One Hundred Years after the
Watchword

This year marks the centennial of the launching of the watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement, "The evangelization of the world in this generation." That watchword has often been quoted, and also frequently misunderstood. In her article on the origin of the watchword, Dana L. Robert points out that its basic meaning was that "Every generation has a unique obligation to preach the gospel to its contemporaries." One hundred years later, this obligation is still with us.

Nevertheless, mission thinking and practices have changed very much during the past decades. The eminent Dutch missiologist J. Verkuyl looks back over his own career in our continuing series on "My Pilgrimage in Mission." Surveying the momentous changes through which he has lived, Verkuyl shows how he has endeavored to keep an integral relation among mission, evangelism, discipleship, and social justice.

A fairly recent development in mission, but one which was anticipated by the generation of John R. Mott and those who promoted the SVM watchword, has been the "emerging missions" in non-Western countries, described in an article by Larry D. Pate and Lawrence E. Keyes. The authors believe that these indigenous mission groups in the two-thirds world will prove to be the greatest single force for evangelizing unreached people. We see a concrete example of this in David A. Shank's article on the legacy of William Wadé Harris, who began African churches that are still dedicated to active programs of evangelization.

Another significant mission event has been the growth of Pentecostal missions, and Gary B. McGee presents his historical analysis of the growth of mission theology among the Assemblies of God churches. Although grossly misunderstood by other Christians in their early years, Pentecostal missions have had a profound impact on churches around the world.

So the watchword may still be very timely today. Perhaps after 100 years, Christians in many places are beginning to catch up with the vision of those who first coined it.

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The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword: “The Evangelization of the World in This Generation”

Dana L. Robert

A century ago, at a summer Bible school sponsored by evangelist Dwight L. Moody and the Young Men’s Christian Association, 100 college men decided to become foreign missionaries. The summer school did not begin with a foreign-mission focus: Moody’s interest in missions was limited primarily to home and urban revivalism. But the witness and prayers of a few colleagues on fire for missions led to a general conflagration that burned throughout North America, Great Britain, and Protestant Europe. The determination of the “Mt. Hermon 100” to become foreign missionaries was the spark that lit the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, one of the most influential mission movements in history.

At the heart of the Student Volunteer Movement was its “watchcry” or “watchword”: “the evangelization of the world in this generation.” More than a mere slogan, the volunteer watchword was symbolic of the optimism and exuberance of the pre-World War I generation. In the words of Robert Wilder, one of the Mt. Hermon 100 and a promoter of the student movement, “The Student Volunteer Movement did not so much produce the Watchword, as the Watchword—or rather the thought behind it—helped to bring into being the Student Volunteer Movement.”

In 1986, the centennial of the Mt. Hermon 100, it is appropriate to ask where the watchword originated and what it meant. How did a single phrase gain the power to dominate the generation that launched the modern missionary movement? The answers to these questions can be found by analyzing the vision that inspired the student volunteers, “the evangelization of the world in this generation.”

Origins and Early Meaning of the Watchword

John R. Mott, first chairman of the Student Volunteer Movement, attributed the invention of the watchword to Arthur T. Pierson, editor of the Missionary Review of the World, the major interdenominational missions journal of the late nineteenth century. After receiving a telegram from Dwight L. Moody, Pierson interrupted his family vacation to address the Mt. Hermon summer school in 1886. A premillennial Bible study leader and pastor, Pierson was scheduled to speak on “The Bible and Prophecy.” But as chairman of the Foreign Missions Committee for the Philadelphia Presbytery, Arthur Pierson was well known in Presbyterian circles as a missions advocate. One of the students at the conference, Robert Wilder, was a premillennialist and leader of a missions society at Princeton. Wilder asked Pierson to lead a special evening session on “God’s Providence in Modern Missions.”

The young John Mott attended the conference as an officer of the Cornell University student YMCA. As he later recalled: “On the evening of July 16, a special mass meeting was held at which Rev. Dr. A. T. Pierson gave a thrilling address on missions. He supported, by the most convincing arguments, the proposition that ‘all should go and go to all.’ This was the keynote which set many men to thinking and praying.”

Drawing a map of the world, Pierson graphically illustrated a strategy for world evangelization. His address provoked several students to decide to become foreign missionaries, and the tension began to mount. On July 24 in the evening, the students held the “meeting of ten nations” at which the sons of missionaries and students of seven nationalities addressed the crowd, each at the end of his speech appealing for more missionaries. The young men began to pray and to wrestle with their consciences, and a week after the “meeting of ten nations,” 100 of them had dedicated themselves to be missionaries. The men elected traveling representatives to tour American colleges to enlist colleagues in the cause of missions. In 1888 the students founded the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions.

Whether or not A. T. Pierson used the exact phrase “the evangelization of the world in this generation” in his speech at Mt. Hermon in 1886 is uncertain. He did unveil for the students a scheme for world evangelization that he had been promoting for several years, notably at a convention held by Dwight L. Moody the year before. In 1885 Pierson had participated in a Northfield Convention for lay workers. For ten days, the conference considered the issue of foreign missions. Participants prayed about “the common salvation, the blessed hope, and the duty of witnessing to a lost world.” On August 11, 1885, the group prayed for worldwide missions, and Pierson gave a stimulating missionary address promoting a world missions council and an

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missions patriarch, world president of the YMCA, and Nobel Peace Prize recipient. Mott argued that the volunteer watchword set the Student Volunteer Movement apart from every other student movement in history.

[The watchcry] constitutes at once its [SVM’s] ultimate purpose and its inspiration. More and more as the volunteers prayerfully look through the doors of faith opening today unto every nation, ponder the last command of Jesus Christ, and consider the resources of His Church, they are convinced of the necessity, duty, possibility, and probability of realizing their watchcry.

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With Pierson as chairman, a committee of five drew up an appeal for a world conference of missions to consider the topic of world evangelization. The committee hoped that such a conference would divide the world according to a comity agreement and then pursue "the immediate occupation and evangelization of every destitute district of the earth's population." The committee was optimistic that if the 10 million Christians in the world would each witness to 100 people within fifteen years, then the entire current population of the earth would hear the gospel by the year 1900.

Part of the urgency the committee felt for world evangelization was that it would hasten "the day of the Lord." The sooner the entire world heard the good news of the gospel, the sooner Jesus Christ would return to usher in the millennium. This millennial hope fueled Pierson's passion for systematic world evangelization. William Carey, Alexander Duff, and other missions notables had long envisioned worldwide evangelization, but Arthur Pierson linked the concept of worldwide evangelization with the urgency of premillennialism to formulate a plan for "the evangelization of the world in this generation."

Though some of the early student volunteers were not premillennialists, they all vigorously embraced the idea that the world could be evangelized within their lifetime. That the earliest student volunteers believed that the world could be evangelized shortly is clear from a letter that John R. Mott wrote to his sister Hattie early in 1889 after being appointed chairman of the Student Volunteer Movement:

I am glad of this opportunity of extending the influence of this the greatest religious movement of this century. I am one of those who believe that this world is going to be evangelized in and by the present generation. The Church has been sleeping over this question about eighteen hundred years.

Mott told his sister that the task of world evangelization would be accomplished by the dawn of the twentieth century.

In its earliest years, then, the watchcry "the evangelization of the world in this generation" meant that the world could be evangelized by the early twentieth century. By "evangelization," A. T. Pierson meant the preaching of the word to all persons so that they could choose whether or not to become Christians. The evangelization of the world did not imply the conversion of the world but, rather, the proclamation of the gospel to the world. By limiting "evangelization" primarily to "proclamation," Pierson and other premillennialists could hope that the task could be completed in their lifetime and that they would participate in the second coming of Jesus Christ.

Pierson was frequently asked how he discovered the idea of "the evangelization of the world in this generation." In an article written in 1891, he explained that approximately in 1870 he had read a paragraph by Joseph Angus of London that called for raising 50,000 missionaries to preach the gospel to the unevangelized within twenty-five years. Pierson began to meditate on Angus's paper, and by 1877 he had given his first public utterance to a concrete plan for evangelizing the world. Pierson calculated that if 1 in every 100 Christians would become a missionary, and if all Protestants would give $1.00 a year, then 300,000 missionaries and $30 million a year would be available for world evangelization. Pierson modestly denied that he had originated the idea of "the evangelization of the world in this generation." He had merely popularized and propagated the concept through the Missionary Review of the World, a journal dedicated to securing "the immediate proclamation of the Gospel to every soul."
In all probability, the paragraph by Joseph Angus to which Pierson referred was from Angus’s sermon “Apostolic Missions: The Gospel for Every Creature,” delivered before the Baptist Missionary Society on April 26, 1871, fifteen years before the Mt. Hermon 100. Joseph Angus was a British Baptist who had served as secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) from 1840 to 1849. Angus then became president of the Baptist Regent’s Park College for forty-four years. While president of the college, Angus supported Baptist missions and encouraged mission interest among students.

In his sermon before the BMS, Angus argued that Christians were commanded to preach the gospel to the ends of the earth. The obligation to proclaim the gospel is not limited to the age of the apostles, but it is instead the responsibility of every age. Every age, therefore, must preach the gospel anew:

The Church of each generation redeemed by the same blood, renewed and blest by the same Spirit, has practically the same honour and responsibility: the honour of making known to the world of each generation “the manifold wisdom” and mercy of God. . . . The Christians of each age are to give the Gospel to the people of that age. Every Christian is to tell the “good news” to everyone he can reach; and Christians collectively are to tell it, if they can, to all the world.12

In Angus’s sermon appeared the germ of the idea of evangelization “in this generation.” Every generation has a unique obligation to preach the gospel to its contemporaries.

Angus further argued that the gospel could be preached to the world within “the next fifteen or twenty years.”13 If each evangelical church member in America and Europe would give less than £3 per year, and 50,000 preachers would volunteer, then in all probability, the paragraph by Joseph Angus to which Pierson referred was from Angus’s sermon “Apostolic Missions: The Gospel for Every Creature,” delivered before the Baptist Missionary Society on April 26, 1871, fifteen years before the Mt. Hermon 100. Joseph Angus was a British Baptist who had served as secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) from 1840 to 1849. Angus then became president of the Baptist Regent’s Park College for forty-four years. While president of the college, Angus supported Baptist missions and encouraged mission interest among students.

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the task of preaching to every creature could be accomplished speedily.14 Angus also believed that the definition of evangelization should be limited to preaching the gospel rather than to supporting buildings, churches, and schools.

In Joseph Angus’s sermon appeared most of the components that A. T. Pierson later labeled “the evangelization of the world in this generation.” The numerical calculations, the limiting of evangelization to proclamation, and the unique responsibility of each generation all appeared in Angus’s sermon of 1871. A. T. Pierson added an eschatological urgency to Angus’s plan, re formulated the numerical aspect, and promoted all under what became the Student Volunteer watchword. Pierson was fortunate to be in the right place at the right time. The spirit of the times meant that his calls for world evangelization did not fall on deaf ears but, rather, took root in the hearts of the younger generation of America’s “imperial age.”

Reformulation of the Watchword

From its beginning, the volunteer watchword was popular among students. In 1889 the Student Volunteer Movement adopted the phrase as its keynote because it captured the urgency and necessity of foreign missions. In 1891 the movement held its first quadrennial convention at which student volunteers met as mission candidates with representatives of the various mission boards. At both the first quadrennial convention and the second one in 1894, as author of the watchword, Pierson gave inspirational addresses on “the evangelization of the world in this generation.”

But it soon became apparent, once the first blush of enthusiasm had waned, that the “numerical” scheme implied by the watchword could not be accomplished. By 1895, Pierson himself admitted that it seemed impossible that the world could be evangelized by the early twentieth century. Unbelief was making too much progress, and the Christian forces had not mobilized quickly enough to accomplish the task. Yet the power of the watchword to motivate students was undiminished. Even as its early proponents quietly dropped its numerical countdown aspect, they continued to propagate the watchcry. During the 1890s, the definition of the watchword was refined to be more in keeping with the realities of the mission movement.

A major impetus toward redefinition was the internationalization of the watchword. In 1896 the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, the British counterpart to the Student Volunteer Movement, held its first international convention in Liverpool. At the meeting, the British students adopted the watchword as their own. The 1896 conference gave Norwegian, French, Swiss, German, and Dutch students an opportunity to organize their own volunteer organizations, and the students from the Continent took home with them the volunteer watchword.14

In a “Memorial to the Church of Christ in Britain,” the British Student Volunteer Missionary Union (BSVMU) explained what it had meant when it adopted the watchword: “What does the watchword mean? Simply that the good news of salvation was intended by God to be made known to the 1500 millions of the present human family, and that the responsibility for this gigantic undertaking lies on all who have been redeemed by His Son.”15

The British volunteers denied that evangelization meant either the conversion of the world, or, on the other hand, “a mere hurried proclamation of the truth of Christ.”16 Regarding the possibility that world evangelization might be accomplished in their lifetime, the British volunteers refused to make the watchword into a prophecy. But they argued that the church possessed the resource to accomplish world evangelization if it so desired: all that was needed for world evangelization was deepened consecration on the part of the British churches. The BSVMU ended its “Memorial” by requesting that the British churches make “the evangelization of the world in this generation” their official missionary policy.17

Senior British missionary leaders were generally sympathetic to the watchword and seriously discussed whether world evangelization could be accomplished in one generation. But Dr. Gustav Warneck, the grandfather of German missions, attacked the British student movement and the watchword as smacking of Anglo-Saxon eschatological optimism. Warneck feared that the watchword might change mission policy from conversion and the upbuilding of the Christian church to hasty proclamation.18 Not only did Warneck believe that “the evangelization of the world” was impossible “in this generation,” but that the watchword reflected the premillennial assumptions of A. T. Pierson with whose mission theory he strongly disagreed. Warneck led an attack on the watchword in a paper he read at the Ninth Continental Missions Conference held in Bremen in 1897.19

John R. Mott, chairman of the American Student Volunteer Movement, leaped in to defend the watchword from Dr. Warneck. At the third quadrennial student conference in 1898, Mott supported the watchword and argued that it meant that each
generation had the duty, commanded by Christ, to evangelize its own generation. He denied that the watchword was a prophecy to be fulfilled. It was, rather, a command to each generation. Mott’s defense was in effect a reinterpretation of the watchword that eliminated its millennial overtones.

Mott’s most complete exposition of the watchcry appeared in 1900 in his widely circulated book, The Evangelization of the World in This Generation. The volume marked Mott as the foremost promoter and interpreter of the concept. His definition became the standard interpretation well into the twentieth century. Mott visited Professor Warneck in his home to clear up misunderstandings about the watchword. When The Evangelization of the World in This Generation appeared in German, Warneck reviewed it in a friendly manner.

In his book, Mott defined “the evangelization of the world in this generation” to mean “to give all men an adequate opportunity to know Jesus Christ as their Saviour and to become his real disciples.” To preach to all did not mean converting the world in a short period, nor—in answer to Warneck’s criticism—did it mean hasty preaching, a particular eschatology, or a prophecy to be fulfilled. Rather, it meant preaching the gospel to the people of “this generation” by the people now alive, also of “this generation.” Christians are responsible for the people alive during their own lifetimes. Mott included traditional missionary work as means of evangelization: mission schools, distribution of literature, medical work, and preaching. He cited many Christian leaders who believed that if the church would do its duty, the world could in fact be evangelized in their generation. Mott concluded his arguments by confirming his faith in the watchword as a motivator, source of strength, and source of power for those who heard its call.

John R. Mott emphasized the watchword’s obligatory over its prophetic aspects. In his usage, the watchword’s motivating force came from its reflection of missional duty to every generation rather than from eschatology or from numerical schemes for world evangelization. He broadened Pierson’s earlier definition of evangelization as proclamation to include the “civilizing” aspects of Christian mission, namely medical, literary, and educational enterprises. This clarification appealed the older generation of mission leaders like Gustav Warneck. By choosing a more moderate explanation of the watchword, Mott reflected its evolution in American circles in the 1890s. The attenuation of premillennial zeal was also reflective of the British and Continental interpretations of the watchword.

Mott continued to hope that if the church did its duty, then the world could be evangelized in “this” generation. Throughout his career, he supported the watchword, even after it had been disavowed by liberal theology in the 1920s. For John Mott, the watchword, whatever its definition, always captured the activism and optimism that had inspired him as a young man to make missions his life.

Postscript

Discredited by accusations that world evangelization implied Christian imperialism, the Student Volunteer watchword declined between the world wars. By the 1960s, however, conservative groups such as the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship and the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association were beginning to revive it. One century after the Mt. Hermon 100, new student mission movements are again making world evangelization a top priority. Though today’s student mission movement is not channeled into a sole major organization as was the student movement 100 years ago, a groundswell of missions interest can be detected in American colleges and seminaries. With such mottoes as “a church for every people by the year 2,000,” the student mission movements of the 1980s are following in the optimistic and in some cases premillennial footsteps of their spiritual forebears a century ago.

Perhaps at the bicentennial of the Mt. Hermon 100 in the year 2086, celebrants will point to a world that was completely evangelized by today’s student mission movement. If not, then they will probably agree with John R. Mott: the task of world evangelization goes on, because each new generation must evangelize itself.

