtue of their location in countries with high fertility, Islam and Hinduism are also growing in percent of world population, while Christianity is decreasing very slightly proportionately, though increasing in absolute numbers (line 7).

East Asia as a Powerhouse (line 31)

Since then, serious estimates of the size of China’s burgeoning house-church movement have mushroomed, first to 15 million, then to 50 million, then to 75 million, and now to 98 million. Clearly such claims cannot refer in their entirety to newly baptized members (No Communist party in power would tolerate such cataclysmic overt church growth!). A large proportion must be seekers, inquirers, sympathizers, the interested, the attracted, the influenced, the fascinated, the almost persuaded—what the WCE calls “evangelized non-Christians” who know about Christ and the gospel but who have not yet taken the step of commitment. Such enormous numbers would obviously overturn the conservative estimates here (line 31) for East Asia (China, Japan, Korea).

By A.D. 2000, East Asia would then have become a major center of dynamic Christianity—perhaps the major Christian global powerhouse of the twenty-first century. And all this with little or no active help from most strands of Western Christianity—except prayer.

Growth in Global Ministries (lines 38–58)

The twentieth century has also seen a phenomenal mushrooming of Christian resources and ministries. Service agencies (parachurch organizations, line 38) have increased twelvefold from 1,500 in 1900 to 19,300 today: Christian institutions, tenfold (line 40). The fifteenfold increase in Christian stewardship of money (line 44) is not nearly so spectacular because the United States dollar of 1900 was equivalent to $11 today. We note further that parachurch income (line 46) is rapidly overtaking denominational income (line 45). Literature and Scripture ministries (lines 50–54) have all risen phenomenally. So, of course, has the ministry of Christian broadcasting—from absolutely nothing in 1900 to a total regular audience for Christian programs of 2,150 million projected for A.D. 2000. What totally new surprises of this type, completely unknown and unexpected, can God have in store for the world of the twenty-first century?

Progress in World Evangelization (lines 59–60)

The last two lines attempt to measure progress with the unfinished task of world mission, at least by one criterion. Everything depends here on what definitions we espouse. If we adopt the narrower definition that only Christians can be called evangelized (or the even narrower one that only active, committed, believing Christians can be termed evangelized), then progress, on this criterion, is nil. Line 18 then gives us the progress of world evangelization, and the unfinished task becomes 100 percent minus the percentages on that line. No progress has occurred across the twentieth century; there is even a small decline.

But this “high-church” measure of evangelization counts only Christians or church members. It ignores the massive increases since 1900 in the whole vast range of resources and ministries just described (lines 38–58). A measure that includes all these is defined in WCE, parts 3, 5, 6, and 9. This yields the figures in lines 59 and 60. This method demonstrates the very considerable progress that there has been across the twentieth century in terms of reducing the magnitude of the unfinished task.
### WORLD POPULATION

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>1,619,866,800</td>
<td>3,610,034,400</td>
<td>4,373,917,500</td>
<td>4,781,124,000</td>
<td>6,259,642,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban dwellers</td>
<td>232,694,900</td>
<td>1,354,257,800</td>
<td>1,797,479,000</td>
<td>2,053,544,000</td>
<td>2,310,831,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural dwellers</td>
<td>1,387,191,900</td>
<td>2,255,797,400</td>
<td>2,576,438,300</td>
<td>2,727,580,000</td>
<td>3,099,260,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Rural</td>
<td>1,025,938,000</td>
<td>2,245,227,300</td>
<td>2,698,396,900</td>
<td>2,939,432,000</td>
<td>3,308,564,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult population</td>
<td>286,705,000</td>
<td>1,437,613,900</td>
<td>1,774,027,900</td>
<td>1,960,103,100</td>
<td>2,295,595,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literates</td>
<td>739,233,000</td>
<td>807,465,400</td>
<td>924,394,200</td>
<td>979,328,900</td>
<td>1,110,969,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### WORLD POPULATION BY RELIGION

- **Christians** (total all kinds): 558,056,300
- **Muslims**: 200,102,300
- **Nonreligious**: 203,033,300
- **Buddhists**: 127,159,300
- **Anglicans**: 106,339,300
- **Tribal religionists**: 5,910,000
- **Jews**: 12,269,800
- **Sikhs**: 2,960,600
- **Other religions**: 400,907,100

### GLOBAL CHRISTIANITY

- **Total Christians as % of world population**: 34.4
- **Affiliated church members**: 521,563,200
- **Practicing Christians**: 469,259,800
- **Charismatics in Renewal**: 0
- **Crypto-Christians**: 3,572,400

### MEMBERSHIP BY ECCLESIASTICAL BLOC

- **Anglicans**: 30,573,700
- **Catholics (non-Roman)**: 27,062,800
- **Marginal Protestants**: 927,600
- **Nonwhite indigenous Christians**: 7,743,100
- **Orthodox**: 115,897,700
- **Protestants**: 103,056,070
- **Roman Catholics**: 266,419,400