Notes

1. Robert Wilder, The Great Commission, with a Foreword by the Rev. Preb. W. Wilson Cash (London: Oliphants, [1936]), p. 84. Wilder also suggested that the origin of the watchword might have roots in the Shanghai Conference of missionaries in 1877, where they said, “We want China emancipated from the thraldom of sin in this generation” (p. 89).
5. Ibid., p. 368.
6. Ibid., p. 367.
8. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 540.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 10.
15. Quoted in Tatlow, Student Christian Movement, p. 98.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 100.
My Pilgrimage in Mission

J. Verkuyl

My “Curriculum Vitae” in Mission

I was born in 1908 into a Calvinist farmer’s family in the Haarlemmermeer in the Netherlands. Under the influence of my mother and through personal experience of the gospel of Jesus Christ, I felt the call to become a missionary. Johan Bavinck, Hendrik Kraemer, and Willem Visser’t Hooff also influenced me during my study at the Free University of Amsterdam. After my theological studies I became the pastor of a congregation in Laren in 1932, and later I was the first pastor in Holland among students from Asia (especially Indonesia) at the Dutch universities. The meeting with Indonesian students in a period when the work of mission had to be done in the conflict between Western imperialism and national self-expression had a deep and decisive influence on my life (1932–39).

In 1939, just before World War II, I left Holland and went as a missionary to one of the poorest parts of Central Java (Banjumas). From 1942 to 1945 I lived and worked in different Japanese camps as a prisoner among the prisoners: a hard school in which to learn what it means to be hungry, naked, sick, imprisoned. After the war I lived in Jakarta and was involved in a ministry of reconciliation in the conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands from 1945 to 1949. At that time a part of Indonesia was occupied by the Dutch colonial army and a part (in Central Java) by the Indonesian army. In 1947 I was the first Dutch person to cross the demarcation line between the two armies on a visit to some churches and to see the president of Indonesia. From 1945 to 1963 I was engaged in writing books for an interchurch publishing house, and was professor at the interdenominational theological seminary in Jakarta where I taught social ethics. The combination of teaching and writing resulted in a list of Indonesian publications dealing with the process of nation-building and church-building in the new state. After my return to the Netherlands in 1963 I worked for some years as general secretary of the Netherlands Missionary Council and as president of the Interchurch Coordinating Committee for Development Projects (ICCO).

From 1968 to 1978 I was professor of missiology in the Free University of Amsterdam. After my first visit to South Africa in 1970, I kept in close contact with the South African Council of Churches and Dr. Beyers Naudé, and became more and more involved in the struggle for racial, political, and socioeconomic justice in several countries. Since my retirement in 1978 there have been many opportunities for traveling, preaching, teaching, and writing—which I hope to continue “as long as it is day.”

I would now like to mention some lessons I have learned amid “failures and victories” in the service of Him who turns failures into victories, who inspires us in the midst of worldly perplexities to grasp divine possibilities, who raises us up when we stumble, and who shows us the way when we have lost our direction.

A “Summa” of My Experiences in Mission

1. There is a close interrelationship between the four dimensions of the communication of the kingdom of God. These four dimensions are: proclamation, diakonia, fellowship, and participation in the struggle against injustice and for righteousness.

One may not place one dimension of the kingdom in opposition to another. All four aspects are always and everywhere needed and are absolutely essential, for the gospel of Jesus Christ is the gospel of the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God is the new order that has come and is coming in Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is, in his life, death, and resurrection, the present and future king of that kingdom. The treasures of the kingdom are the forgiveness of sins and the renewal of life and the world; the constitution of that kingdom is love to God and our neighbor; and the future of that kingdom is the new heaven and the new earth, where righteousness reigns and governs all relations. That kingdom is therefore not an unrelated series of events but a unity of parts that are related to each other, mutually connected and mutually dependent. Therefore in communication of the gospel and of this present and coming king, all four aspects are needed.

Why Is the Proclamation of the Gospel Absolutely Essential?

This proclamation is essential because at the root of all human and societal problems is the mutilated and broken communication with God and the need for God, whose property we are, who is our Creator, and who rebuilds and reconciles the relation with us through Jesus Christ.

The purpose of proclamation is, first of all, not the ventilation of ideas and the propagation of concepts and theologies but, rather, to proclaim what God did and does in Jesus Christ for us and for all people and societies. The most inhuman thing that one could do to a person or a society is not to tell the story of Jesus and its interpretation. This name of Jesus Christ, his person, and his work must bring all people of all nations, religions, and ideologies to a knowledge of liberation and salvation by making use of all the means available: personal conversation, dialogue, written communication, the media, and so on.

Carrying out the task of communicating the gospel is designated in Scripture with words such as kerygma (proclamation), martyria (witness), and apologia (defending our faith and this hope). At present there is a great interest in dialogue, and sometimes the impression is given that these dialogues must be limited to the promotion of mutual understanding, the removal of carica-

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tures, the furtherance of cooperation; but it is my firm belief that the elements of kerygma, martyria, and apologia may never be absent in dialogue. It has been correctly pointed out that the interpretation of the good news must be contextual or relevant for the situation of diverse groups, nations, and so forth. That is undeniable. But it is also necessary that in the midst of this contex-
tuality the basic melody of the gospel, the cantus firmus, shall continue to sound and that it not be camouflaged or suppressed.

Why Is Diakonia Always Needed in the Communication of the Gospel?

Diakonia is necessary because Jesus Christ is not only the Messiah King but also Christos diakonos (the serving Christ).

We tend to forget that bread and wine are not the only signs of salvation that Christ brings, but that at the same supper where Jesus instituted these elements as lasting symbols “until he come,” he also established the washbasin and towel as lasting signs. Therefore, the diaconal aspect must always be an integral element in the communication of the gospel.

The experiences of more than fifty years have taught me to see this, and therefore I have constantly worked for Christian education as cultural diakonia, for social-medical work, for refugee and prisoner assistance, for community work and agricultural development, and for relational projects that aim to bring conflicting communities in contact with each other.

Why Is the Practicing and Encouraging of Loving Fellowship an Essential Aspect Wherever the Communication of the Gospel Takes Place?

God our partner is the God who restores the communication and the fellowship between himself and us and between people. The striking fact of Jesus’ life is that he establishes loving fellowship: with lepers and the sick, with tax collectors and sinners, with dropouts and outcasts, and with those who are lonely. The wonderful aspect of the work of the Holy Spirit is that he establishes koinonia, community, fellowship. The Holy Spirit in the Bible is the communicator, the “go-between-God,” as John V. Taylor puts it in his book on the Holy Spirit. If the creation of fellowship belongs to the heart of the gospel of the kingdom of God, then missions and evangelism do not occur if that aspect of community formation is disregarded or ignored.

People need God and Jesus Christ, but people also need people. The pivot around which everything in the Pauline letters turns is agape, concrete love for people, as is developed in 1 Corinthians 13. Missionary and evangelistic work without the formation of fellowship and loving contact with others is like a “sounding gong or a clanging cymbal” (1 Cor. 13:1).

Why Is Participation in the Struggle Against Injustice and for Righteousness Always Needed in the Communication of the Gospel?

This participation is necessary because the present kingdom of God in Jesus Christ is a kingdom of righteousness, a kingdom which preaches that injustice will perish and that justice will govern all human relations. In that kingdom righteousness is given to sinners like ourselves, and those who live from this freely given righteousness are now called to promote righteousness in society.

God’s acquitted people are God’s volunteers in the battle against injustice. The word in Micah 6, “He has shown you, O man, what is good. And what does the Lord require of you?

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2. The priorities may vary in the communication of the gospel, but the connection with the totality of the gospel must remain intact.

Often the thesis that the priorities may vary is rejected by people sitting behind their desks or walking around with blinders. But anyone who works in the practical situation of evangelism or missions knows that sometimes the proclamation, sometimes the diakonia, or the promotion of fellowship, or the battle against injustice must assume the priority.

In my experience many examples of such a flexibility as to priorities can be found. In the Japanese concentration camps the emphasis was on witness and service. At the end of colonialism the stress fell on the task of reconciliation. In South Africa the accent is given to the struggle against unjust structures. In the

I also experienced on the mission field how vital such a network of relations can be. I will offer only one illustration, without mentioning the names. One evening I was working on a manuscript in Kwitang, Jakarta, when someone knocked at the door. It was a medical doctor with a daughter who had serious neurological disorders on her face. He said that he was a medical doctor and that he had consulted many colleagues for his daughter without results. He added that he was a Confucian, but that his daughter had read at a Christian school in a children’s Bible that faith healing took place by Jesus of Nazareth. She told her father that the children’s Bible was published at Kwitang and that the man who lived there knew more of Jesus. Now she asked me to pray for her recovery. I explained to her that I was not a “prayer healer,” and that I was always wary of unconditional prayers for healing, for then too much emphasis is placed on whether or not the healing took place and there is often too little interest in the deeper significance of Jesus for the totality of human life. She seemed to understand this, and then she asked with disarming sincerity, “But you will pray for me?” I did pray and she was healed.

A few weeks later the doctor came back with a proposal. He wanted to gather a large number of friends and relatives once a week in a big house of an uncle and colleague of his, and he asked if I would be willing to come each week to teach them of the meaning of the gospel. I consented with great joy, and after a long time of preparation a number of the participants wanted to be baptized. A few weeks before the baptism the doctor who had organized the sessions came to me and said: “The baptism of the other relatives and friends can take place, but I cannot participate in this ceremony, for I am the oldest son and in a Confucian family the oldest son has to pray for the ancestors at the home altar. If I do not do this, I shall offend my old mother in an irresponsible way.” I showed understanding for this decision. But right before the Sunday of the baptism, he returned to me and said: “I would like to be baptized Sunday. My daughter reads regularly to her old grandmother, and now she has said: ‘Let’s destroy the ancestral altar and bury it in the grave of father in Tjiandjur.’ We did that yesterday, and I am now free to participate in the baptism.”

On the evening of the Sunday of the baptism, there was a great baptismal feast, such as happens more frequently in the East. The old grandmother came to me and asked if I could arrange for a Chinese evangelist to come to her once a week. She would then have a large number of her friends to be present to come in contact with Jesus and his gospel. This happened and from this group many were baptized.

This story is just one of many that indicate the significance of a network of relations in the communication of the gospel. At the conclusion of the epistles of Paul, there are often the names of people of various groups. Paul sends his greetings to those present in the house of a certain person. When we read the Bible today, we often tend to skip over these lists. I enjoy reading them because these lists of closely knit groups are so striking.

Networks of relations—in families, in clans, in schools, in professional groups—are vital as a vehicle for communication. Obviously one should not make an exclusive theory from this, as Donald McGavran has done in his Church Growth School, where he places a disproportionate emphasis on working with certain sociological “units.” It is obvious that the missionary strategy should not be limited by these “units.” But one should not neglect the networks of relations in missionary and evangelistic work, for these are often used by God as a vehicle of communication.

Netherlands today the emphasis falls on the struggle against addiction, on the performance of justice to the minority groups, on bearing witness in the midst of religious and ideological pluralism, to mention a few examples.

But regardless of where the priority is placed, the connection with the totality of the gospel may never be broken. At issue is the total gospel of the total Christ for the totality of humanity. I am pleased to notice that especially in the third world today voices can be heard urging an integration of the four aspects mentioned and pleading for a holistic approach. I am very grateful that the statement on “Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation” of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches emphasizes all four aspects.

3. The network of relations in the communication of the gospel is important.

One of the lessons of my missionary experience is that it is vital to pay attention to the network of relationships around those who hear and obey the call to discipleship.

In the stories of the calling of the first disciples at the beginning of the Gospels it is instructive to note that, as the circle of disciples is enlarged, family ties, relations with friends, and occupational contacts are of key importance in this process of expansion (cf. Jn. 1:35–50). When the risen Lord revealed himself to his disciples at the Sea of Tiberias (John 21), the story is told of the conversion of the Galilean fishermen into fishers of people. There we read of the command of Jesus to throw the net on the other side of the boat and to fish where the fish are.

When I was a missionary pastor in Central Java, the elderly Dr. Esser often showed how the small Javanese churches usually grew through family and neighborhood relations. This also proved to be the case in the later period. Almost all the congregations that arose among the “overseas Chinese” were also formed through family contacts and people from certain occupational groups.

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Subscription rates in the United Kingdom are: £11.00 for one year, £19.00 for two years, and £26.00 for three years.
4. Friendship is important.

One of the most important avenues of communication is friendship, lasting and selfless concern for certain people who have come across our path and whom we have come to know. I am not referring to a friendship that is formed to win people from other religious communities. Instead I mean that friendship which arises when one is truly interested in the other, including one of a different faith, and where one exchanges and shares one's deepest convictions.

Roger Hooker, a well-known Anglican missionary in India, dealt with this in his book entitled Journey into Varanasi, where he told of his involvement with people of different beliefs through lasting friendships. He wrote, "The true Christian approach towards those of other faiths should take the form of friendship, unconditional friendship. In the relaxed atmosphere of friendship in which certain people regularly meet each other through the period of many years, a relationship arises in which each person begins to understand the language of the heart."

There are many people who are able to combine a deep conviction of faith with the gift of many friendships. In Indonesia during my period in the concentration camp I became acquainted with a missionary from West Java. He almost never preached as a missionary: he did not give lectures and did not write books. But he had a very profound influence in West Java among the many Muslims through his charisma of sympathy and friendship. He was an artist in the making of friendships.

My experience also taught me that having sincere friendships is the deepest medium in the communication of the gospel. If we are true companions along the life path of others, we learn the "language of the heart," in which the exchange of our deepest convictions is no longer forced but quite natural.

5. The importance of the cooperation of men and women in the communication of the gospel must not be underestimated.

We are living in an age in which women's liberation is a central topic of discussion. It is not my intention to make a contribution to this subject. I want only to emphasize that in missionary and evangelistic work the cooperation of men and women and the witness of women in word and deed are indispensable.

Mrs. Elizabeth Moltmann-Wendel has recently written a book on women around Jesus (Ein eigener Mensch werden: Frauen um Jesus), in which she calls attention to the many women who appear in the Gospels and who were the first witnesses of the resurrection. In the Christianization of Europe the role of women was also particularly great. In Central Java the foundations for the Javanese churches were laid by the wife of an officer and the wife of a factory owner. In Burma women provided the most contacts. In the large Batak church in Sumatra the Christian women contributed a new dimension that was too often absent in previous times.

The opening of all the ecclesiastical offices for women in many Protestant churches during my ministry in Europe and Asia has been a great blessing for the church. The functioning of women pastors, elders, and deacons has enriched the witness of the church in the world. Cooperation with women colleagues on the theological faculty and in the missionary agencies has given the work a new dimension that was too often absent in previous times.

Currently many people are philosophizing and also theologizing about the differences between female and male forms of human existence. Visser ’t Hooft in his book The Fatherhood of God in an Age of Emancipation wrote that just as in the view of Marx the proletarian class received a sort of messianic role, so in many present-day views the female sex is viewed as a new type of messiah. In the midst of this confusion it is important to recall Karl Barth's emphasis that man and woman together form the image of God and that the relation between man and woman is the fundamental model of common humanity. Also in the communication of the gospel the male and the female form of human existence can complement each other, and both are needed.

6. Teamwork in missionary work is very important.

If one traces the history of missions and evangelism, one is struck by the fact that in this work theologically trained workers have almost always held a monopoly position. It is a positive development that in this century experts from other fields have taken their place next to those with a theological education. Language specialists and cultural anthropologists, such as those who have worked on Bible translations, have been of particular value for the communication of the gospel. It is our hope that people with these specialized skills, including those from Asian and African churches, will remain connected with the work and will continue to have a place in the team.

The contribution of missionary doctors cannot be expressed adequately in words. Frequently it is only the name of Albert Schweitzer that is mentioned in this context. But one should not forget the many missionary doctors who have worked in the social-medical work but also in the training of doctors and paramedical personnel. Sociologists and economists are also involved to an increasing extent, and many of them have proved that they too are indispensable in the whole missionary and diaconal approach.

In missionary and evangelism teams it is useful and necessary to bring together men and women of very different training and capabilities. In the future the presence of social scientists and sociologists will be essential to initiate the dynamics of evangelistic work in all its dimensions. However, in the personal infrastructure of such teams, the apostolic and theological contribution may never be absent. I am increasingly convinced that in our situation pastoral and missionary workers with a simpler training are needed to supplement these teams.

7. In missionary and evangelistic work the leading of people to believing churches may never be neglected.

When I was a chaplain among Asian students in the Netherlands I made a report telling of the blessings that I experienced because of the interest of many students in the gospel—even though they were not ready to be baptized or to join a Christian church. One of those who heard my report was a famous evangelist from Amsterdam. He wrote me the following note in his lively style: "One may never speak of blessing until people are led to the
baptismal font and the Lord’s table and until they join themselves coram Deo to God’s people.” It was signed: “With bared claws, your friend.” I was rather shocked and felt that he placed too much emphasis on the institutional church. As I grow older I think I understand what inspired him. There is in the Bible a deep connection between the gospel of the kingdom of God, the church (ecclesia), God’s chosen people, and the kingdom of God (basileia). Ecclesia and the kingdom of God are not identical, but they are related to each other. He who leads people to an acceptance of the gospel must also lead them to a church. The anti-institutional tendencies in our society are disastrous.

People like A. A. van Ruler and O. Noordmans, G. C. Berkouwer, Barth, and many others have rightly emphasized that, despite all criticisms against the institutional churches, the way of the gospel leads to the ecclesial highway. Along this road God—through the ministry of the Word and the sacraments—distributes the bread of life out of the jugs and pitchers of the churches.

This does not mean that I attempt to lead every person who has been won for the Lord to the church or the congregation to which I myself belong, but it does mean that we are called to encourage people to take their place in a local congregation, to assume responsibility there, and to participate in the community in which the Word lives and reappears in songs and worship, in word and in deed. Our age—at least in the Netherlands—is full of masochistic church criticism. Many seem to take pleasure in tearing the church to pieces and criticizing every part of it. It is our task to stimulate people to participate in the churches and to teach them to say: Your people are my people, your calling is my calling, your mistakes are my mistakes. I want to participate in the treasures from which you live.

Often in my life I have learned that the faith-life of people who come to believe needs the support of church-life, and the churches also need their enthusiasm.

Churches often behave as if they were the true vine. They are not the vine, however, for that is Jesus. The various churches are networks of branches from the vine, and in Him who is the true vine they may have fellowship with each other and they may stimulate each other to bear much fruit (cf. Jn. 15:1-8).

8. Communicators of the gospel may not forget to eat of the bread that they bear witness to and distribute.

I once heard of a “sandwich man” in London who himself was hungry. Such a sandwich man stands on the street and sells sandwiches. This sandwich man did not eat that which he was selling, and he suffered until someone let him eat a few sandwiches. Preachers of the gospel are often like that sandwich man, for they often forget their own poverty and hunger and do not eat of the bread that they are distributing.

When I reflect on so many years of official and nonofficial church and especially missionary service, then I realize my own poverty and hunger. I once stood at the deathbed of one of my predecessors. He said: “When I look back, then I realize how many opportunities to share the gospel I neglected and how many other chances I spoiled and lost. Reflecting back on my participation in that work I have to pray, ‘Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner.’”

One of the most dynamic ministers of the gospel that Asia has ever known, Dr. D. T. Niles, often used this illustration: “Do you know what missionary work is? It is when you as a beggar have found bread and you bring other beggars to the bread and you eat together.” These words reverberate in my heart. As Søren Kierkegaard said, we never come further in our entire life than to faith in a God who justifies sinners, who acquits criminals, who offers forgiveness to the wicked. To alter the last words of Martin Luther, we may say that during our entire life we do not come further than being beggars for grace: “We are beggars, that is what we are.”

In the distance the liberating word of salvation can be heard: Blessed are the poor of spirit, that is, the beggars for grace, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

“This is [and remains] a trustworthy saying that deserves full acceptance: Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners . . . . Now to the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen’” (1 Tim. 1:15, 17).

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**Reader’s Response**

**To the Editors:**

In his article “Black Americans in Mission: Setting the Record Straight” (July 1986), Gayraud S. Wilmore ignored the historical contribution that Black established missionary organizations in the United States have made to world missions. It is a pity to minimize the heroic efforts of persons who have selflessly contributed in a major way to help millions of non-Christians to know Jesus Christ.

I draw to your attention the work of the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention, including our recent contribution of $250,000 to Church World Service for the current hunger crisis in Ethiopia.

Wendell C. Somerville  
Executive Secretary-Treasurer  
Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention

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**Author’s reply:**

I apologize for not including the Lott Carey Convention in my article. It is the most important of several independent or semi-independent missionary societies and congregational efforts among Blacks in the United States that I did not include in the article. I realize now that it was a mistake to mention any denominational efforts presently in the field, if not to mention all, or most of them, and the missionary conventions and independent societies! The main purpose of the article was not to survey everything being done by Blacks in foreign missions, but to correct the impression abroad today that the Black missionary effort in Africa is either non-existent or saddled with the same sins of racial and class prejudice, and cultural imperialism that were the bane of the white church’s efforts in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Nonetheless, it was an oversight to omit mention of the Lott Carey Convention.

Gayraud S. Wilmore  
New York Theological Seminary
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Emerging Missions in a Global Church

Larry D. Pate with Lawrence E. Keyes

How beautiful on the mountains
are the feet of those who bring good news,
who proclaim peace,
who bring good tidings,
who proclaim salvation [Isa. 52:7, NIV].

It is becoming clear to most missiologists who look across the mountain ranges of the future that the “feet of those who bring good news” are rapidly changing color. New streams of brown, black, yellow, and red feet are joining with the white to proclaim the salvation message. The gospel no longer masquerades as a white person’s good news about a white, Western imperialistic God. It is Koreans-to-Nepal, Singaporeans-to-Nigeria, Brazilians-to-North Africa good news! More and more, the news is spreading from every people to every people.

While it is difficult to track the growth of non-Western missions with precision, it can safely be said that there are over 20,000 non-Western missionaries today. Keyes’ research indicated that the growth rate for non-Western missions from 1972 to 1982 was 448 percent. Our current research, which is incomplete at this point, indicates decadal rates of growth exceeding 300 percent in various parts of the non-Western world. If the decadal growth rate averages only as much as 225 percent for the next fourteen years, there will be more than 100,000 non-Western missionaries by the year 2000.

This leads to some very serious questions. Exactly what is “emerging missions”? What is the nature and scope of their work? What are their strengths and weaknesses? What are their greatest challenges? How will they impact the work of Western mission agencies? How can Western agencies best relate to the emerging missions?

Emerging Missions: A Descriptive Summary

“Third-world missions,” “non-Western missions,” “emerging missions” are labels commonly attached to the phenomenon under consideration. No label seems entirely appropriate. “Third world” is primarily a political and economic term carrying a connotation of “third rate.” “Non-Western” focuses on Asia and Africa, and to some degree excludes Latin Americans, who consider themselves as “Western” as North Americans. New missions are emerging in Western, first-world countries as well as in non-Western, third-world countries.

Even the connotation that emerging missions is only a recent phenomenon is not accurate. When the renowned Scottish missionary Alexander Duff landed in Calcutta (1830),

... eight Tahitian missionaries were preaching the same Christ among heathen villagers on the Samoa Islands. Five years later the first European missionary arrived to find 2,000 native Christians meeting in small groups in 65 villages. It is rather surprising to realize that those Islanders were missionaries ten years before David Livingstone landed in Africa; before Hudson Taylor was ever born. Since then, over 1,000 Pacific Islanders have gone out as missionaries to add a remarkable record to the history of Christian expansion. 2

In 1833, the Karens of Burma, led by Ko-Thah-Byu, began their missionary outreach that led to the founding of the Bassein Home Mission Society (1850). They worked among a number of tribes in Burma and Thailand. In 1843 Jamaican Joseph Merrick set sail for the Cameroon coast to work among the Isuibu people.

These early nineteenth-century non-Western missions predate 96 percent of today’s North American sending agencies. Emerging missions is not a totally new phenomenon. On the other hand, it has developed rapidly during the last twenty-five years. A study conducted in 1961 identified 48 non-Western mission agencies sending at least 217 missionaries. 3 A 1972 study confirmed 203 agencies sending 3,404 missionaries. 4 The latest complete study (1980) revealed 368 agencies sending 13,000 missionaries, and projected 15,249 missionaries by the end of 1981. 5 Only in the sense of its recent rapid growth can the non-Western missions movement truly be labeled “emerging missions.”

In spite of the limitations, it seems best to emphasize the term “emerging missions” above the others. “Emerging missions” is the term denoting the existing and newly forming missionary sending organizations among non-Western Christians, primarily located in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania. These mission agencies may be little more than the missions committee of a single local church, or they may be denominational or interdenominational organizations representing hundreds of workers. Though usually found in non-Western countries, they can also be formed by emigrant communities in Western countries.

The emerging missions are cross-cultural mission societies. Some people have observed the number of Koreans coming to the United States to work among Korean emigrants, or they have observed Latin missionaries working among Latinos in the United States or Europe, and therefore concluded that almost all work by the emerging missions is diaspora evangelism focused upon evangelizing their own people who live outside their homeland. That is simply not the case. The vast majority of non-Western missionaries are crossing distinct cultural boundaries. Indian missionaries are reaching tribal groups in India. Brazilian and Mexican missionaries are targeting Muslims in North Africa. Filipino missionaries are going to the Indians of Peru. 6 The Koreans are considered by many to be the most ethnocentric in their missionary sending. Yet, if the missionaries sent by one single Korean church are not included in the total, even the Koreans are sending more than half their missionaries to non-Korean cultures. 7 It is true that some non-Western churches have failed to make a clear distinction between missions and extension evangelism (as have some Western churches). But when we speak of the emerging-

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Lawrence E. Keyes served as a missionary in Brazil for eleven years. Since 1983 he has been President of Overseas Crusades in Milpitas, California. He is the author of The Last Age of Missions.

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missions movement, we are speaking of societies that, by and large, have clearly made that distinction and are engaged in true cross-cultural missionary activity.

The emerging missions are indigenous. At least 75 percent of the emerging missions and a similar percentage of non-Western missionaries represent indigenous agencies that send their own missionaries completely independent of Western agencies. Fully 91 percent of the total budget of the emerging missions comes from the non-Western world. Present Western support of the emerging missions represents a mere trickle of Western mission funds. Existing Western agencies are increasingly being internationalized. There are a few parts of the world, notably Singapore and Malaysia, where the dominant missionary models are those of international agencies such as Overseas Missionary Fellowship and Youth with a Mission. Most of the missionaries from those two countries enter service through such an international agency. Non-Westerners are joining such agencies in record numbers. But they prefer their own indigenous agencies, and they are joining the emerging missions at a much greater rate. India, for instance, had an estimated 2,277 missionaries in 1980, but grew to at least 4,162 by the end of 1984. Virtually all of them are serving in Indian mission agencies, not international ones.

The emerging missions and Western missions need each other. The emerging missions are not automatically more successful than their Western counterparts. They are aware of their need to develop better training programs, support bases, organizational structures and strategies, and increase their overall fruitfulness. Though they know they can evangelize some peoples more effectively than Western missionaries, they do not view themselves as superior to Western missionaries, or as the heirs apparent to the worldwide missionary enterprise. The majority of the emerging missions recognize that they are in the early stages of their missionary movements. As long as there is no hint of paternalistic control included with the help being offered, they welcome Western assistance for developing their effectiveness.

For both theological and practical reasons, the Western church must not come to view the emerging-missions movement as a deliverance from its own missionary responsibility. The teachings of Christ and the book of Acts demonstrate that the nature of the church is missionary to the core. History demonstrates that the strength and viability of any segment of the church is proportional to the strength and viability of its missionary structures. To capitulate to the rising tide of anti-Western sentiment in the world, or to the increasing difficulty of obtaining visas for Western missionaries, in favor of supporting the emerging missions would be a mistake capable of ultimately destroying a primary source of vitality in the Western churches. The Western church must maintain and seek to increase its own missionary endeavors.

Ralph Winter has done more than any other individual to point toward a coming new age of pioneer missions, which he calls the “third era” of missions. He points out that there are some 16,000 “unreached peoples,” or cultures without a significant gospel witness, of which 15,000 are classified “frontier missions.” By definition these latter are specific cultural blocs of people who do not have one visible witnessing church among the people of their own culture. It has been estimated that it will require 200,000 new missionaries to evangelize the unreached peoples in this generation. The challenge of this new kind of “frontier missions” must be accepted by the church worldwide. This will require the combined resources, expertise, and cooperative efforts both of the Western agencies and the emerging missions.

Major Issues Confronting the Emerging Missions

In our hopeful welcoming of the emerging missions into the mainstream of the missionary enterprise, we must not assume that their efforts will automatically be blessed more than ours or that they do not face as numerous and formidable barriers as do the Western agencies. It is just as hard for an Asian to enter India, a Brazilian to enter Morocco, a Japanese to enter Bangladesh as it is for a North American. Historical and cultural prejudices will hinder the Japanese in the Philippines or the Taiwanese in Indonesia as much as the United States missionary in Mexico. We must welcome our non-Western missionary colleagues not as the divine answer to all the obstacles we face, but as co-laborers who are experiencing similar frustrations in their efforts to fulfill the Great Commission.

In working with the emerging missions, we have identified five primary forces that apparently need to combine in sufficient strength in order to make the churches of a given country capable of producing effective and fruitful missionary activity. Each country needs: (1) a sufficient number of pastors and church leaders who have a vision to evangelize the lost of other cultures; (2) organizational structures, both denominational and interdenominational, which assume responsibility for effectively managing the missionary enterprise; (3) adequate missionary training programs; (4) adequate information to plan effective missionary strategy; and (5) ability to overcome the problems related to raising financial support and maintaining missionaries on the field.

Within a given country, extreme weakness in any of these five areas will greatly hinder the missionary effectiveness of that country’s church as a whole. For instance, most Latin American churches have been historically lacking in the first element listed above. The church leaders have been more interested in extension evangelism than cross-cultural evangelism. While this has greatly contributed to laudable church growth in many Latin countries, it has also helped bring the churches of Latin America to a point where they represent 25 percent of the non-Western church, but only 7 percent of the non-Western missionary force. Fortunately, the Latin churches are rapidly beginning to pick up the banner of missions. In country after country, leaders are gathering for missions consultations. Several national missions congresses have taken place, such as the First Venezuelan Missions Congress, which convened October 15–19, 1985, and a congress held in Guatemala in February 1986. Perhaps greatest in impact will be the Congreso Misionero Ibero-Americanos (COMIBAM) scheduled for November 23–29, 1987, in Sao Paulo, Brazil. With a goal of bringing together 3,000 mission leaders, missionaries, pastors, youth leaders, and missiologists, the congress intends to awaken the Latin churches of twenty-three countries to the challenge of fulfilling their missionary responsibility.

It is common to find severe weaknesses, in one or more of the five elements listed above, in non-Western countries. The churches of Malaysia and Singapore are lacking mostly in ele-

"Fully 91 percent of the total budget of the emerging missions comes from the non-Western world."
ments 2 and 4—lack of organizational structures and inadequate information for making effective strategies. The emerging missions of Nigeria suffer from a shortage of effective training programs and from government financial restrictions (elements 3 and 5).

The list could be continued, with strengths and weaknesses varying from country to country. Each area of deficiency in each country should suggest possible ways Western agencies can assist the emerging missions. There is no doubt that Western help can be valuable, but it must be rendered in a manner that will encourage the autochthonous development of the emerging missions.

Partnership

Western church and mission leaders are searching for effective ways to relate to this growing emerging-missions movement. As ideas are expressed and patterns emerge, "partnership" has become the watchword. Cooperation in field ministry is becoming increasingly valuable as workers from varied backgrounds combine their missionary strengths to focus on evangelism among peoples of diverse cultures.

The type of partnerships desired do not resemble the old "comity" agreements of Western agencies, where participants simply agreed to work separately without infringing on the other's territory. Neither do they resemble the colonial "older church/younger church" agreements of a generation ago, where one partner is dominant. What is preferred are mission-to-mission agreements, with each partner contributing what it can give most effectively while sharing equal autonomy in accomplishing the task.

Such terminology is not meant to imply organizational union. Non-Western agencies usually prefer task-focused cooperation rather than structural amalgamation. Paul Hiebert, professor of anthropology at the School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary states: "The future of missions is based in the formation of international networks rather than ' multinational organizations.' Networks build up people, not programmes; they stress partnership and servanthood, not hierarchy; they help to build up the local church, not undermine it."16 If these preferences and distinctions are kept in mind, the Western agencies will find an open door to partnership with the emerging missions.

Many examples could be cited illustrating the various types of "international networks" or partnership agreements. One cooperative project involves the Canadian Baptist Overseas Missions Board (CBOMB), and the formation of a joint mission to the yet unevangelized Somali peoples of the Northeastern Province in Kenya. Harold W. Turner, director of the Study Center for New Religious Movements in Primal Societies at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England, writes, "This new joint operation is itself of considerable significance, and it is not known in the missions world."17

In 1967 an independent church group of Kikuyu peoples in Kenya, called the African Christian Church and Schools (ACC&S), sent a representative to the CBOMB. Perry V. Allaby, associate secretary of CBOMB, reports the results of that meeting.

They wanted to know if we as a mission board would be interested in sending missionaries to Kenya to help them in certain specific tasks, and would remain for only a limited period of time, actually ten years. The task force began in 1970 and was terminated in 1980.18

Up to 1980, the relationship was a "mission-church" partnership. However, one of the results of the ten-year-agreement was the establishment of a new partner relationship with the ACC&S. It developed into a mission-mission agreement. Perry Allaby continues:

We called this project Joint Pioneer Outreach—joint, because it is a cooperative effort with both Canadian Baptist and Kikuyus of the ACC&S contributing money and personnel; pioneer, because it is a project aimed at reaching a people (the Somalis) among whom little or no Christian work has hitherto been done; and outreach, because it is the ultimate objective to meet the deepest needs of these people, spiritual as well as physical.19

This Joint Pioneer Outreach agreement is a twenty-five-year venture, consisting of a missionary force, half Canadian and half Kenyan, with mutual funding. The overall administrative supervision is through ACC&S, which also appoints the director. This arrangement assures the development and strength of the missionary arm of the ACC&S, and also encourages the ministry to be contextual within the Northeastern Province of Kenya.

Similar partnership between Western and non-Western churches and mission societies is found on all continents of the world. Without either party being dominated by the other, both groups represent a particular contribution toward a recognized objective. Through careful planning and understanding, missionary cooperation of this caliber can greatly strengthen the effectiveness of mission work. For example, both Calvary Ministries and Worldwide Evangelization Crusade International experienced mutual benefit by deciding to work together in a survey trip to discern how best to evangelize the country of Guinea. They decided on a joint evangelism partnership as well. Mutual benefit also resulted from the development of a working agreement in India among the Christian Association, the Zoram Baptist Mission, and the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society. These three mission agencies, along with the Church Growth Missionary Movement, focused on the joint task of evangelizing the Korku people in Central India. A final illustration is the daily missionary outreach into China through radio, which is a result of a three-way partnership among the evangelical churches in Hong Kong (which provide funding), the Far East Broadcasting Company (which produces and broadcasts the programs), and Overseas Crusades (which serves as sponsor and fund-raiser). Partnerships between Western and non-Western mission agencies are increasingly a necessary ingredient in the implementation of the missionary mandate.