### MEMBERSHIP BY CONTINENT

- **Africa**: 21,960,600
- **Asia**: 2,923,300
- **Europe**: 5,910,000
- **North America**: 0
- **South America**: 6,269,800
- **USSR**: 97,002,000

### CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS

- **Service agencies**: 1,500
- **Foreign-mission sending agencies**: 600
- **Institutions**: 9,500

### CHRISTIAN WORKERS

- **Nationals**: 1,059,000
- **Aliens (foreign missionaries)**: 62,000

### CHRISTIAN FINANCE (in U.S. $, per year)

- **Total of audiences in broadcast stations**: 1,960,103,100
- **Total monthly listeners/viewers**: 2,727,580,000
- **Total of audiences in telephone and other stations**: 1,110,969,000

### SCRIPTURE DISTRIBUTION (all sources)

- **Total of audiences in broadcast stations**: 1,960,103,100
- **Total monthly listeners/viewers**: 2,727,580,000
- **Total of audiences in telephone and other stations**: 1,110,969,000

### WORLD EVANGELIZATION

- **Un-evangelized populations**: 788,159,000
- **Un-evangelized as % of world population**: 48.7

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**METHODOLOGICAL NOTES** (referring to numbered lines above).

- 2. Indented categories form part of, and are included in, unindented categories above them. Definitions of categories are given as and explained in World Christian Encyclopedia (1982), with additional data and explanations as follows:

  7. Mission definitions: procreating Christians plus lawyers, which equals affiliated (church members) plus nominal Christians.


  22. Secret believers.

  41. As distinct from churches' denominational income.

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Dr. Paul E. Pierson is Dean of the School of World Mission. He is also Associate-Professor of History and Latin American Studies.

Dr. C. Peter Wagner is Professor of Church Growth at Fuller and is regarded as a leading authority on Church Growth.

Themes from Acts by Paul E. Pierson
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On the Crest of the Wave: Becoming a World Christian by C. Peter Wagner
What began in the first century continues today. In fact, Peter Wagner considers the Book of Acts a “pilot project” compared to what God is doing in the world right now. On the Crest of the Wave has been acclaimed by many as the most exciting and inspiring book in print on world missions. It not only tells what is happening (for example, there are 78,000 new Christians per day), but it explains how it is happening in a style that you will enjoy reading. Read it and become a World Christian.

Both authors are experienced “hands-on” missionaries. Pierson was active in both Brazil and Portugal for some 17 years. Wagner served in Bolivia for more than 16 years.

Regal Books
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Fuller Theological Seminary, 135 N. Oakland Ave., Pasadena, CA 91101-1790
The Religious Roots of Rebellion: Christians in Central American Revolutions.


As United States involvement in Central America has escalated over the last four years, so has scholarly attention to the region. Starting from a near zero base of almost total neglect by policy and academic specialists, Central America and its crises have lately come to be dissected, described, analyzed, and even explained.

Not all attempts are successful, of course, and for most writers the rockiest shoal seems to be that elusive but inescapable element, the religious factor. Most journalists and social scientists seem not to know what to do with such issues as popular religious expression, liberation theology, the changes in the Catholic Church, the role of basic communities, and more. They touch on religion as background, local color, a source of anecdotal illustration; or they indulge in the broad generalization that the church, formerly one of the pillars of the establishment, has somehow reversed field and adopted a preferential option for the poor. But what does all this mean?

Before me are six recent books on Central America, collections of essays by different authors in the main, and all contain at least ritual citations to the effect that the church (or religion) is a crucial factor in the Central American problematic. Only one, Martin Diskin's Trouble in Our Backyard, even attempts to examine religion as such. Tommy Sue Montgomery's essay on "Liberation and Revolution" is a good, if unnuanced, introduction to the fuller treatment that has long been needed.

Now comes Phillip Berryman, who, more than Montgomery, more even than Penny Lernoux whose Cry of the People has become a standard text on the new Latin American church, and certainly more than almost all of the academic observers, knows what it all means.

Berryman is an observer-participant who daily experienced the religious and social reality of Central America for much of the past two decades. His is a painstakingly careful chronicle of that reality as he observed and experienced it. Still more, as a theologically trained "native speaker" of the principal Christian dialect of the region, Roman Catholicism, he brings to his work that sure touch, the correct tone, that is sometimes lacking in others with similar viewpoints and sympathies but different experiences of church.

Berryman set out to describe the effects of a renewed Christian consciousness on the lives of the poor in Central America. He ended up writing three books in one: an explanation and description of that process of renewal and reform within the Christian community; a chronicle of the interplay between Christian renewal and social revolution in the last several turbulent years in Central America; and, his most important contribution, some informed musings on what all this means to the church at large.