Crucial Issues for Western Agencies

The Evangelical Missions Quarterly, in its twentieth-anniversary edition, invited Evangelical Foreign Missions Association Executive Director Wade Coggins and Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association Executive Director Edwin L. (Jack) Frizen, Jr., to identify the most significant trend in missions during the last twenty years. "My choice," said Frizen, "is the renewed focus on unreached people groups and penetrating the frontiers still remaining." While also identifying the unreached-people's movement as a second choice, Coggins pointed to "the rise of mission agencies and missionaries in Africa, Asia and Latin America" as the most significant trend.20

It is significant that Frizen and Coggins identify emerging
missions and un reach ed peoples as the most significant trends in missions today. It is highly possible that the emerging missions will prove to be the greatest single force for evangelizing un reach ed people. Western agencies have worked to establish the existing national churches, and have long-term-ministry com m itments to continue their work with them. At least 90 percent of new recruits to Western agencies are sent to replace retiring missionaries or to establish ministries connected to the national churches that have already been established. By contrast, the emerging missions do not have an agenda connected with na tional churches that they have already established. They are more free to target unreached peoples, concentrating their efforts in pioneer mission activity.

There have been three principal responses to the rise of emerging missions on the part of the Western agencies. The first is a benign but distant neglect. While some agencies applaud the emerging-missions movement, they make little effort to establish working relationships with any member groups. The fruits of such benign neglect are becoming increasingly more evident around the world.

Different regions of one Brazilian denomination sent five missionaries to work in La Paz, Bolivia, a few years ago. But each worked independently of the others and of the European and North American foreign missionaries of that same denomination. They also worked independently of the denominational structure within Bolivia, establishing churches that were "daughter" churches of the sending churches in Brazil. Being directly amenable to the sending churches, the word "Brazilian" even appeared in the names of some of the churches. The Bolivian denominational leaders eventually convinced the Brazilian sending churches to withdraw their missionaries. What a different story that could have been if that denomination had already established some basic standards of international cooperation (and missionary training)! Benign neglect means that such circumstances, with variations, are destined to arise many times among many groups.

The sheer size and rate of growth of the emerging-missions movement will make benign neglect an increasingly less tenable response in years to come. The emerging-missions movement is growing at a rate more than five times that of Western missions, and it promises to change the nature of the world missionary enterprise. Benign neglect means that many emerging missions will be forced to repeat many of the mistakes the Western agencies have made in the last 200 years. Could it be that many Western agencies have succumbed to an inordinate fear of paternalizing the emerging-missions movement, with benign neglect being the result? Is it really necessary to neglect the emerging missions in order to ensure their indigeneity? Would it not be better humbly to admit our mistakes and seek ways to prevent their repetition among the emerging missions? Is it not possible to establish partner relationships that allow both partners enough autonomy to learn from each other and still increase their effectiveness by working together? The emerging missions should not be forced to learn everything through their own experience, repeating many Western mistakes. They should have the opportunity to learn from both the successes and the failures of Western missions, so they can go on beyond what the West has been able to do.

Internationalization

Another Western response to the rising interest in missions in non-Western countries is to internationalize existing Western agencies. Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Overseas Crusades, SIM International, Youth with a Mission, and Latin America Missi

A Call for Task-Oriented Partnerships

"Mission partnerships created merely for the sake of demonstrating unity are superfluous and can easily siphon off valuable energies away from evangelism and pioneer missions," says Donald McGavran. We agree that the Great Commission is task-oriented and that the task of reaching every people with a viable witness must take precedence. However, every missionary is not a pioneer and every missionary task is not evangelism. Researching the harvest fields, organizing good strategies, building support structures, training effective missionaries—these are also important elements that comprise the task. These are the very areas where the emerging missions need the greatest amount of assistance as is described above. Unified efforts that help respective partners accomplish those tasks more effectively must be encouraged. Here are some examples in the areas mentioned of how partnerships between Western and non-Western agencies can be effective:

Research: The ten agencies comprising the Nigerian Evangelical Missions Association (NEMA) have approved a project to survey every city, town, and village of Nigeria to determine the needs for church extension and for cross-cultural missionary activity among unreached-people groups. This one-year project could
greatly benefit from partnerships with Western agencies, both in the training of research personnel and in the funding of the project.

Organization and Strategy Development: Many denominations in some parts of the non-Western world have sufficient funding and personnel available, but do not have organizational structures or a strategy to initiate missionary activity. Their Western denominational counterparts could seek ways to encourage and assist in the formation of such structure and strategy, taking care not to assume a paternal role in the process.

Motivation of Pastors and Leaders: On a larger scale, Western agencies can become partners in funding national, regional, and international meetings that focus on missions, such as COMIBAM 87 Latin America. On a personal level, individual Western missionaries should include more teaching and preaching on the missionary mandate of the church.

Training: Many theological schools founded by Western missions are beginning to include missions curriculum, but consideration should be given toward establishing separate missionary training schools. Met Castillo, director of the Asian Center for Missionary Education (ACME) says: "...the nature of the curricula of existing theological schools in Asia explains their inadequacy in preparing cross-cultural missionaries... . Design to train pastors and deaconesses, they have kept their trust faithfully... . This type of school, however, is far from being equipped to train missionary candidates." The Nigerian Evangelical Missions Association agrees with that assessment. Though there are eleven well-acclaimed seminaries in Nigeria, NEMA sees a need to establish a separate interdenominational missionary training school. Western agencies can become valuable partners in establishing such schools. Even better, Western agencies could assist in the preparation of national missionary teachers in those countries where there has been a sufficient history of successful missionary activity, such as Nigeria and Brazil.

When there is a legitimate missionary task to be accomplished, and prospective partners in that task can both be more productive than if they worked alone, it indicates a need for partnership. Partnerships that allow participating agencies to draw on the strengths of each other in order to perform specific tasks is the need of the hour. In addition to the kinds of partnerships and examples suggested above, it is possible to form partnerships to evangelize specific groups of people. The Council of Baptist Churches in Northeast India, the Mizoram Presbyterian Synod, and the Khasi Jaintia Presbyterian Synod have united to form the Department of Mission and Evangelism of the Karbi Anglong Joint Christian Committee. One of their purposes is to evangelize the Karbi Anglong and other ethnic groups in northern India. In their first seven years of operation (1975-82), their fifty-two missionaries and field evangelists claimed 2,651 conversions. Investigating the possibilities for establishing task-oriented partnerships to accomplish a variety of goals should be part of the agenda of both the Western agencies and the emerging missions.

Missions: Circa 2000

In a world of megatrends and explosive technological growth, it is dangerous to attempt accurate predictions five years into the future, much less fourteen. In the world of missions, the only thing more dangerous is not to make the attempt.

If present trends continue to the year 2000, there will be 6.135 billion people on this planet, 81.4 percent of them living in the non-Western countries. Fifty percent of the total will live in an urban environment, but 75 percent of the world’s sixty largest cities (over 5 million) will be in the non-Western countries. Some of the largest classes of missionary candidates will be trained in Korea, Nigeria, India, and Brazil. There will likely be well over 1,000 non-Western mission agencies, and one of every two Protestant missionaries will be from the emerging missions of non-Western countries.

To envision the future necessitates an attempt to prepare for it. In making the attempt, one may wish to consider the following questions.
1. As interchurch communication and cooperation increase in a shrinking Christian global community, theological and methodological barriers between various groups will likely be lowered. There will be a greater desire to cooperate with other groups to accomplish specific tasks (i.e., Bible translation, area evangelistic meetings, aid and development programs, etc.). To what degree and in what areas of missionary endeavor will a focus on task allow increased cooperation among groups of varying theological persuasion?

2. As non-Western theological and missiological education increasingly gains a global acceptance, will Western mission societies send a portion of their candidates to non-Western institutions for training and orientation?

3. As international cooperation increases in necessity, what new structural paradigms will emerge? Will multiethnic, task-oriented associations emerge? Will such partnerships be nationally, regionally, or internationally constituted? Will their structures vary by region or by continent? Will they primarily be denominational or interdenominational in nature?

4. Since many missiologists and missionaries are focusing increasing efforts toward the evangelization of many unreached ethnic and cultural subgroupings, is there a need for an international-frontiers comity agreement whereby groups who cannot work in cooperation among a specific people-group will voluntarily work among separate ones?

5. As non-Western missiology begins to develop its own theologies of mission, methodological emphases, and theoretical agenda, to what degree will Western missiology become internationalized?

6. As non-Western missionaries become increasingly more visible and recognized as representing effective ministries, Western churches will increasingly desire to support them. Many Western agencies, to varying degrees, have traditionally discouraged support for foreign nationals. Should this also be true for foreign national missionaries? If the Western societies continue their disapproval, what will be the reaction of the Western churches? What kind of new international structures would emerge? If the Western agencies do encourage their churches to help non-Western missionaries, what new patterns of missional support would emerge internationally?

7. Missionary leaders are increasingly recognizing the need for regional and international networks of centers for missiological research. Taking advantage of research projects already initiated, what steps can be taken toward initiating such networks? Is it desirable to coordinate, fund, collect, and disseminate information through one international and interdenominational research organization, giving equal informational access to all participating agencies? Would mission organizations be willing to write "R&D" into their annual budgets to underwrite such a venture?

8. What will be the structural composition of those Western and emerging missions that become internationalized in the future? Will a centralized, corporate, or multinational structure, so characteristic of many existing Western agencies, predominate? Or will new patterns of decentralized, locally controlled, truly international structures be developed? What linkages form the basis for developing partnerships? What are the logical steps leading to partnership?

These questions do not have easy answers. But it is an observable fact that the kind of vision that overcomes the Gates of Hell does not come without struggle. It is the struggle that captures the spirit and clarifies the vision. It very well may be that our struggle to find answers will make a big difference in whether the many-colored feet on the mountaintops of the future are wandering aimlessly or are bearing a powerful message which is really good news—from every person to every person!

NOTES

2. Ibid., p. 95.
5. Keyes, Last Age, p. 65.
7. The Philippine Mission Association has entered into partnership with SIM International to send Filipino missionaries to Latin America.
8. The Yoido Gospel Church of Seoul, Korea, fields 167 of the 410 Korean missionaries, but 166 of them are doing diaspora work.
9. Keyes, Last Age, p. 78.
10. Ibid., p. 82.
11. Ibid., p. 64.
17. In a personal letter to Lawrence E. Keyes, dated May 24, 1983.
19. Ibid.
23. Keyes, Last Age, p. 113.
27. These are conservative estimates based on less than the current rates of growth.
Responses to the Article by Pate and Keyes

Samuel Escobar

Around the world David is accomplishing his mission for God with his staff, five smooth stones, and a sling. Suddenly his movements are detected by Saul’s computer and officially discovers that David exists, because you exist only when your presence is registered by Saul’s computer. And Saul now armor, his bronze helmet, and his sword, so that David may accomplish the mission that Saul has devised for him. I hope for the sake of God’s mission that David will be able to accomplish his mission in God’s way. If the reader forges my adaptation of the Bible story, it has helped me to verbalize some of the feelings raised by reading this paper about “Emerging Missions in a Global Church.”

I rejoice with Larry Pate and Lawrence Keyes in the fact that what they call emerging missions has come to the attention of missiologists. It is useful to have statistics about some aspects of this reality through the agency of our friends in California, I should make three comments. One is related to factual information provided, the second is theological, and the third a missiological reflection.

1. Some Facts: When stating that emerging missions are not just a recent phenomenon, some causes for the ignorance about them should be stated. In that way we shall avoid continuing an ethnocentric way of telling missionary history and registering statistics. My research about the history of evangelicals in Latin America has given me the conviction that we generally recognize as great “heroes” of this history those persons who, because of their ability to write books, letters, and reports, have left a written legacy. However, there were thousands of anonymous national believers who embarked with the foreigners in mission, but did not have promotional machinery at their service. With the emphasis on reading history “from the perspective of the poor,” liberation theologies have helped us in our historical research. Churches and nationals with great missionary vision for their nation and beyond it have existed as soon as churches were planted, because always living churches are missionary churches, no matter how young they are. And we can learn a lot from the patient historical reconstruction of their work for the Lord.

In the list of primary forces that produce effective and fruitful missionary activity, vision comes first and in this I agree with Pate and Keyes. However, the statement that Latin American churches have been historically lacking in vision is a half-truth. For instance, the Maranatha church in Lima, one of the oldest evangelical churches in Peru, had ninety missionary points in three countries at the beginning of this century. Chilean Adventists and Pentecostals have been sending missionaries in different ways to many other parts of Latin America for decades. What we have to learn, as missiologist Stuart McIntosh has pointed out very clearly, is that the Western “mission agency” is not the only way to do missionary work. When missionary presence and style convey the notion that mission is possible only with the paraphernalia of modernity, churches can come to the point of believing that a church needs all that baggage in order to be missionary.

The reference to the cooperative spirit of Canadian Baptists is one with which I agree wholeheartedly. However, I know that they have been criticized by some of their American colleagues for not yielding to the competitive philosophy that it is better to mount your own store than to enter in partnership. There is a long history of cooperation of British missions with indigenous churches in mission. Many times there is inability or unwillingness to cooperate and go through the exercise of humble partnership and it has been disguised as “missionary vision” and “missionary impatience.” This brings me to a second set of observations.

2. Theology: I have to disagree strongly with the statement that “mission partnerships created merely for the sake of demonstrating unity are superfluous and can easily siphon off valuable energies away from evangelism and pioneer missions.” This statement cannot be grounded in theology or in biblical teaching. It is the typical pragmatic assumption that reflects the values of a competitive society, rather than the teaching of Scripture about the church. Missionary work has been plagued by the individualism, volunteerism, and lack of fraternal accountability in the contemporary “business” approach to mission.

The failure of reunion schemes or the poor theological basis of some ecumenical enterprises should not take us to this type of generalization.

The Great Commission is not just task-oriented. It is oriented finally to glorify God and to build up the body of Christ in unity. The “task-oriented” activism that loses this vision tends to be totally unconcerned with the unity of the body. And in some cases emerging missions cannot rise and flourish because foreign missions use this type of argument to perpetuate themselves, even when they are not necessary anymore.

I have to regret that, in my own country, missionary efforts to translate Scripture to Quechua, for instance, are being done without any consultation or participation with the leadership of the old Quechua churches, which are the fastest-growing churches in the country. The inability of conservative evangelicals to foster adequate structures for cooperation in the mission field is partly due to this poor ecclesiology that operates not on principle but on expediency.

3. Missiological Reflections: I question the importance of making distinctions between “missions” and “extension evangelism,” and imposing such distinctions on the evaluation of emerging missions. I see this linked to the glorification and the...
glamour of "frontier missions" that also pervades the article. We have to be on guard because today the tough frontiers of missions are also in the Spanish ghettos of North America, the de-Christianized masses of Europe, the politicized classes of Latin America. These need missionary vision, vigor, and creativity. Emerging missions are showing their value in these areas. Be it Catholic or Pentecostal, they are teaching lessons that evangelicals would do well to ponder.

The acute question of money has to be mentioned. Pate and Keyes warn us in several ways about the dangers of internationalizing mission, especially in relation to money. We are told that "non-Westerners in international teams are simply perceived as paid Western agents." Why are not the authors concerned with the fact that Westerners also are considered "paid agents?" Why should nationals who are capable, educated, and committed not be supported with dignity? Why should Western agents live in first class in a country and their national partners always fourth class? Is it not this exclusivism that has produced national churches unable to support their ministry with dignity? Should not the evangelical missionary enterprise revise its policy drastically? This is a sore point in missiological discussion and this paper dodges the issue. If the church is global, the money of the church is also global; if the church is global, the distinction between emerging-mission agent and Western-mission agent has to be revised; if the church is global, some basic assumptions of our ecclesiology need to be revised.

The many-colored feet on the mountaintops of the future will not "wander aimlessly." Even if so-called Western churches do not try their armor on them, their rootedness in local churches, their dependence on the Holy Spirit, and the instinctive good use of their meager material resources do not allow them to wander aimlessly. They cannot afford it. Such wandering is a luxury for people who have lots of money, lots of technology, and no theology.

Harvie M. Conn

Who isn’t excited about the Western uncovering of possibly 20,000 missionaries from the two-thirds world? Missions in six continents has become missions from six continents. In my enthusiasm, I dim my question over a “448 percent growth rate for non-Western missions from 1972 to 1982.” Tempted though I am, I shall not ask if this figure indicates not so much growth as it does an increasing knowledge in the West of their existence. I shall put aside the suspicion that the upward mobility of such statistics may come from better information gathered rather than new missionaries added. I put it aside but I don’t forget it.

With greater reluctance, I also put aside my fears over calling this movement “emerging missions.” I fear such language can quickly go the same route as “older church/younger church.” Hidden in the temporal sound of nomenclature based on “recent rapid growth” is a potential for paternalism that the authors, I hope, do not want. If modern church history supplies several examples of such missions predating 96 percent of North America’s sending agencies, which movement is better called “emerging missions?” If my concern over “448 percent growth” is legitimate, “rapid growth” itself may need some qualifications. Can the massive expansion of Christianity by black cross-cultural evangelists in Uganda in the late nineteenth century be called “emerging missions?” By 1914 it had virtually ended (Prouet 1978:191). How “recent” must “recent rapid growth” be to qualify? If I were voting for terminology, my ballot would go to “global missions.” But I’m not voting yet.

To the excellent list of eight questions oriented to a northern-hemisphere agenda at the end of the article, I add two that I hope these “emerging missions” will ask themselves. I look forward to eavesdropping when the answers come.

1. How much will Western affluence and mission technology hinder the missionary obligations of the two-thirds world?

The article seems to me to expect generally that the southern-hemisphere mission will need organizational structures and financial-support systems similar to those of the northern-hemisphere mission boards and churches to do the most efficient and fruitful work. Its discussions of partnership models and internalization seem to assume a Westernized model.

These Western models are built on Anglo-Saxon patterns of technology. They assume organizational sophistication to operate, in-depth funding on a regular basis to support the bureaucracy, ecclesiastical power to train and demand in order to model.

By contrast, the challenge of stewardship in two-thirds world missions is heavier. “With the increase in travel and living costs, the poverty of Third World countries and the limited financial resources of the churches, missions from these lands are bound to be affected” (Williams 1979:37). Sociologically, will these missions be able to avoid the danger of selling themselves out to the dominant and richer northern Atlantic missionary enterprise? Orlando Costas argues that “the only way they can overcome this danger is by developing different models of financial support and more contextual and communal mission structures, where the chains of dependence can be broken. Indeed this may be today the only way the gospel may significantly cross unevangelized spaces in the Socialist countries” (Williams 1979:38).

How can missions in the affluent world help this breakthrough? Will “benign, prayerful neglect” not do as much as “task-oriented partnership?” Even in teaching such groups our mistakes, we often sound more like mothers than brothers. The John L. Nevius axiom of “every learner a teacher and every teacher a learner” is too often heavily weighted on the magisterial side of the West. The hidden cultural proverb, “We know how to get the job done,” always lurks in the shadows to transpose missionary colonialism into bureaucratic neo-colonial-

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"How much will Western affluence and mission technology hinder the missionary obligations of the two-thirds world?"

Harvie M. Conn, a former missionary in Korea, is Professor of Missions at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia.
ism. Are we in danger of solving riddles or proposing structures without first waiting for the partner at the table to discover what card hand he or she is holding? The partners may not even want to stand on our shoulders; they may have to climb over our bodies. Will we have the Christian humility to encourage them?

How can missions from the underside move forward at this point? For one thing, they should become critically aware of the methods that Western missionary societies have employed. And, adds Costas, they should not hesitate to make critical use of their own institutions.

Rather than developing elaborate methods, they would do well to adapt a 'learn-as-you-go' attitude, experimenting with various approaches and critically analyzing them in the light of the concrete reality. For mission methods are neither transplanted nor created out of nothing... They rather emerge out of the dialectics of reasons and feelings, past and present, trial and error. Ultimately they are part of the multiple gifts the Spirit entrusts to the church for the fulfillment of its mission [Williams 1979:38-39].

2. Are we at this point sufficiently aware of, and sympathetic toward, the problems of "emerging missions" to even estimate about their problems? How does the reality of sociocultural and political marginalization affect the agenda of mission administration for "emerging missions?"

David Cho, a missionary statesman in Korea, suggested in 1975 that the problems of missions from the two-thirds world is the exact reverse of those in the West. "Our poor economy and inadequate man-power come to the fore. We have inferiority complexes rather than pride; we struggle to maintain small mission projects, rather than big organizations; and we must save face because of our missionaries' poor financial support rather than any problem of economic disparity. These are our problems" (Cho 1975:5-6).

With the cultural desire not to lose face, will the shared sense of a common powerlessness create a new kind of paternalism? Father Omer Degrijse's book Going Forth speaks of the struggles over adaptation and integration of two-thirds-world Catholic missionaries. He notes:

... it would... be a mistake to think that, arriving in a mission area, Third World missionaries need not exert any effort to leave behind their own people, to question their own opinions and customs, to distance themselves from their own local pastoral methods, to listen, to receive and to get to know the people's social situation, before judging and acting. Now and then Latin American missionaries are accused of merely transplanting their own local church models and pastoral methods [Degrijse 1984:75].

Sound familiar? Why does Theo Williams argue that "the number of drop-outs is rather high in the case of missionaries of emerging nations. A Korean mission executive lamented over the lack of perseverance and 'stickability' in the case of his missionaries" (Williams 1979:29).

It is often argued that a superiority complex has made the Anglo-Saxon missionary a paternalist, a never-let-go leader. Does not a two-thirds-world inferiority complex move in a similar direction? The marginalized, through missions, have the opportunity at last to become the marginalizer. The results are the same. But the reasons are different.

Will the reality of third-world missionaries reaching out to similar but distinct tribal and ethnic people groups force a reevaluation of the value of E-2 missionaries (i.e., those working among people of a similar but separate culture) as compared to E-3 evangelists (i.e., those working among people of a very different culture)? Is it true that the legendary 16,000 people groups can be reached largely by E-3 missionaries? How many can better and more easily be reached by E-2s from Nigeria or Brazil or Los Angeles Hispanics? The awareness of two-thirds-world missionaries may help 116 to reexamine this basic question.

I do not know the answers to these questions. But the paper by Pate and Keyes has stimulated me to ask them. And more. I am most grateful for the risks they have taken in exposing the reality that produces them. And I am grateful to God for his servants in Japan and Korea and Bolivia who join us in searching for them.

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Pate and Keyes Reply

"Saul has slain his thousands, and David his tens of thousands" was the cry of the crowds after David returned from battle. Borrowing from Samuel Escobar's analogy, it seems a fair question to ask which is more important, selecting weapons or slaying Philistines? After gaining command of Saul's troops, David didn't issue slings to everyone. He won one battle with a slingshot, but he used conventional "technology" to win the war. The real issue in missions is not tools, methods, structure, or the locus of their origin. There is a great variety of all those things in both non-Western and Western missionary activity. The real issue is winning the war—planting the church in the mainstream of every unreached culture.

We agree with Escobar that the West can learn much from those involved in the emerging missions, but we also contend that this learning can be reciprocal and mutually beneficial. The thrust of Escobar's response seems to suggest that the structures and methods used by Western mission organizations are spiritually and theologically bankrupt and fruitless while those used by non-Western agencies are pristine and bound to be more effective, if only because they are less tainted by the tools and technology of Western missionary "armor." There are numerous examples of emerging missions that do not conform to Western patterns or use Western technology. There are also many examples of non-Western agencies using forms that closely re-
best to fit their context. If two groups independently attempt to accomplish the same task, they will inevitably do some things the same way because the nature of the task demands it. The fact is that neither Western nor non-Western mission efforts can claim a monopoly on either success or failure. Harvie Conn’s quotation from Father Degruijse’s book underscores this fact. The mistakes and negative impact of some Brazilian and South Korean missionaries rival some of the worst of Western missionary mistakes. Ethnocentric paternalism is not a cultural disease confined to North America, and it is not only North American theology and missiology that is affected. Is it not flailing at windmills, indeed even another form of paternalism, to insist that emerging missions be sheltered from the opportunity to choose whatever forms, methods, and structures they wish regardless of their origin?

Both Escobar and Conn sound a familiar warning against the danger of Western paternalism. Conn goes so far as to ask, “Will ‘benign, prayerful neglect’ not do as much as ‘task-oriented partnership’?” It is our contention that task-oriented partnerships help to bring more resources to bear on specific missionary projects while increasing the opportunities for ministry to the partners involved. This is the only issue where our paper attempts to prescribe possible solutions in searching for meaningful relationships between Western agencies and the emerging missions. The rest is intended to bring perspective and to raise important questions, not to supply all the answers.

Task-oriented partnerships can be a powerful tool for multiplying the effectiveness of partner missions. Each partner contributes what it can to achieve the common objectives. The net result is more fruitfulness than could be achieved by both partners working separately. We agree with Escobar that such “task-oriented activism” is a pragmatic approach, but we also see such synergistic partnerships as one of the greatest expressions of the unity of the body of Christ. Jesus’ words, “Go and make disciples among all peoples,” is a very task-oriented command. When various segments of the body of Christ around the world can agree enough on what that means to work together to accomplish specific cross-cultural disciplining tasks, we see that as a wonderful expression of the unity for which Christ prayed (Jn. 17:21).

Conn’s caution against allowing the term “emerging missions” to take on the paternalistic overtones of “older church/younger church” is a wise one. As we have already pointed out, the term is less than ideal. Still, it does seem to be more appropriate than his “northern hemisphere/southern hemisphere” dichotomy because 71 percent of the emerging missions are from non-Western countries in the northern hemisphere.¹

Could it be that fear of paternalism is now more of an item on the agendas of Western leaders than it is for non-Western leaders in most of the world? After all, most non-Western churches are now firmly in the hands of non-Western leaders. They understand Western paternalism and have learned to deal with it, for the most part. The rapid growth of non-Western missionary efforts is at least partly a result of the independence of non-Western churches and leadership. To some emerging-missions leaders, who rightly have full control of their organizations, it seems hypocritical for the same Western agencies that helped them establish their sending churches to neglect helping the mission agencies spawned by those churches. To such leaders, this often appears less like “benign neglect” and more like a Western paternalistic fear of that which it cannot control.

Must we assume that the emerging missions have so little discernment that they will automatically emulate only the inapropriate Western forms and methods? Non-Western leaders have already learned to avoid Western paternalism in mission-church relationships and they are certainly capable of doing so in mission-mission relationships. Would it not be better to drop our prideful fear of being thought paternalistic, enter into dialogue and even partnership with other groups, humbly seeking to learn from each other’s mistakes in order to become more effective in world evangelization?

We make no apology for emphasizing the need for cross-cultural ministry. We believe cultural barriers are generally stronger impediments to the gospel than national ones. Escobar wants to blur the distinctions between missions and extension evangelism.

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**Announcing**

The next meeting of the International Association for Mission Studies will be in Rome, June 29–July 5, 1988, on the theme: “Christian Mission Towards a Third Millennium: A Gospel of Hope.” This will be followed immediately (July 6–8, 1988) by an IAMS consultation on Documentation, Archives, and Bibliography for Mission Studies at the same location.

The new general secretary of the IAMS is Dr. Joachim Wietzke, Protestant Association for World Mission (EMW), Mittelweg 14, D–2000 Hamburg 13, West Germany. The new editor of the IAMS journal, *Mission Studies*, is Dr. Thomas Kramm at the Institute of Missiology in Aachen, West Germany. The Rev. Paul Rowntree Clifford in England will continue as treasurer, and Sister Joan Chatfield, M.M., is currently president.

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He says, “. . . always living churches are missionary churches, no matter how young they are.” History demonstrates this is not the case, and that churches do not automatically multiply across cultural boundaries. The book of Acts shows how difficult it can be for strongly ethnocentric churches to move beyond their own “Jerusalem and Judea.” We can only conclude that Escobar is confusing missions with extension evangelism in his statement about “living churches.”

As the adage says, “You catch what you fish for.” Without an emphasis on the cross-cultural dimensions of mission, too many churches will continue to fish in their own cultural ponds. But with an increased emphasis on task-oriented partnerships, many previously untouched ponds may yield a bountiful catch.

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**Notes**

1. This is based on a comparison of the mission agencies listed in Lawrence E. Keyes, *The Last Age of Missions* (Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1983), pp. 64–45.
Assemblies of God Mission Theology: A Historical Perspective

Gary B. McGee

The emergence of the Pentecostal movement in the early decades of the twentieth century coincided with the close of the “Great Century” in Christian missions. Significantly, it came at a time when some Christian leaders voiced concerns about the need for greater emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in the missionary effort. Perhaps with little cognizance on the part of most observers and a great deal of skepticism about its longevity, the subsequent expansion of the Pentecostal movement proved to be a vigorous new thrust in the Christian world mission, reporting to be directed and empowered by the Holy Spirit.2

Because of the clamor of criticism in the early years, many theological conservatives failed to appreciate that the Pentecostals shared common theological bonds with them. Among others, these included the inspiration and authority of the Bible and the motivation to obey the Great Commission of Christ to evangelize the world prior to the imminent return of Christ. With certain holiness and higher-life advocates of the time, they believed that subsequent to salvation a baptism in the Holy Spirit would endue the Christian with power to evangelize. They differed, however, in their insistence that speaking in tongues constituted a necessary evidence for this experience. To them this was proof for the fulfillment of Joel’s prophecy. Hence in the “last days,” the Holy Spirit was empowering believers for evangelism and authenticating the gospel message with the same “signs and wonders” that had followed its proclamation in the book of Acts.

The General Council of the Assemblies of God came into existence in April 1914 at a conference of Pentecostal believers in Hot Springs, Arkansas. Unlike the previously organized holiness denominations of the southern United States, which embraced Pentecostalism, the delegates represented those who had been expelled from their churches and denominations.3 They gathered for several reasons, including the desire to achieve legal recognition and bring a semblance of order to their fragmented missionary efforts.4 Since that time, the Assemblies of God has grown to become the largest Pentecostal denomination in the United States and now ranks as a leader in the Protestant missionary enterprise. Consequently, the nature and development of its mission theology bears examination. However, only selected aspects of its historical development can be considered here.

The articulation of Assemblies of God mission theology took many years to achieve. Early publications often referred to three Scripture passages that seemed to validate their readers’ perspective on missions: Mark 16:15, 17–18; Matthew 24:14, and Acts 1:8. The first two established their eschatological belief that when the gospel had been carried to the ends of the earth, Christ would return. Such a view is not unique to Pentecostalism and was shared by many premillennialists at the turn of the century. The last passage promised that the Holy Spirit would empower those efforts. To them this marked the restoration of the apostolic pattern of evangelism. Indeed, the reports of early Assemblies of God missionaries abound with testimonies of conversions, deliverances from drug and alcohol addiction as well as demon possession, and physical healings.5

Over the years the denomination has become well known for its implementation of indigenous-church principles. From the second year of its existence, the organization committed itself to this approach, viewing it as the New Testament pattern of evangelism.6 However, a more precise definition of this perspective did not appear until the General Council meeting of 1921.7

Several factors contributed to this development. First, many early Pentecostals who joined the Assemblies of God held anti­organizational sentiments but united to achieve their objectives.8 In their examination of the book of Acts, they observed independent congregations, directed by the Spirit, evangelizing their territories. For the most part, the paternalistic approach of a missionary agency retaining control over its younger churches was alien to their thinking.

Second, A. B. Simpson and the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) contributed to this perspective. Simpson’s Missionary Training Institute (founded in 1882 at New York City and later moved to Nyack, New York) emphasized the indigenous-church principles of John Nevius and S. J. Burton in its curriculum.9 Following an outbreak of Pentecostalism in the CMA, a significant number of ministers and missionaries left when it failed to wholeheartedly endorse their new perspective on the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Many of these eventually joined the ranks of the Assemblies of God and some became prominent leaders. Of considerable importance is the fact that until the early 1920s, the largest number of alumni from any school serving as Assemblies of God missionaries had been trained at Nyack.10 Unwittingly, Simpson had prepared a considerable portion of the early leadership of the Assemblies of God and its missionary force.

The third and perhaps most significant outside influence came from the writings of Roland Allen. This first became apparent in a series of articles written by Alice E. Luce for the Pentecostal Evangel in 1921, just months before the organization met for its biennial conference and elaborated its mission to the world. Luce had served with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in India and later ministered to Hispanics in the United States. While still affiliated with the CMS, she read Allen’s Missionary Methods: St. Paul or Ours? shortly after it was published in 1912. Although she initially felt that his suggestions were unrealistic, later reflection caused her to recognize “the diametrical distinction between our methods of working and those of the New Testament.”11

In these articles, Luce advocated Allen’s perspectives on church

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planting. Foreign leadership may be necessary for a time, but it cannot be based on attitudes of racial or cultural superiority. Such leadership should model humility and obedience to the Holy Spirit if younger national ministers are to be properly trained to take their places. Thus, "when the Lord raises up spiritually qualified leaders in the native churches themselves, what a joy it will be to us to be subject to them."12

While Luce endorsed Allen's methods, her Pentecostal theology led her to believe that apostolic methods of evangelism and church planting would be followed by the power and demonstration of the Holy Spirit. She challenged her readers by asking: "When we go forth to preach the Full Gospel, are we going to expect an experience like that of the denominational missionaries, or shall we look for the signs to follow?"13

Another and more influential voice supporting these methods within Assemblies of God missions was that of Noel Perkin, director of the enterprise from 1927 to 1959. Perkin had served as a missionary to Argentina with Harry L. Turner, a later president of the CMA.14 As director of the Division of Foreign Missions (founded in 1919), Perkin urged missionary candidates to familiarize themselves with Allen's writings, particularly Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours? and The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church.15

It is important to realize that indigenous-church principles were ideals that leaders such as Luce and Perkin wanted Assemblies of God missionaries to apply. Three factors prompted their concern. First, the early missionaries often received only a minimum of missiological training, if any at all. The Assemblies of God Bible institutes were not equipped in those years to provide such instruction and probably lacked the vision for it.

Second, missionaries often followed the practice that they found already in operation overseas. Thus some paid national ministers and retained tight control over their operations. Appeals were occasionally made through early publications for funds to hire such workers.16 While the division discouraged these practices, particularly during the administration of Perkin, they nevertheless persisted at least into the 1950s because in some instances missionaries felt justified in using them.17

Third, through the first thirty years of its existence, the Division of Foreign Missions operated chiefly as a distribution center for funds. It found itself unable to direct the overseas operations because of the severe financial limitations of its own budget and the independent perspectives of some of its missionaries. This gradually changed as it began to plan its course of action strategically for the post-World War II period. Thereafter it took a direct role in the guidance of the enterprise.