By "some informed musings" I am merely picking up on Berryman's own style, modest, tentative but—I believe—profound. He cites, by way of analogy, a modest and tentative work of the 1950s by the French Dominican theologian, Yves Congar, entitled Jalous pour Une Theologie du Laiicat. Congar's "notes towards a theology of the laity" (published in English as Lay Peo-
Ministers of God, Ministers of the People: Testimonies of Faith from Nicaragua.


The role of Christians and of the Christian faith in today’s Nicaragua is a much debated topic. Can one be fully committed to Christ and also be fully committed to the Sandinista Revolution? Is there a contradiction between a Roman Catholic priestly responsibility and fulltime service in a post of the Nicaraguan government? How do faith and politics mix or mesh? In a nation where Christian churches are badly split internally over their role in relation to the revolution, where a visit by Pope John Paul II turns out to be less of a triumph of ecclesiastical diplomacy and more a struggle with the faithful, and where high figures of the Roman hierarchy oppose the revolution openly, where does one turn to understand the underlying dynamics at work?

Teofilo Cabestrero offers an excellent entry point. Ministers of God, Ministers of the People, with the subtitle Testimonies of Faith from Nicaragua, consists largely of interviews with three priests whose lives in recent years have been profoundly dedicated to the Sandinista Revolution and the contemporary government of Nicaragua, even if at times reluctantly. The three—the brothers Ernesto and Fernando Cardenal, and Miguel D’Escoto—are led by persistent questioning about their role as priests and government servants into a free-flowing reflection on their faith and their work, laced liberally with autobiographical anecdotes, which center largely on the periods immediately preceding and following the victory of Sandinistas over the Somoza tyranny.

What comes through is not careful analysis in any systematic manner, but a series of profoundly personal insights of faith. They could be read as defensive statements to justify past and present activities, but in my judgment such would be a gross misreading of expressions of faith that shine with a marvelous transparency and simplicity in the best sense. Caught up in the political cauldron of contemporary Nicaragua, the Cardenals and D’Escoto were propelled into high government posts. As they reflect, each in his own way, on the responsibilities they fulfill, what is remarkable is the depth of faith so evidently tied to life, which they express. These are indeed testimonies of faith, and like any profound testimony it calls the reader not so much to agreement or to disagreement as to a search of his or her own life of faith.

—Eugene L. Stockwell

Eugene L. Stockwell is the Director of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches. In the 1950s he spent ten years as a Methodist missionary in Uruguay; later, from 1972 to 1982, he was the associate general secretary for overseas ministries of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.


Fifteen years ago I was at Seminario Bíblico Latino Americano in San José, Costa Rica, where the author teaches. I had an opportunity during my brief visit to spend an afternoon with about a dozen students who had come to the seminary from various Central and South American countries.

One question I asked those students was, "When you return home, what one thing above all others would you like to do in Christian ministry?" Most of the answers were pretty much what I expected, but a student from Quito, Ecuador, surprised me with the intensity of his reply: "I would read the book of Amos over the air on HCBJ [a Christian radio station with wide reception in Latin America]."

I've thought about that student's reply many times in the intervening years, most recently as I read God So Loved the Third World. Thomas Hanks is equally intense; he also perceives hearing and understanding the Bible as basic to changing Christian attitudes and actions toward the poor and oppressed.

But whose understanding? The same book of Amos would produce quite different results if read, for example, over WMIB, a Christian radio station in Chicago. It's likely that we'd miss the point, the incendiary point of Amos that would be grasped by Latin America's poor and would probably be considered Marxist by its rich and its rulers.

The issue addressed by Hanks is that "two-thirds of humanity live with an annual toll of thirty million dead from starvation and malnutrition." If this "does not become the starting point for any Christian theology today, even in the affluent and powerful countries, then theology cannot begin to relate meaningfully to the real situation" (p. 4).

Why do these millions die for lack of food, why is there such poverty in the Third World? Hanks finds one main, even overwhelming answer in the Bible: oppression. Poverty is caused by injustice and oppression. By careful exegesis of Amos and many other Old and New Testament passages, he proves his point, at least to this reader.

Oppression's link to poverty is not the usual way of looking at things in

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Joseph Bayly is Vice President, David C. Cook Publishing Co., Elgin, Illinois.

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the United States. How would one explain the failure of WMBI listeners to grasp the same meaning from Amos as HCJB listeners?

People’s understanding of biblical teaching is a reflection of the cultural milieu in which they have lived their lives. North American Christians, whether ordinary ones or trained exegetes, approach God’s words with the baggage of the most affluent society in history—a society in which the question debated by politicians is not how many die of starvation, but whether hunger really exists. Central and South American Christians, on the other hand, approach it from personal acquaintance with poverty and the oppression that produces it.

This is not to say that poverty in the United States has a different primary cause. Inner-city blacks and other ethnic minorities would probably hear Amos over WMBI with Latin American ears.

Ideology and lifestyle are related to exegesis. We cannot escape it.

Technicians would say that through the grammatico-historical method we can recapture the original meaning, the meaning rooted in biblical cultures. But most of our North American exegetes haven’t, while Hanks and others in Latin America have. In many respects (poverty, oppression, medical care, education) Latin America is of course close to the New Testament culture.

But the author does not leave the problem with biblical theologians. He has much to say of the function of base communities in coming to grips with the needs of the poor. These communities, Hanks says, are forcing us “to read the Bible from the perspective of the oppressed poor, which of course was the historical and socio-economic context of the people of God (with very few exceptions) throughout Bible history” (p. 62).

The author’s integrity and balance in dealing with his subject are shown in this prophetic comment addressed to Latin American Christians: “If [Juan Luis] Segundo’s analysis of Israel’s political situations and of Jesus’ political tactics is correct, the implications for our study of oppression in the New Testament are obvious. The question remains whether Christians in Latin America should not also concentrate more on the tyrannical local oligarchies that encourage such greater foreign exploitation, instead of consuming so much energy denouncing foreign imperialism—a force that goes its merry way, deaf to all such cries. Perhaps we prefer a long life, comfortable but useless, to martyrdom!” (p. 52).

My enthusiasm for this book does not mean that all my questions have been answered, or that I totally agree with the conclusions drawn by Hanks. For instance, I would like to see some consideration of Jesus’ discouragement of violence and almost complete silence about oppression by the Roman colonialists in his “Third World.” Sometimes I feel that the author coalesces immediate relief from poverty and judgment against oppressors with ultimate salvation and justice (e.g., Jesus’ parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke 16:19–31).

In a recent New York Times review of Harvey Cox’s Religion in the Secular City, John A. Coleman, S.J., says, “[Harvey Cox] asserts that in North America liberation theology will emerge more readily from the evangelical-conservative than from the liberal wing of American Christianity.” I believe Hanks’s book supports this statement, but why is this so?

God’s justice and human sinfulness are familiar themes to evangelical-conservative Christians. God So Loved the Third World comes from one who believes these doctrines—possibly only such a person could have produced it. And yet these doctrines must be understood and applied to life and politics today: “Liberal theologians commonly evade biblical teaching on God’s wrath; but conservatives have overlooked the fact that this wrath [in biblical context] is primarily manifested against injustice and oppression of the poor (see Romans 1:18)” (p. 16).
Hanks is saying that we Christians in North America who believe the Bible and accept its authority must begin to read it as those who are oppressed—and begin to amend our ideology and lifestyle as those who are rich. This will take a miracle of the Holy Spirit’s doing akin to the miracles he is working in Latin America. —Joseph Bayly

American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869–82.


Robert Keller’s scholarly work continues the pattern of recent studies in church-state relations and ideological factors in United States Indian policy. As does fellow historian Francis Paul Prucha, the author treats from a political-history viewpoint what the careful studies of Robert Berkhofer, James Ronda and James Axtell, and H. W. Bowden have handled from a religious-cultural perspective. Keller’s introductory material and summary indicate the conclusions his research has produced. First, America up to the time of the Grant administration was not a secularized society: church and state were considered partners in establishing morality in the land. Second, it was believed that only Christianity could civilize the Indians, for which work it deserved the full support of the government. Third, Grant’s action in naming missionaries to administer Indian agencies, inspired by missionary criticisms of previous policies, was a pragmatic attempt to pacify and settle the Indians. Fourth, no amount of Christian virtue could obscure the basic motivation of Americans in this enterprise, which was the motive of acquiring land—a fact Vine Deloria, Jr., has always considered central to the problem. The author concludes that religious reform could not achieve political morality, because religion was only one of the many factors involved.

Keller wisely seeks no scapegoats for the almost universal corruption in effecting the Peace Policy. He demolishes any remaining romantic conceptions of frontier life, pointing out how agents were driven to corruption by the squalor of frontier life, the stinginess of Congress, and the uncontrolled rate of westward expansion. Frontier history is chaotic, filled with religious hatred, crudity, oppression and, beneath these, a total ideological commitment to the American capitalist dream. The narrative describes very well the “gentle genocide” carried out by a nation determined to obliterate Indian culture and religion, while advertising the ideal of religious liberty.

The illustrated volume is complete with bibliography and appendices, including an interesting table evaluating agencies according to denominations. Conspicuous by its absence is any official statement of the Peace Policy; doubtless the lack of a document is typical of the history of the policy. But the book’s introduction describes the policy in detail. —Carl F. Starkloff, S.J.