Nevertheless it should be noted that the majority of Assemblies of God missionaries endeavored to implement the indigenous ideals. Missionaries such as Henry C. Ball (Latin America), Leonard Bolton (China), John H. Burgess (India), Alice E. Luce (Hispanics), Nicholas Nikoloff (Eastern Europe), Everett L. Phillips (Nigeria), Arthur E. Wilson (Burkina Faso), Ralph D. Williams (Latin America), as well as many others, harnessed their efforts toward building strong national churches.

The writings of Melvin L. Hodges, a missionary to Latin America and later field director for the region, reflect the long-term goals of Noel Perkin. Accepting the latter's advice, Hodges carefully studied the writings of Allen.18 Upon arriving in Central America in 1936, he began working with Ralph D. Williams, an indigenous-church pioneer in that region.19 Hodges eventually played a key role in the growth of the Assemblies of God in this part of Latin America.

In 1953 the Gospel Publishing House (an agency of the Assemblies of God) published The Indigenous Church written by Hodges. A series of lectures at the 1950 Missionary Conference in Springfield, Missouri, provided the basis for the book. It proved to be the most significant book on mission strategy and theology that the organization had produced. Perkin considered its publication to be a "trial balloon" and hoped for a positive reception by the missionaries. No other book of its kind had yet been offered by a Pentecostal writer.

In eleven chapters, Hodges discussed the nature of a New Testament church and its implementation. Relying on his experiences in working with national church organizations, he also discussed how to change an existing structure from a paternalistic arrangement to an indigenous one.

To a considerable extent, Hodges repeated the methods advocated by Rufus Anderson, Henry Venn, John L. Nevius, and Roland Allen. The book's uniqueness consisted in its practical nature and fusion of indigenous principles with Pentecostal theology. He asserted that "the faith which Pentecostal people have in the ability of the Holy Spirit to give spiritual gifts and supernatural abilities to the common people... has raised up a host of lay preachers and leaders of unusual spiritual ability—not unlike the rugged fishermen who first followed the Lord."20

The timing of this publication coincided with the division's growing concern to articulate further its mission and to provide more specialized training for missionary candidates. Hodges's exposition assisted the enterprise at a critical time in its history when forces were at work to undermine the commitment to indigenous principles.21 By 1959 the School of Missions was established to provide missiological training and has met annually for several weeks each summer. The growing clarity of its mission, advances in missionary education, strategic planning, and the upsurge in the number of overseas Bible institutes that emphasized indigenous principles help account for the enormous expansion overseas that took place after 1960.

A Theology of the Church and Its Mission, published in 1977, represents Hodges's most complete attempt to elucidate a Pentecostal perspective on the mission of the church. Significantly, he identified the present "spiritual" aspect of the kingdom of God as the reign of Christ in the hearts of believers. The future role of the kingdom will occur in the coming millennial period.22 Previously some writers in the Assemblies of God, leaning strongly toward dispensationalism, had said little about the present aspect of the kingdom. Hodges's interpretation reflects the gradual decline of dispensational theology in the denomination.23 Unfortunately, he does not effectively link his teaching on the kingdom to his pneumatology.

Throughout its history, the Assemblies of God has maintained its commitment to world evangelism. While acts of compassion, represented by relief efforts and the establishment of orphanages, schools, and leprosariums, have not been neglected, they have never achieved first priority status. The theological and practical relationship between evangelism and programs of compassion created a long-standing tension.24 Perhaps this was due to the fact that its missionaries have tended to be practitioners rather than theorists. Nevertheless, the division's 1985 report reflects a careful balancing of priorities: (1) evangelism, (2) the building of indigenous churches after the New Testament pattern, (3) the training of national believers for preaching the gospel, and (4) acts of compassion.25

Finally, another significant tension in Assemblies of God mission theology must be considered. It strikes at the very core of Pentecostal thinking and practice. To understand this problem, one must be aware of the dynamic character of Pentecostal pneumatology. The "leading of the Spirit" takes precedence over formulas for success. However, this must never contradict biblical principles.26 Consequently, the writings of Melvin Hodges on
church growth are less mechanical in their orientation than those of some advocates. This is due to firm belief in the supernatural role of the Holy Spirit in church planting. Such an underpinning does not rule out the need for planning, equipment, and intense training for personnel. Indeed, in recent years the Assemblies of God has excelled in these areas. Nevertheless, the belief in the supernatural "leading of the Holy Spirit" in the lives of believers and church planting is a major demarcation between Pentecostals and other conservative evangelicals. One recent writer has maintained that the Pentecostal perspective is a needed biblical and pneumatological corrective to evangelical mission theology. 28

This orientation, however, has not been without its difficulties. In the early years of the Assemblies of God, missionaries were more closely linked to local churches, which sent them overseas and promised them financial support. They often preferred to be directed entirely by the Spirit in their choice of mission fields and methods. The lack of effectiveness on the part of some often went unchecked because of the division's limitations. The idea of an ecclesiastical structure dictating mission policy was often bitterly resented.

Cooler heads eventually prevailed when the problems of the enterprise became better known. Noel Perkin was particularly influential in developing missionary policies and yet successfully assured the personnel and the home constituency that the operation was primarily spiritual in its objectives. Many wondered whether the Spirit could lead the enterprise through the work of committees and policies. Some doubted this and, in a few instances, left the organization. 29

As time passed, however, and missionaries depended more on the support of larger numbers of churches, their loyalties gradually shifted from local congregations to the division. Having been trained in the denomination's Bible institutes, they took a more positive stance toward structure. Hence the concept of teamwork gradually supplanted the uncompromising independence of former years. Many now believed, particularly in the post-World War II period, that increased planning and training could be attained without losing the dynamic power of the Holy Spirit. As long as the goals remained the same, needed changes were allowed to keep up with the times.

Through the years, the Division of Foreign Missions has attempted to keep a careful balance between needed structures and freedom for individual action as directed by the Spirit. This approach has resolved the issue for many. However, the tension continues to exist. 30

The results of Assemblies of God mission theology and practice have become increasingly apparent in recent years. Younger churches abroad have formed their own national organizations and entered into fraternal relationships with each other and the parent body. In many instances these have matured to the point of sending their own missionaries to other third-world countries and even to ethnic minorities in the United States. 31

An early hesitation about ecclesiastical structure, an exegesis of the book of Acts reinforced by personal experiences, the teachings of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and the writings of Roland Allen influenced the Assemblies of God in the formation of its mission theology. Its slow but gradual application of indigenous principles fostered the development of national church bodies overseas that are self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. Their fraternal association with the parent organization has opened a new chapter in the latter's history. While strategic planning and missionary teamwork significantly increased over the years, the Assemblies of God has continued to consider the Holy Spirit as the key factor in evangelism and church growth. It has successfully demonstrated that the pneumatological dynamic of its mission theology is relevant for twentieth-century church planting.

Notes

7. General Council Minutes, 1921, pp. 61-64.
18. Interview with Melvin L. Hodges, former field director for Latin America and the West Indies for the Assemblies of God, Division of Foreign Missions, Springfield, Mo., February 1985 (video-cassette tape).
19. Prior to his work there, Williams had assisted Alice E. Luce in her efforts to train Hispanic pastors and missionaries; for additional information, see Ralph D. Williams, untitled autobiography, 1981, p. 4. (Available at the Assemblies of God Archives, Springfield, Mo.)
The Legacy of William Wade Harris

David A. Shank

In 1911 Monsignor Jules Moury, vicar apostolic in charge of the Roman Catholic mission in the Ivory Coast, frankly despaired of the future of the church in the neglected French colony. The priests of the Missions Africaines de Lyon had arrived on the Gulf of Guinea in 1895 and after more than fifteen years with the help of brothers and sisters from two orders had expended a number of lives and much charity to build a chain of eight major stations along the eastern coast of the Ivory Coast. But they had yielded a slim harvest of only 2,000 baptized souls, and the tribal peoples along the coast were clearly not turning to the Light of Christ.

By contrast, three years later in his annual report of 1914, Moury was almost lyrical: “Space is lacking here for exposing the external means which Divine Providence has used for the accomplishment of His merciful designs. I must thus limit myself to exposing the effects. These effects—it’s a whole people who, having destroyed its fetishes, invades our churches en masse, requesting Holy Baptism.”

The means that Divine Providence had used was the Glebo prophet William Wade Harris, who had left Cape Palmas, Liberia, on July 27, 1913 and headed east across the Cavally River, which separated Liberia and the Ivory Coast, in obedience—as he maintained—to Christ’s commission in Matthew 28:19. Accompanied by two women disciples—excellent singers playing calabash rattles—he visited village after village, calling the coastal people to abandon and destroy their “fetishes,” to turn to the one true and living God, to be baptized and forgiven by the Savior; he then taught them to follow the commandments of God, to live in peace, and organized them for prayer and worship of God in their own languages, music, and dance, to await the “white man with the Book” and the new times that were to come.

In 1926, when missionary methods and their effectiveness were discussed at the international conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, Dr. Edwin W. Smith, former missionary to Rhodesia, wryly remarked:

“The man who should have talked at Le Zoute about preaching to Africans is the prophet Harris who flashed like a meteor through parts of West Africa a few years ago. Africa’s most successful evangelist, he gathered in a few months a host of converts exceeding in number the total church membership of all the missions in Nyasaland now after fifty years of work. What was his method?”

At the time of Smith’s writing, the prophet’s legacy was still a recent and almost unbelievable fact in Western missionary experience and literature: more than 100,000 tribal Africans baptized within eighteen months, with many of them ready to be taught the “white man with the Book” ten years after the event. It is not altogether inappropriate today to take a new look at the prophet and his mission, described quite recently by one Catholic historian as “the most extraordinarily successful one man evangelical crusade that Africa has ever known.” In earlier years C. P. Groves had pointed to “three notable missionary figures” during World War I in French Africa: Charles de Foucauld in the Sahara, Albert Schweitzer in the rain forests of Gabon, and the prophet Harris evangelizing the pagan tribes of the Ivory Coast. The first two are well known through their writings, their work, and much that has been written about them by their interpreters. But for the African Harris, who left no writings except a half-dozen short dictated messages, the legacy is written only in the historical consequences of his work and ministry; the perspective of seven decades is most helpful in understanding it.

Who Was William Wade Harris?

In the immediate wake of his ministry of 1913–14, Harris’s work was cursorily dismissed by the Catholic missionaries as that of an unscrupulous charlatan carrying out a “Protestant plot” against their mission. In the Gold Coast, Methodist missionaries and African pastors were divided in their appreciation of the man about whom they knew practically nothing, save that he had earlier related to the Methodist church in Liberia. The 1924 arrival in the Ivory Coast of the English Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries...
and their assumption of Harris’s succession made them the major source for knowledge of the man. Research in recent years has filled in many gaps of information and understanding, and we now have a fuller understanding of the man behind the prophet.5

Until the age of twelve years, Wadé (who was born around 1860) lived in a traditional Glebo village on the littoral east of Cape Palmas, Liberia. Son of a “heathen father,” he claimed to be “born Methodist,” indicating that it was at a time when conversion meant leaving the “heathen village” for the Christian village on the other side of the lagoon at Half-Graway. Wadé’s mother quite exceptionally lived her life of faith in the midst of traditional family life with its sacrifices, divination, witchcraft, and the influences of the “country doctor.” The other major exposure to Christianity during this traditional period was the common but ineffective evangelistic foray into the village by Episcopalian missionaries.

A second period, with intense exposure to “civilization,” came during his adolescence. This included six years with his maternal uncle, the Rev. John C. Lowrie, who took him as a pupil and apprentice into his Methodist pastor-schoolmaster’s home in Sinoe, among the immigrant Liberians, outside Glebo territory and outside the influences of traditional life. Lowrie was a former slave, converted and educated at Freetown, and was a remarkable preacher as well as teacher. He baptized Wadé, no doubt gave him the name of William Harris, and taught him to read and write both Glebo and English. Though unconverted during this period, Harris was marked permanently by Lowrie’s faith, piety, discipline, and biblical culture as well as his role in society as a man of the Bible. This period concluded with four trips by Harris as a kroo-boy (a crew member, sometimes of Kroo ethnic background) on British and German merchant vessels going to Lagos and Gabon, and a stint as headman of kroo-boys working in the gold mines inland from Axim in the Gold Coast.

During a time of revival in Harper at Cape Palmas, when he was about twenty-one years of age, Harris was converted in the Methodist church under the summons from Revelation 2:5 (“Remember from whence thou art fallen and repent”) by the Liberian preacher Rev. Mr. Thompson. “The Holy Ghost came upon me. The very year of my conversion I started preaching,” he reported many years later. This new Christian period was marked by his Christian marriage in 1883 to Rose Farr, the daughter of Episcopalian catechist John Farr, from the Christian village of Half-Graway. Harris, a stonemason, built their home in the village and it bore all the marks of a “civilized Christian”: sheet-iron roof, second story, shuttered windows, fireplace, and so forth. In 1888 he was confirmed in the Episcopal church by Bishop Samuel D. Ferguson. At the time, the Methodist church was weakening and was chiefly Liberian, while the Episcopal church was financially strong and worked especially among the Glebo. Indeed, Harris later was to condemn his action, taken “for money.” But with additional schooling, and a breakthrough in 1892 when the tribe agreed to observe the Sabbath (the bishop called it “the sharp edge of our Gospel wedge”) Harris was appointed assistant teacher and catechist to his native village.

In a context of upward mobility within “civilization and Christianity,” Harris was to be a regularly paid agent of the Episcopalian structures for more than fifteen years, until the end of 1908. First a simple catechist, then charged with a village Sunday school, he became a lay reader and eventually a junior warden in his church; in the school he moved from assistant teacher to teacher and thence to head of the small boarding school where his father-in-law and brother-in-law had preceded him. Outside the mission and church circles, he became official government interpreter in 1899 and enjoyed the prestige of go-between for local Liberian officials and the indigenous Glebo populations.

Tragically this whole period was marked by intensive conflict between indigenous and immigrant Americanized blacks. If at the beginning Harris was committed to the “civilizing” pressures of the Episcopal church and the foreign patterns of the Liberian republic, it is also quite clear that halfway through the period a major shift in his loyalties was starting to take place. In 1903 he was temporarily suspended as head of the school and then reinstated in 1905, but his sympathies were very clearly in favor of the Glebo people against the Liberian regime, which was fully supported by the bishop despite its unreadiness to assimilate fully the “Glebo dogs.”

Two important patterns of thought were at work in Harris during this evolution. The highly influential Dr. Edward Blyden, born in the Virgin Islands and prominent in Liberia—the best-educated and most articulate black of that period, constantly labored the ineffectiveness and cultural imperialism of Western missions and firmly promoted an autonomous pan-African church; at the same time he was convinced that the political salvation of Liberia could come only by way of a British protectorate. And in Cape Palmas, Blyden’s friend, the secessionist priest Samuel Seton, had created already in 1887 a separatist “Christ church” under the influence of the United States religious leader Charles T. Russell, founder of the group later to be known as Jehovah’s Witnesses, whose apocalyptic writings were flooding the region despite the opposition of Bishop Samuel Ferguson.

During the last half of 1908, calling himself the “secretary of the Graway people,” Harris engaged in threats and violence and the use of the occult in order to manipulate local Glebo chiefs in favor of the British, against the republic. In February 1909, when a coup d’état involving Blyden failed in Monrovia, co-conspirator Harris—at the risk of his life—was flying the Union Jack at Cape Palmas in expectation of the immediate British takeover for which he had labored. His arrest, imprisonment at Harper (Cape Palmas), Liberia, trial, and condemnation for treason led to a $500 fine and a two-year prison term, for which he was paroled after making monetary payment for all the penalties against him. But he had lost his job with the Episcopal church and with the Liberian authorities for whom he had worked for nine years.

Defying the terms of his parole, William Harris preached vigorously against the Liberian regime, helping to stir up and arm the local population. When war broke out in January 1910, he was back in prison, no doubt for nonrespect of his parole. The war, won by Liberian troops supported by a United States warship, was a complete debacle for the Glebo—fleeing population, plundered villages, fines, forced resettlement—and the most expensive war the young republic had conducted. Harris was in prison, despondent over the turn of events, and it was there around June 1910 that his prophetic future was determined.

The Vocation of the Prophet Harris

A trance-visitation of the angel Gabriel in a wave of light was to William Wadé Harris like a second conversion. During three appearances, he was told that he was to be prophet of the last times; he was to abandon his civilized clothing, including his patent-leather shoes, and don a white robe: he was to destroy fetishes, beginning with his own; he was to preach Christian baptism. His wife would die after giving him six shillings to provide for his travel anywhere; and though he was not thereafter to have a church marriage, he believed God would give him others to help him in his mission. He then received in a great wave of light an anointing from God where the Spirit came down like water on
his head—three times. “It was like ice on my head and all my skin,” he later reported.

The Gold Coast barrister Casely Hayford spoke with the prophet at great length in Axim, in July 1914, and was deeply impressed.