Carl F. Starkloff, a Jesuit priest, has worked among Native Americans of the United States and Canada since 1959. He is currently Associate Professor of Missiology and Pastoral Studies at Regis College, Toronto School of Theology, and conducts ministry training programs for Ojibway people in Ontario.
The Center Cannot Hold: The Search for a Global Economy of Justice.


The author, a professor of Christian ethics at Bangor Theological Seminary, holds that the debate over world economic justice is a sociological choice between the “Development Center” and the “Liberation Left.” Within social-scientific literature there are two contradictory models, the modernization theory of socioeconomic development, which focuses on “growth,” and the dependency theory, which draws on neo-Marxian analysis. Within ecumenical church reflection certain tensions have surfaced that correspond, in both World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, to the ideological conflicts in the social-scientific debate. Is “development” or “liberation” the “new name for peace?”

After setting up the conflict in terms of these contrasts, Ellison analyzes the work of Dennis Goulet (social economist and moral philosopher) who seeks “middle ground,” and finds his writings to be really an implicit critique of liberation theology. Ellison identifies Goulet to be a “progressive developmentalist.” Since Goulet supposedly represents a centrist position, the conclusion is that “the center cannot hold.”

In contrast to modernization models and the position of Goulet, liberation theologians advocate the dependency model of social criticism. They make three breaks with the liberal developmental paradigm. First, they stress the primacy of the political; second, they reject ethical-theological idealism and favor praxis; and third, their ecclesiastical break is with neocolonial Christianity and is a commitment to the poor.

The book is not a description of a debate, but is addressed to the churches of the dominating countries who are responsible for the condition of dependency. Socialism is again on the agenda for Christians as much as the liberal developmental center cannot hold. Persuasive as the book is, it lacks a sustained theological-ethical critique of Marxist developmentalism in the context of the Christian-Marxist dialogue.

Walter G. Muelder

Walter G. Muelder, Dean Emeritus and Professor of Social Ethics, Boston University School of Theology, has been active in several aspects of the ecumenical movement and was a Protestant Observer at Vatican Council II.

CHEROKEES AND MISSIONARIES, 1789–1839.


By military force and political manipulation the American Indian tribes lost more than 97 percent of their land to colonizing European powers and, after the American Revolution, to the United States. The loss of such vast expanses of land under such threatening encounters is always high on the list of injustices that the Indians suffered. I suspect, however, that more damag-
ing than the land steal was the psychological attack on the Indians so that they were led to believe they were inferior to the "whites" who settled among them.

Few Europeans or Americans appreciated the values and social structures of tribal societies. Because the societies were different, they were judged to be inferior. It is tragic that in bringing Christianity to the Cherokees, it was brought in the values and structures of young America.

William G. McLoughlin, professor of history at Brown University, has probed with skill deep into the context of this problem. Most of his research was done in the letters written by the missionaries to the Cherokees and the publications of their mission boards. The very confusion suffered by the missionaries and their boards exactly reflects the erroneous assumptions with which they brought their denominational Christianity to the Cherokee. For example, they totally ignored the matrilineal structures of Cherokee society as they imposed in the name of Christianity a patrilineal structure upon their converts and so added unexpected confusion to Cherokee life. When the white missionaries were later joined by white traders and others who sought to make a monetary profit, new fears arose. The "wickedness of the whitemen intruding into" Indian country led some "Indians to swear eternal enmity to religion..." (p. 302).

Meanwhile, in tragic fashion the federal program, which relocated thousands of Cherokees in lands west of the Mississippi River, brought a deep moral problem to the missionaries. Were they to support their government? Should they support the Cherokees to whom they had made promises of enduring assistance?

Much of the Cherokee land was lost. Some idea of how much of the Cherokee identity was also lost can be learned from this scholarly work. For all who are concerned about the conflict between church and culture, this is essential reading.

—Ted Zuern, S.J.
Co-operating in World Evangelization: A Handbook on Church/Para-Church Relationships.


In his provocative book Mainline Churches and the Evangelicals, Richard G. Hutcheson, Jr., notes that (in the United States, at least) “evangelicalism has already established itself as that part of the church which is growing, in contrast to the shrinking mainline.” The base for this growth is “a massive para-church movement” which, Hutcheson says, “is startling both in its range and its vigor.”

Many of these para-church organizations are identified in one way or another with the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE), which, in turn, seeks to promote evangelism and mission among mainline and other churches. It is not surprising, therefore, that at the 1980 Consultation on World Evangelization held in Pattaya, Thailand, the subject of church/para-church relationship received major attention. Within the span of two short weeks a group of ten church and para-church leaders met twenty-two times to grapple with the interactions of churches and para-churches around the world, particularly with respect to mission. The result is this handbook, No. 24 in the series of Lausanne Occasional Papers.

And a very good handbook it is. It consists of three parts, the first and last of which include a stimulating theological preamble by John R. W. Stott, and two brief but helpful essays on the essential nature of churches and para-churches. The bulk of the handbook, however (pp. 24–92), deals systematically with more than 100 areas of conflict or friction, grouped into five chapters. These cover the effect of dogmatism about nonessentials, the perceived threat of conflicting authorities, the harmfulness of strained relationships, rivalry between various ministries, and mutual suspicion about finances. Each chapter concludes with a detailed “self-check list.”

The heart of the matter, in the words of John Stott (p. 15) “is the age-old tension between authority and freedom. To quench the Spirit and to ignore the Body are both serious sins.” This handbook will be useful to all pastors and mission leaders who are concerned to “maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace” (Eph. 4:3).

-Waldron Scott

Waldron Scott is an evangelical scholar and author.

The Study of American Indian Religions.


Hultkrantz, professor of comparative religion in the University of Stockholm, is the doyen of scholars working on the religions of North American Indians; much of his life work has recently been incorporated in the two series of Gifford Lectures in the University of Aberdeen. Vecsey has provided a basic tool for students in this field by repub-
Fifteen Outstanding Books of 1984 for Mission Studies

The editors of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research have selected the following books for special recognition of their outstanding contribution to mission studies in 1984. We have limited our selection to books in English since it would be impossible to consider fairly the books in many other languages that are not readily available to us. We commend the authors, editors, and publishers represented here for their continuing commitment to advance the cause of the Christian world mission with scholarly literature.

Adeney, Miriam.
God’s Foreign Policy.

Arias, Mortimer.
Announcing the Reign of God: Evangelization and the Subversive Memory of Jesus.

Berryman, Phillip.
The Religious Roots of Rebellion: Christians in Central American Revolutions.

Brown, Robert McAfee.
Unexpected News: Reading the Bible with Third World Eyes.

Cragg, Kenneth.
Muhammad and the Christian: A Question of Response.

Conn, Harvie M.

Dickson, Kwesi A.
Theology in Africa.

Hesselygrave, David J.
Counselling Cross-Culturally: An Introduction to Theory and Practice for Christians.

Hunter, Jane.
New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press. $25.00.

McLaughlin, William G.
Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839.
New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press. $32.50.

Neill, Stephen.
A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to A.D. 1707.
London: Cambridge Univ. Press. $79.50.

Samuel, Vinay and Chris Sugden, eds.
Sharing Jesus in the Two Thirds World.

Sharpe, Eric J.
Karl Ludvig Reichelt: Missionary, Scholar and Pilgrim.
Hong Kong: Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre (Shatin, N.T.). Paperback.

Tutu, Desmond M.
Hope and Suffering: Sermons and Speeches.

Whaling, Frank, ed.
The World’s Religious Traditions: Essays in honour of Wilfred Cantwell Smith.
Edinburgh, Scotland: T. & T. Clark. £11.95.
missionary career of Leenhhardt until 1932. The second part is a survey of his contribution to practical anthropology, with particular attention to his classic *Do Kamo: Person and Myth in the Melanesian World* (French edition, 1947; English trans., Univ. of Chicago Press, 1979). Maurice Leenhhardt was a pioneer in field work in religious anthropology. He saw the "heathen" not as fossils, but as historical agents, capable of change and qualified to obtain the specific authenticity given by the new life in Christ. James Clifford has written with accuracy and empathy. I see only one flaw in this splendid book (a revised Ph.D. dissertation at Harvard University, 1977), namely, that Clifford underestimates the contribution of Maurice Leenhhardt to missiology as a theological discipline. Developments in the missionary thinking of Maurice Leenhhardt in the French theological context are not analyzed, and the missiological reviews founded by Leenhhardt, *Propos Missionnaires* (1927–40) and *Le Monde Non Chrétien* (first series 1931–36, not 1938–45 as cited on p. 259; second series 1947–69) are not exploited. But Clifford paves the way for further research and stands as a discreet and reliable guide, the only one in English at this time.

—Marc Spindler

Marc Spindler is Director of the Department of Missiology, Interuniversity Institute for Missiological and Ecumenical Research, Leiden, Netherlands, and Associate Professor of Missiology and Ecumenics at the University of Leiden. A French Reformed minister, he served as a district missionary and later as a theological teacher in Madagascar from 1961 to 1973.

**Imperialismus und koloniale Mission: Kaiserliches Deutschland und koloniales Imperium.**


Adversaries of the Christian mission like to point to the historically close and compromising alliance between colonialism and mission. Therefore concise and critical historical investigations on the subject are needed. Now that a certain distance has been established, we are seeing the publication of research that is based on archival material and also takes into account the development of the former colonial areas. Christian missiologists today have no difficulty in recognizing the shortcomings of missions during colonial times.