Of his call he speaks with awe. It seems as if God made the soul of Harris a soul of fire . . . He has learnt the lesson of those whose lips have been touched by live coal from the altar to sink himself in God. . . . When we are crossed in ordinary life we never forgive. When God crosses our path and twists our purposes unto his own, he can make a mere bamboo cross a power unto the reclaiming of souls. God has crossed the path of this humble Grebo man and he has had the sense to yield. He has suffered his will to be twisted out of shape and so he carries about the symbol of the cross.6

The man who in 1908 used whatever violent or occult means were at his disposal to achieve the political autonomy of his people was said to have reported six and a half years later: “I am a prophet above all religions and freed from the control of men. I depend only upon God through the intermediary of the Angel Gabriel who initiated me to my mission of modern last times—of the era of peace about which St. John speaks in the 20th chapter of Revelation, peace of a thousand years whose arrival is at hand.”7

The young man who had begun his civilized Christian faith and ministry together at the age of twenty-one, had compromised it “for money,” for a future that led him finally into the morass of political duplicity and manipulation and the way of occult violence for achieving the liberation of his people. Stopped suddenly by events he had helped to precipitate he was turned back, as it were, to his original task of preaching, but turned forward in absolute confidence of the coming peaceful kingdom of Christ. “Christ must reign,” he insisted. “I am his prophet.” But this time it was also as a liberated African to fellow Africans rather than as a “civilized” person to the barbarians.

Convinced through Russellite influences that Christ was soon to bring in the kingdom of peace, Harris predicted World War I as a judgment on the civilized world, and then announced a difficult period of seven years, before everything was to be transformed in the reign of Christ. Seeing himself as the Elijah of Malachi 4, he felt he had appeared before the great and dreadful day of the Lord in order to prepare the people for the coming kingdom of peace, during which he was to be the judge responsible for West Africa. His mission was to prepare his constituency through preaching of repentance and baptism and peace, so the Lord would know his own. He had renounced political machination and violence but not a political vision; rather, he had reordered its character and its means and was committed to advance through preaching what would come through the Lord’s own doing. He saw as his marching order Christ’s Great Commission in Matthew 28:19-20.

Except for his identification with Elijah, the seven-year dating of the arrival of the kingdom and his own judgeship in it (none of which he imposed upon others), Harris had been caught up in the very un-African eschatological dynamics of New Testament messianism and its spirit, with which he was mightily empowered. The politician Casely Hayford insisted:

You come to him with a heart full of bitterness, and when he is finished with you all the bitterness is gone out of your soul. . . . Why, he calls upon the living God. He calms, under God, the troubled soul. He casts out strife. He allays bitterness. He brings joy and lightness of soul to the despairing. This thing must be of God. He attaches no importance to himself. . . . He is the soul of humility.8

Twenty years ago, when the historian Gordon Halliburton visited village after village in the Ivory Coast seeking out the old men who could tell him about their memories of the prophet Harris, more than once he was told, “He taught us to live in peace.”

Harris’s Mission

After his liberation from prison in June 1910, Harris immediately began his prophetic ministry. Briefly reimprisoned, then released, he went up and down the Liberian coast preaching repentance and baptism with apparently only a limited success prior to his Ivory Coast and Gold Coast adventures. There, dressed in a white cassock and turban with a cross-topped staff in one hand and a Bible and baptismal bowl in the other, he cut a striking and original figure as he attacked the local spiritual powers, disarming their practitioners, often in a contest where he proved to be the most powerful. In response all the village people would bring their religious artifacts to be burned; then they would kneel for baptism while grasping the cross, and receive a tap of confirmation with the prophet’s Bible. The prophet then taught the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and on occasion the Apostle’s Creed. Migrant Methodist clerks from Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast working in coastal commercial activity were stirred up to follow through with the ministry. Elsewhere the prophet instructed each village to build a simple place of worship, and he would name twelve apostles to govern the new religious community. Where there was a Catholic mission, or the very rare congregation of foreign Methodists, he encouraged people to go there to be taught by men of God. His ministry was accompanied by remarkable healings and strange wonders: the burning of a ship when kroo-boy laborers were not discharged from Sunday work; the deaths in rapid succession of the administrator who chased him out of the French colony into the Gold Coast, and of his sergeant who had beaten the prophet; the falling of a church tower after a Catholic priest had dismissed him haughtily; the sudden deaths of those who were baptized but had only hidden, not destroyed, their fetishes. As the rumors of Harris’s power and wonders preceded him, masses of people were prepared for his coming and sought him out. In the western Gold Coast, the British administrator could scarcely believe the moral and sanitary transformation that had taken place in villages that he knew so well.

Despite his having been arrested and imprisoned three times in the Ivory Coast, the prophet returned there from the Gold Coast because he felt that God had commanded him to do so. The masses flocked to him in Grand Bassam and Bingerville where again his baptizing was often accompanied by spectacular exorcism and healing. World War I had been declared in early August 1914, and in the French colony missionary priests and colonial administrators answered the call to arms. A religio-political movement was under way that was controlled neither by the Catholic mission nor by the French administration. Harris and his three women were arrested, imprisoned, severely beaten and, a month later (January 1915), expelled by the same authorities who had earlier recognized their public utility. The prophet had, in fact, preached submission to authorities under God’s law, denounced alcohol abuse, and had clearly affected the moral climate of the populations by his denunciation of adultery. Back in Liberia in early 1915, one of his singers, the young widow Helen Valentine, died as a result of the beatings she had received during her mission with the prophet.

Eight times Harris attempted to return to the Ivory Coast but was always stopped by the colonial authorities. But he went up and down the Liberian coast with his mission, often penetrating into the interior where missionaries had never gone. He went to

172 International Bulletin of Missionary Research
The Trustees of the Overseas Ministries Study Center announce the relocation of OMSC's residential and study programs to New Haven, Connecticut.

The Trustees also announce the expansion of OMSC’s services to the missionary community through the affiliation with OMSC of INTERFACES, the International Family and Children’s Educational Services, of Richmond, Virginia.

The relocation will be completed in time to begin the new academic year in New Haven in September 1987. The 1986–87 programs will be carried on without interruption in Ventnor, New Jersey. For further information, contact:

Gerald H. Anderson, Director
Overseas Ministries Study Center
Box 2057, Ventnor, NJ 08406, U.S.A.
Sierra Leone three times on foot: in 1917, 1919, and 1921. His ministry in Liberia, even if it gave problems to the Methodist missionary Walter B. Williams because of their differences over polygamous marriage, nevertheless provoked a mass “revival movement” in 1915 and the years following. Harris did not denounce polygamy, but accepted it as a fact of African life, and this led to continuing problems with the Methodist groups and others.

In 1925 the prophet suffered a stroke, from which he only partially recovered; yet he continued his pilgrim ministry in the interior. When he was visited in 1926 by missionary Pierre Benoît from the Methodist mission, he had just returned from a mission where he had baptized over 500 people. Benoît’s contact grew out of the 1924 discovery by British Methodists of the fruits of Harris’s labors in the Ivory Coast, which opened a new chapter in missionary history: admitting the facts, accepting the responsibility for the legacy of the “Harrist Protestants,” restructuring and absorbing them, teaching and disciplining them. Not all the baptized accepted the new Methodist government of their church life, and Benoît brought back from the aging prophet a Methodist-inspired “testament” to clinch the succession, and urge the hesitant into the Methodist fold.

In 1927 the prophet received in his Spring Hill home a delegation of Adjukrou leaders from the Ivory Coast for counsel about accepting Methodist control, and Harris supported the latter against the traditionalist “prophet” Aké. But in December 1928 Harris received another delegation from the Ivory Coast complaining of Methodist disciplines in family and finance. At this final meeting the prophet clearly indicated his disappointment with the Methodist controls and charged a young Ebrié chorister, Jonas Ahui, from the village congregation at Petit Bas-sam to “begin again.” Harris dictated a message to Ahui’s father, the village chief who had been puzzled about how to respond to the missionary presence. To the village chief, the prophet asserted the validity of polygamy if God’s law was followed, and denounced the taking of money for religious services performed. Harris was eager to return to the Ivory Coast but could not, for he was “about to go home.” But he predicted a new war for France, warned about going to Europe, and referred again to Malachi 4. “If you say you are for God you have to suffer many tribulations. Never give up your God. . . . You must always have God before you. It is he who will guide you in all temptation: do not forsake or leave your God to save your life. . . . I am yours in Christ.”

In April 1929 the prophet died at close to seventy years of age, worn out and in total poverty. It is said that the simple Christian funeral in the village of Spring Hill was presided over by the local Episcopalian minister. Five of his six children, and numerous grandchildren, survived Harris. Today, an improvised Christian funeral in the village of Spring Hill was presided over by the former teaching of the famous prophet Harris. The pagans, deprived of their old gods, stream to our churches and ask for religious instruction.”

There was a “take-off” of the Catholic mission along the Guinea coast. By 1923 the Ivory Coast church counted 13,000 members and over 10,000 catechumens. The official report of 1925 recognized Harris as the instrument given “to operate the salvation of the Ivory Coast—or at least to begin it.” Father Bedal of Korhogo in the north lamented the fact that Harris had not got there to facilitate the evangelization of the Senufo. In Ghana, where there had been no baptized Catholics in Apollonia in 1914, there were in 1920 twenty-six principal stations and thirty-six secondary ones with 5,200 members and 15,400 catechumens. Roman Catholic missionary George Fischer spoke of the “divine fire lit by the grace of the divine Master,” but he made no mention of Harris. In Liberia where the Catholic mission had only rebegun in 1906, its prefect, Father Jean Ogé, wrote in 1920 that “the missions are going ahead by leaps and bounds . . . due to the former teaching of the famous prophet Harris. The pagans, deprived of their old gods, stream to our churches and ask for religious instruction.”

There was a major breakthrough for Protestant missions. In Ghana the Methodist church was confronted with more than 8,000 people in the Axim area requesting church membership, with village after village requesting catechists and schools. In the Ivory Coast, the 1924 arrival of the British Wesleyans led within sixteen months to the reorganization of more than 160 chapels with more than 32,000 actual names on church registers. The “testament” brought back from Harris in 1926 increased that constituency. In 1927, in response to the Harris impact, the French Baptist Mission Biblique began its work in the southwest. The arrival in 1929 of the Christian and Missionary Alliance from the United States, eager to work with the fruit of Harris’s labors, led to their activities in the central Ivory Coast. These constitute three of the major Protestant churches today.

The Legacy

It should be pointed out as a preface to a summary of the Harris legacy that, when compared to other African prophets and their movements, his impact was exceptional: in its massive inter-tribal and inter-colonial character; in its precedence to or major contribution to missionary Christianity; in Harris’s initial positive at-titude to both British and French colonial regimes, despite his preprophetic negative approach to the black Liberian regime. These unique features condition the legacy in unusual ways.

Harris’s work brought about a massive break with the external practices of traditional African religions all along the coast: disappearance of fetishes; disappearance of ritual sacrifices; disappearance of a variety of “taboos’ about days and places; disappearance of lascivious dance; the “taming” of traditional festivals; disappearance of huts for isolating women during their menstrual periods; transformation of burial and funeral practices. Ten years after the passage of Harris, the English missionaries observed the great differences between the Ivory Coast and Dahomey or Togo, which they knew so well. It was described in 1922 by the colonial administrator Captain Paul Marty as a “religious fact, almost unbelievable, which has upset all the ideas we had about black societies of the Coast—so primitive, so rustic—and which with our occupation and as a consequence of it will be the most important political and social event of ten centuries of history, past, present or future of the maritime Ivory Coast.”

There was created a new indigenous lay religious movement covering a dozen ethnic groups and involving new patterns of unity in the midst of diversity: one God, one theocentric law (the Ten Commandments), one day (Sunday) one book (the Bible), one symbol (the cross), one baptism (break with “fetishes”), one place of worship, one institution (church leadership by “twelve apostles”). Here prayer, including the “Our Father,” and transformed traditional song and dance replaced sacrifice and fetish worship. Although different from European Protestantism and Catholicism, it was fed by foreign African lay Christians and constituted a reality so substantial that for Catholic missionaries in 1921 it “threatened” to make of the Ivory Coast a “Protestant nation.”

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There came about a stimulation of a mass movement into the established Protestant churches in Liberia. The Methodist Episcopal church wrote officially in 1916 of

the great revival movement among the natives with which God has blessed us. But for this our membership could not have made the advance it has. And yet we could not gather into the church all who professed conversion because we had not sufficient number of missionaries to instruct and train them. Many however went into other churches and were not lost to Christianity. Literally thousands, largely young people, have been swept into the Kingdom of God.\(^{10}\)

Dr. Frederick A. Price described it as a “real tidal wave of religious enthusiasm which swept hundreds of people into the Christian church. . . . It was nothing else but Pentecost in Africa.” But he also pointed out that because of their refusal to abandon polygamy, countless numbers were also refused by the churches, obviously in contradiction to Harris’s understanding and preaching.

Many of these people may be members of the invisible church of Christ even though we cannot admit them into full membership in the local assembly. . . . One remarkable feature about this great movement was the fact that tribes which seemed the most difficult to approach now became the most responsive to the preaching of the Gospel. . . . The revival fire soon spread from one end of the coastline to the other and certain sections of the interior shared the wonderful experience of getting in touch with Christ.\(^{12}\)

There was also the creation of the Église Harriste (Harrist Church) in the Ivory Coast, in 1931, as a result of the 1928 visit of the Ebrie leader Jonas Ahui, who was consecrated by the prophet, given his cross and Bible and the last written message from Harris. The church is today an important interethnic religious reality of perhaps 200,000 adherents, including communities in Ghana and Liberia. All seven weekly services (three on Sunday) are in the local languages and bear the distinct Harris stamp: strong anti-fetish accent on one God; prayer as a replacement for sacrifice; use of traditional music and dance; use of cross, Bible, calabash, and baptismal bowl as liturgical instruments; liturgical vestments following the model of Harris; traditional marriage practices, with preachers having only one wife; government by “twelve apostles”; self-supporting preachers chosen from within the local congregation. The elderly Ahui is still the active spiritual head of the church.

There was a growth of “prophetism”—a kind of third way between traditional religion and the mission-planted churches. The phenomenon has occurred constantly since Harris’s time in areas touched by his influence: in Dida country by Makwi, almost parallel with Harris; by Aké among the Adjuku and Abbey in the 1920s; by the prophetess Marie Lalou and the Déima movement following the 1940s, along the northern edge of the areas influenced by Harris; Adai among the Dida in the 1940s; Papa Nouveau among the Alladian in the 1950s; Josué Edjro among the Adjuku in the 1960s; Albert Atcho, from within the Harrist tradition, serving all of the lagoon peoples. Although Harris is a partial inspiration for the phenomenon, none of these leaders had the authentic Christocentrism of the prototype. Though the movements maintain a certain continuity, there is also a constant movement from them into Christ-centered communities. In Ghana, the prophet-healing accents of the Church of the Twelve Apostles places it somewhat in the same lineage, dating back to two of Harris’s actual disciples, Grace Thanni, who accompanied Harris from the Gold Coast, and John Nackabah.

A further result of the grassroots religious shift—coupled with the failures of the missions and churches to follow through (lack of staff, Western piety and disciplines, refusal to recognize polygamy) with the clan of Harrists—is found among the many post-Harris autonomous “spiritual” churches of Ghana and Liberia in an evolving popular African Christianity.

An openness to modernity is striking. The opposition of the coastal peoples to the education of their children by the Western colonial schools was broken by Harris, who insisted: “Send your children to school.” In September 1915, less than a year after Harris’s arrest at the initiative of Lieut.-Gov. Angoulvant, the latter wrote:

> At Jacquelle [on the Alladian coast where Harris ministered] the excellent upkeep of the village struck me again. But what I noticed most was the enthusiasm with which the children came to the school which I had just opened. And the great desire that they show for instruction once they have a trained and zealous master like the one I sent them. No school has ever had such success. And it was the chief of Jacquelle himself who furnished the building free of charge until the administration can furnish one.\(^{13}\)

Those children and the many who followed in numerous other places were among the first cadres of an independent Ivory Coast in 1960: ministers of state, ambassadors, legislative deputies, directors of societies, and so forth.

There was a general climate of peace and cooperative submission along with a deep inner rejection of colonialism with its brutal “pacification” prior to Harris and its conscription and forced labor after Harris. This climate, nourished by the important new autonomous religious grassroots constituted a particular kind of nationalism, which led to “independence with France” under President Felix Houphouët-Boigny, and made a significant contribution to the base of the modern-day so-called miracle of the Ivory Coast.\(^{14}\) More than one well-informed observer has noted the relationship between the impact of Harris and the contemporary scene in the Ivory Coast, characterized by the African accents of hospitality and dialogue, and by an absence of social and political violence. The president himself, in an early address to the national assembly, indicated his own awareness of the heritage from Harris that had preceded his own work.

**Observations about the Prophet Harris’s Missionary Strategy**

In the measure that Harris had a very simple message, insisted on an African church, exploited indigenous values and structures, and respected traditional family structures, one could say that his strategy of African evangelization and church planting was very much that advocated by Blyden, the erstwhile Presbyterian minister who had given up his ministry and his hope for Western missions while retaining his faith in Christ and in the “God of Africa.” At one point in his thought, Blyden felt that Christanity in its initial impact upon “heathenism” should be quite similar to Islam in its simplicity of message, symbols, and ritual and in its adaptability to Africa. After an initial implantation, faith could deepen through Christ into a fuller understanding of the African God, even as Islam itself could be such a stage forward to the fullness of the gospel. It was a strategy not unlike that of the present-day Church Growth school with its terminology of “discipling” and “perfecting.”\(^{15}\) However, beyond Blyden the sophisticate, Harris understood that the issue was not just that of simplicity, but rather, of power. Indeed many have insisted upon a break with the old powers as a crucial factor in evangelism in Africa. Islam has often effected that break, but has not yet fulfilled in any massive way Blyden’s hope for it in Africa. Harris in a similar way with Christocentric hope, symbolism, and congregation fulfilled the strategy from two points of view. First,
Christianity in the lower Ivory Coast is rooted in African soil and it is African Christianity despite heavy Wesleyan Methodist and Roman Catholic overlords. Second, as Capt. Paul Marty observed in 1922, where Harris had left his mark Islam would probably have no appeal. The important presence of Islam in the lower Ivory Coast is due not to its influence among the coastal populations, but to the massive immigrations to the prosperous south from upper Ivory Coast and the countries to the north, especially under the effects of French colonialism.