The colonial period of the former German Reich lasted only about three decades and came to an end with World War I. This relatively short period is treated in this book, always in connection with the Christian missions.

After the introduction, by the editor, on colonialism in the German imperial period, the first part of the volume offers Robert Hoffmann's essay on the Catholic mission movement in Germany during the nineteenth century, and one from Niels-Peter Moritzzen on the colonial concepts of the Protestant German missions. Horst Gründer writes on policies of the mission societies in colonial mission, and...
Klaus J. Bade discusses the important figure of Friedrich Fabri. The second part discusses the German colonial territories and the work of the missions there. Luther Engel writes on South West Africa; Arthur J. Knoll on Togo; Ranier Tetzlaff on German East Africa, Renate Nestvogel on Cameroon; Peter J. Hempenstall on New Guinea; John A. Moses on Samoa; Stewart G. Firth on the Marshall Islands; and Karl J. Rivinius on Klautschau (not a colonial territory but a Chinese area in which the missionaries stood under German protection). Ernst Dammann treats further developments in the former German colonial territories during the period between the two world wars.

This book quietly lets the drama of the choice and its setting speak for itself. We watch Nouwen as he shares living with a few families, listens to Gustavo Gutiérrez and others expound liberation theology, and struggles against unwonted depression, loneliness, and a sense of uselessness. This was a pilgrimage of conversion, and the title expresses what is both the condition and the fruit of its success: gratitude.

Henri Nouwen is not the first Northerner to make the journey described in these pages. But his rare gift of expression makes this a memorable record and witness of his involvement in a great moment of contemporary Christian and world history. For veterans of overseas ministry who have experienced the same painful feelings, for those preparing to deal with culture shock, and for all who wish to share a deeply spiritual experience of seeking God’s call desde los pobres, ¡Gracias! offers an eloquent distillation of the thoughts of a grateful heart.

—Thomas E. Clarke, S.J.

Thomas E. Clarke, S.J., resides in New York City. He is the co-author of From Image to Likeness: A Jungian Path in the Gospel Journey.
The Sons of the Gods and the Daughters of Men.


Modupe Oduyoye enriches our understanding of the primeval history of Genesis by an analysis that draws upon African traditions of origins and religious concepts through a method of comparative philosophy. The book continues a project initiated by the author in his 1972 publication, The Vocabulary of Yoruba Religious Discourse. His program is to seek light on the Old Testament and its prehistory in the languages of Africa that he understands to be ultimately related.

In my view, Oduyoye’s philological approach is problematic and the strength of the book lies elsewhere. Few biblical scholars or linguists will be convinced by his identification of Hebrew terms with terms of similar sound and meaning drawn haphazardly from a wide spectrum of African languages. Though the subtitle announces an “Afro-Asiatic Interpretation of Genesis 1-11,” Oduyoye’s primary reference group is not the Afro-Asiatic (= Hamito-Semitic) family, to which Hebrew clearly belongs, but the Niger-Congo languages, whose “extremely remote relationship” to the former group is even more questionable than Oduyoye suggests (p. 3; cf. J. H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa, p. 28). While Oduyoye’s associations are often striking and appear to illuminate, they frequently ignore or distort the historical and linguistic contexts of the items compared. For instance, the Hebrew divine name is explained by Fon yehu, Ewe yéré “spirit” (p. 50), without reference to the common Semitic pattern of sentences to which Yahweh clearly belongs or the interpretation of Exodus 3:14.

The book’s major contribution is a reading of the Genesis texts informed by an African view of religion and myth that comprehends the biblical stories far better, I think, than much of Western exegesis. The genetic link that Oduyoye seeks between African and Hebrew traditions remains problematic, but a structural link, in thought and world-view, is exhibited in the many fresh insights and telling comments Oduyoye offers in this richly stimulating book.

—Phyllis A. Bird

Phyllis A. Bird is Associate Professor of Old Testament at Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

The Heart of Buddhism: In Search of the Timeless Spirit of Primitive Buddhism.


Professor Takeuchi is a leading member of the Kyoto school, which owes its inception to the Buddhist philosopher Nishida Keiji. He combines rich historical scholarship with philosophical and theological interests. He deplores the lack of existential involvement with the meaning of the texts in most Buddhist scholarship. He finds an alternative in such New Testament scholars as Rudolf Bultmann, and he identifies his own perspective as existential.

The richest chapter in terms of historical scholarship is on “The Stages of Contemplation.” Takeuchi shows how similar is early Indian Buddhism to Hindu thought, but he writes suggestively of the distinctiveness as well. The argument is clearly important but difficult for the non-specialist to follow. Takeuchi is of the Pure Land school, and the distinctive concerns of that tradition appear in a few chapters. In particular he deals with the existential meaning of the recitation of Amida’s name, relying on the thought of Shinran, the founder of the larger Pure Land sects in Japan. Shinran stressed that faith as the acceptance of the efficacy of Amida’s vow rather than the repetition of the name as such is decisive for salvation. This is sometimes interpreted to mean that a simple reliance on Amida’s grace without any spiritual attainments on the part of the believer is all that is required. Takeuchi, however, examines the nature of the requisite faith with great subtlety. His conclusion is that the state of faith resembles the condition attained in other Buddhist schools through meditational disciplines. It is presumptuous to question the interpretation of a master, but I cannot help wondering whether Shinran would not be troubled at the renewed victory of elitism.

This handsome volume, ably translated, and with a helpful foreword by Hans Küng, makes available to the English reader a level of Japanese Buddhist scholarship heretofore largely inaccessible.

—John B. Cobb, Jr.

John B. Cobb, Jr. was born in Japan of Methodist missionary parents. He is now Ingram Professor of Theology at the School of Theology at Claremont, California.


This solidly documented monograph makes an important contribution to the understanding of American religious history in the last half of the nineteenth century. At first glance it appears to be too specialized to be of general interest; it is focused on the history of the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance, a voluntary movement of certain leaders of about ten mainline denominations. It was never large in membership—several hundred at most. It was a movement marked by deep inner tensions; one of the strengths of the book is the way in which Jordan has skillfully probed them, thus making understandable certain abrupt shifts in the American Alliance’s history. It was also a movement that failed, for it was not successful in resolving its deepest tension, which was between its strongly internationalist wing, one protective of denominational sovereignty and devoted to championing religious liberty and the separation of religious and civil authority around the world, and its more nationalist, pragmatically oriented reformist wing much concerned about social issues. Yet the author’s interpretation of the American Alliance’s history is developed with keen awareness of the broader context of the religious life of the time: its relationship to the World Evangelical Alliance and its branches in other countries, to the foreign missionary movement, to the anti-Catholic spirit of the period, to the civil religion of the republic, to the social gospel, and to the rise of the federative religion of the republic, to the social Christianity, gatherings held at Washington in 1887, Boston in 1889, and Chicago in 1893. But this emphasis stretched to the breaking point the tension within the American Alliance “between the ultimate otherworldly evangelical goal of individual salvation and the worldly goal of sustaining the democratic Republic” (p. 183). When combined with the effects of the de-

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pression of 1893, this strain led to financial stringency and the resignation of a discouraged Strong in 1898, and thereafter the American Alliance rapidly declined as initiative passed to other agencies. But its story, competently interpreted in this careful work based largely on primary sources and completed with a good bibliography and index, does provide an important chapter in American church history, of particular importance for understanding the religious scene between Civil and World wars. —Robert T. Handy

Dissertation Notices
from the United States

Grove, Ronald.
“Canon and Community: Authority in the History of Religions.”
Ph.D. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Univ. of California, 1983.

Hordern, Richard P.
“Hermeneutics of Liberation.”

James, George.
“Phenomenological Approaches to Religion: An Essay in Methodology in the Study of Religion with Particular Attention to the Phenomenology of Religion of P. D. Chantepe de la Saussaye, William Brede Kristensen, and Gerardus van der Leeuw.”

Patricia R. Hill
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Paul, Bandlamudi China.
Th.D. Chicago: Lutheran School of Theology, 1984.

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“Who Is Jesus Christ for the People of Asia?”

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“Legitimation of Power and Authority in a Pluralistic State: Pancasila and Civil Religion in Indonesia.”

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Th.D. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Seminary, 1984.

Rasolondaibai, Peri.

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Viviers, Gerardo Cristiano.
“Christian Political Witness of the Church of the Poor: A Study of the Political Ecclesiology of the Basic Ecclesial Communities in Brazil.”

Wisley, Thomas.

Wu, David C.
“The Employment of Chinese Classical Thought in Matteo Ricci’s Theological Contextualization in Sixteenth Century China.”
Arnaldy Quismundo, representing the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, is a missionary "on the grow." Although she and her husband Jorge look back on thirty-two years in overseas Christian mission, they are quick to say there is always more to learn. And that's why this year they are in residence at OMSC. Every year OMSC's resident community, made up of North American missionaries and overseas nationals like the Quismundos, are joined by several hundred other missionaries, students, mission executives, professors and pastors who come for mission courses like those outlined below. Apply now for residence (1985 and beyond) and any of the announced courses and seminars.

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Christian INFO.

Church of England, Board for Mission and Unity.
Towards a Theology for Inter-Faith Dialogue.

Downs, Frederick S.
Christianity in North East India: Historical Perspectives.

Hick, John.
The Second Christianity.

Hinson, E. Glenn.
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