The new dimension in Harris's strategy was the administration of baptism immediately following the shift growing out of the power-confrontation; this was to keep people from returning to the old powers—a preventive measure. It was Trinitarian Christian baptism even if the people did not grasp that meaning. Father Joseph Hartz at Grand Bassam wrote: "One day I asked him not to baptise. He therefore brought hundreds of people to me to baptise myself. Upon my request to wait until instruction should have made of these people souls capable of grasping the character of Baptism, he answered me, 'God will do that.'" If one were to critique the strategy, positively or negatively, it must be done at this point.

In the measure that Harris accented the Sunday Sabbath-keeping as a continued sign of a break with the past, introduced prayer as a replacement for sacrifices, used the Bible in the chapel as a replacement for the collective fetish of the village, introduced new festivals to replace the old, he was simply carrying out a standard Episcopal pattern that he had seen and practiced among his own people in the Cape Palmas area. The new dimension in the strategy was the maintenance of the traditional music with a transformation of the words, rather than the introduction of a new and foreign hymnology, though his own favorites included "Lo, he comes on clouds descending," "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah," and "What a friend we have in Jesus." The use of calabash and dance was a part of that strategy, despite the ambiguities implicit in their maintenance. But it was crucial for a people in a tradition of orality, and Harris did not see literacy as a prerequisite to faith.

Harris's strong awareness and expression of the power of the Holy Spirit and the Spirit's gifts (foresight, prediction, healing, exorcism, tongues, trance-visitations, empowerment of the word, wonders) was an appropriation of his own, of an important biblical and apostolic reality, which had been nurtured by a deep biblical culture begun under the influence of the Methodist John C. Lomrie. But with Harris the expression of those powers had its own African color and shape for which he had no other visual prototypes than the traditional "country doctors."

In the measure that he was driven by an eschatological urgency, confirmed by the "Armageddon" of World War I, and had himself become the point of power-confrontation in a major messianic breakthrough oriented to a kingdom of peace, Harris was involved in a quite un-African strategy influenced by the Russellite writings on the kingdom of God and the need for an Elijah-people to proclaim and live it faithfully until the end, despite opposition from political or ecclesiastical powers. The Protestant missionary milieux he had known had given him an immunity from this New Testament virus, which he caught from the sectarians.

Indeed, the Harris strategy, like the legacy, was a synthesis of many strands. But the legacy, unlike the strategy, has not maintained the central dynamic.

Notes

8. Hayford, William Waddy Harris, pp. 16-17.

Writings about William Wadé Harris

Doctor of Missiology Degree in North American Theological Schools

In June 1986 the Association of Theological Schools (ATS) in the United States and Canada approved the standards for offering the Doctor of Missiology (D.Miss.) as a professional degree that requires the Master of Divinity (M.Div.) for admission. This action was based on the following introduction and standards established for the degree.

Introduction

The Doctorate of Missiology (D.Miss.) is a degree that has a tradition of more than half a century, particularly among Roman Catholics. The Gregorian University has granted this degree since the founding of its faculty of Missiology in 1932 and the Urban College since the establishment of its Missiological Institute in 1933. Congruent with the European tradition, the D.Miss. at both universities is a research degree. The fact that in the Roman Catholic church missiology is related to the work of missionary orders, however, gives to the Doctorate of Missiology a "professional" dimension inasmuch as most of its candidates are missionaries.

Elsewhere in Europe and North America, missiology has been a discipline within the theological encyclopedia. As such, it has been part of the regular curriculum of free-standing or university-related theological schools since the nineteenth century. Missiology has been a track or major in the Doctorate of Theology and Doctorate of Philosophy degrees since the last decades of the nineteenth century. Even the Kennedy School of Missions, which was founded in 1911 in response to the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland, did not offer a Doctorate in Missiology as such, but rather the Ph.D.

The situation in the United States changed dramatically when Fuller Theological Seminary founded a School of World Mission in 1965. Borrowing from both the Roman Catholic research-oriented tradition and from the North American professional-oriented tradition of the Doctorate of Education (Ed.D.), Fuller's School of World Mission launched a D.Miss. in the early seventies. Since then, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School has started both a School of World Mission and a D.Miss. Other theological schools with similar faculties of world mission are planning to follow suit. Thus the D.Miss. has become an advanced-degree program with the primary purpose of preparing persons for cross-cultural ministries. This purpose is reflected both in the conceptualization and in the structure of such programs.

At its June 1985 meeting, the American Society of Missiology endorsed the D.Miss. as a two-year, post-M.Div. professional degree for missionaries interested in advanced training in cross-cultural ministries, including research and teaching. The ATS Committee on Standards views the degree as being professional in orientation. The following standards are parallel to those for the doctorate in education (Ed.D.).

I. Program Goals

The Doctor of Missiology (D.Miss.) is a professional degree which is designed to prepare persons for denominational/interdenominational leadership roles in specialized cross-cultural ministries both in North America and around the world, as well as for teaching. While the primary thrust of the program is professional, it should include theological and theoretical foundations as well as training in research skills.

II. Program Content and Duration

A. Content

1. The program shall include the following:
   a) the appropriate advanced-level theological disciplines which undergird doctoral-level study of ministry across sociocultural boundaries;
   b) the social-science components (anthropological cross-cultural, contextual) inherent in cross-cultural ministry both in North America and around the world;
   c) the appropriate area study and cognate discipline of world religions.

2. Language requirements will ordinarily include at least one field language other than English and such other languages as are required to complete the research program.

3. The program shall include the completion of a culminating dissertation research project, or report of field research which demonstrates a high level of research skill applied to a problem in the field.

B. Duration

The program will ordinarily involve at least two years of full-time study in missiology beyond the M.Div. or its equivalent.

III. Resource Requirements

A. Students

Admission to the D.Miss. program shall be based on the possession of an accredited M.Div. degree with a record of above average achievement therein. At least two years of appropriate field experience are also required. Equivalency shall be measured by the educational program content of the Master of Divinity degree.

B. Faculty

There shall be faculty members with cross-cultural experience who are specialists in the field of missiology, including a sufficient number of faculty in the supporting foundational cognate disciplines which are integral to the D.Miss. program, such as the appropriate social sciences. Faculty shall have proven competence in teaching and research, with a record of publication and be currently involved in research.

C. There shall be ready access to sufficient library resources in missiology and related disciplines to enable the program to achieve its stated goals for education at the professional doctoral level.

Further information may be obtained from the Association of Theological Schools, P. O. Box 130, Vandalia, Ohio 45377-0130, U.S.A.

Notes


October 1986
**Proclaim the Good News: A Short History of the Church Missionary Society.**


In just under 300 pages of text Jocelyn Murray has given us a highly readable account of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), beginning with its founding in 1799 and ending with the Iranian crisis in 1980. By any reckoning the CMS has been one of the most influential of missionary societies during the past 200 years. To compress that long and variegated story into such a brief compass is a daunting undertaking.

Murray unfolds the CMS history more or less chronologically and by geographical regions. Within that framework we meet the leading personalities of the times—prominent missionaries and layleaders, plus the bishops who had so much to do with the official relations affecting Anglican missionary work. Special attention is given to the role of women from the earliest years onward and to the largely neglected, but strategically indispensable, contribution of indigenous evangelists and pastors to the planting and expansion of the church.

The CMS never had a David Livingstone or an Alexander Duff—outstanding missionary figures who molded the reputations of their societies through heroic contributions. Instead, argues Murray, the CMS character was shaped by two personalities, both administrators. What Henry Venn did for the CMS in the nineteenth century, Max Warren repeated in the twentieth. Both provided strong and firm guidance during crisis years, clarified the approach to missionary work in their respective eras, and inspired great confidence through visionary leadership. Both Venn and Warren were influential far beyond the confines of the Anglican communion.

While this history of the CMS is important in its own right, it surely speaks to the wider scene as well. In the first place, Murray portrays the CMS interacting with and responding to the sociopolitical forces of the day—from the heyday of imperialism to the onrush of political independence for the nations of Asia and Africa in the period following World War II. Especially effective is her account of the turbulence in pre-independent East Africa. Murray’s own long experience as a CMS missionary there and her subsequent doctoral studies in African history give this section added vitality.

Second, the CMS experience is coextensive with the modern missionary movement. The CMS was one of the first societies organized in response to those early stirrings of interest around 1800. The ebb and flow in mission work falls into a familiar pattern until about 1914. Then a fundamental cultural and political realignment begins after World War I. The final fifteen years of this CMS history show the society struggling valiantly to get its bearings in a changed world.

During these years the numbers of missionaries in active service steadily declined while financial support, in real terms, fell sharply. This is, of course, not an isolated case. Rather, in the CMS story we see how vulnerable and fragile a missionary society’s existence is. The message is “adapt or perish.” The book ends with the CMS leadership seeking to make a successful adaptation to meet a still unclear future.

—Wilbert R. Shenk

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**The Bible and People of Other Faiths.**


There are two debates going on at present in Christian circles about other faiths: one concerns the Christian theology of religions, what status and value other faiths ought to have in Christian eyes; the other concerns the

Christopher Lamb, an Anglican priest, served as a missionary with the Church Missionary Society in Pakistan from 1969 to 1975. He is now coordinating the BCMS/CMS Other Faiths Theological Project, which aims to further Christian witness and ministry to Asians in Britain.
proper behavior Christians should adopt toward people of other faiths, especially in dialogue.

Wesley Ariarajah, director of the World Council of Churches' Program on Dialogue, sets out to relate these two debates to each other by means of a review of the biblical material that might be brought to bear on them. Compared with the most recent attempt from the Church of England to do something similar (Towards a Theology for Inter-Faith Dialogue, Church Information Office, 1984), I would judge his offering seriously unbalanced. He claims that "the discussion must focus not on isolated verses of the Bible but on the overall teaching of the Bible," but also that "all views on this and similar questions are based on a selective approach to the Bible" (pp. xiv, 58). He admits being "selective in referring to biblical passages in my attempt to plead for a new way of relating to people of other faiths," but then accuses some "branches of theology" of developing the claim that "Christ is the 'full,' 'final,' 'ultimate,' and 'decisive' revelation of God" by a "selective treatment of the scriptures" (pp. 58, 64). He does not expound the reasons for rejecting this claim except to say that "here we are not dealing with absolute truths, but with the language of faith and love," which must, it seems, be relativized when it comes to dialogue. Indeed, "such claims to absolute truth lead only to intolerance and arrogance" (p. 27).

It seems to me that Ariarajah has confused the two debates we are engaged in. Certain beliefs are to be rejected because (allegedly) they have certain results. I think he is wrong on both counts.

—Christopher Lamb

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Donald MacInnis is Coordinator for China Research, Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, Maryknoll, New York.

October 1986

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expansion of Christianity has thus remained a specialty for the missiologist, not in the mainstream of American history."

He is right, of course, but incorrect in one respect: Catholic missions are even less studied than Protestant missions, and they, too, were "significant actors" in the China scene, enrolling more converts by far than the Protestants.

One could argue, however, that the Protestants made a larger impact in certain kinds of endeavor: higher education, for example, or the publishing of Christian tracts and other kinds of literature. This volume documents the nineteenth-century efforts of the early Protestant missionaries in translation, writing, and publishing.

Most of the missionary publications described here are in the Chinese language. Since Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary, came in 1807, and China was not opened to foreigners until 1842, the early missionaries began their work among Chinese emigres in southeast Asia. It was there that they studied the language, recruited Chinese colleagues, and began their work of translation, writing, and printing.

Tracts were the main product of those early efforts, and it was a tract by Liang Fa, a convert, that led to the conversion of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, the founder of the Taiping Rebellion. Liang Fa's work is analyzed by P. Richard Bohr.

In addition to tracts, Bible translation, and other Christian writings, the early Protestant missionaries wrote and published in Chinese on a wide range of secular subjects. E. C. Bridgman's Short Account of the United States of America, and the publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge are examples. Chinese intellectuals, educated in the classics, were the target for books and essays on everything from astronomy to modern agriculture. One of the most prolific of the early missionaries was Karl Gustlaff, a missionary entrepreneur who wrote and published in three languages: Chinese, English, and German. His work is described by Jessie G. Lutz and Fred W. Drake. Evelyn Rawski asks and answers the question: What values did Christian missionaries transmit through their elementary schools? Daniel Bays has two chapters, one on the early Christian tracts, and the other describing parallels between Chinese

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—Gerald H. Anderson
Director of Overseas Ministries Study Center
Doing Theology in a Divided World (Papers from the Sixth International Conference of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians, January 5-13, 1983, Geneva, Switzerland).


The twenty-six essays in this volume cover the purpose and goals of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians; case histories of struggle from the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Sri Lanka, Sweden, and Canada; contributions toward analysis of oppression from South Africa, Brazil, the United States, and Africa; reflections on theological development from Germany; constructive essays toward some theological reformulation from black America, France, India, Nigeria, and radical white America; some concluding essays reflecting on the process, and a final statement of the conference participants, which reads like an agenda for the future.

This sixth conference of the Third World Theologians from various continents and churches, who first began to meet in 1976, was the first one to which some first-world theologians were invited. It is evident that this was only a tentative beginning because those invited were those already deeply involved in liberation movements, social justice and peace initiatives, and liberation theology. Moreover, in the essays they remain discreetly the invited guests of the third-world group, and are careful not to usurp the limelight.

Two common traits that mark the whole collection of essays are the fact that they are shaped by the process of the conference, which gives them substantial unity as a book, and the fact that with one or two exceptions each author draws reflections autobiographically out of personal experience of en-
gage me in liberation struggles. This adds greatly to the liveliness of the whole.

One drawback is the brevity of most of the contributions. It is not accidental that the most satisfying essay is also the longest—the reconstructive theological essay of Samuel Rayan of India. In any case, there is much to be learned from the collection.

—Monika K. Hellwig

History of Christianity in India. Volume I: From the Beginning up to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century (1542).


This volume is a major contribution to historical scholarship, not only for those interested in the development of Christianity but also for anyone desir-


When completed, the projected three volumes, of which this is the first, will be the first modern multivolumed history of Philippine Christianity. The author has aimed at writing a history of Christianity’s impact on Filipinos rather than a history of the institutional church (p. iii), though his sources are necessarily Spanish accounts. After a chapter on pre-Hispanic religion, three chapters narrate in detail early contacts between Spaniards and Filipinos, and a concluding one discusses Filipino responses to colonization and evangelization. The terminal date of 1590, the author estimates, saw about 250,000 baptized Christians.

The book is solidly based on primary, if published, sources, as bibliography and notes indicate. Sitoy has worked diligently to reconstruct the story not only of Christianization but of the Spanish conquest in whose context it took place. His analysis of the documentation is generally careful and sound. The missionary effort is treated with critical sympathy, with particular attention to the forthright negative judgments of the missionaries on the justice of the conquest.

Some historians may interpret differently the nature of pre-Hispanic belief in a Supreme Being or the extent of acceptance of Islam. The statement that the power of the Filipino upper classes was broken by the Spaniards (p. 262) needs nuance. Moreover, in his efforts to put evangelization in its context, the author has given such detail on the early voyages and settlement that he has indeed written the best general history of that period. But in consideration of a projected three volumes, it seems disproportionate to devote a whole volume to background and what were only the beginnings of Christianization. Even so one still misses any extended discussion of methods of evangelization and their effectiveness, or of the positions taken by the Synod of 1582 on Filipino rights and on the respect due to indigenous social structure. Both of these arguably influenced conversions and molded the shape of the future Christian community. Perhaps the subsequent volume will deal with these topics, since the terminal date of this seems more determined by its being the end of the first phase of the conquest than of a stage in Christianization, which had still to begin in large sections of the country.

These observations should not obscure the sound factual foundation that has been laid for the story of Filipino Christianity. The sympathy with which this Protestant historian has written an essentially Catholic story promises well for the subsequent volumes.

—John N. Schumacher, S.J.

Confronting apartheid

This close look at the churches and apartheid conveys a message which goes far beyond South Africa and raises ethical issues that concern Christians everywhere. While focusing on an international moral problem of immense proportions, it addresses fundamental questions of the church-state relationship and the difference between good and bad governments. The book contains the primary documents concerning an annual nationwide day of prayer first held June 16, 1985 in South Africa to commemorate the sixteenth anniversary of the bloody attack on Soweto. The call to prayer was issued by a group of South African Christians under the leadership of Allan Boesak.

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In his pioneering study, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (1952), Roland Oliver measured primarily missionary impact on the state and the mission’s political role in the post-World War I period. Hansen in this monumental case study adopts both a narrower and a more comprehensive view.

The senior lecturer and associate professor of African Studies at the University of Copenhagen confines his study to Uganda and to the work of the Anglican CMS (Church Missionary Society) there. His major finding is that patterns of church-state relations were set during the formative 1890–1925 period of colonial rule. He broadens the analysis to include all points of contact between church and state, and finds that government impact on church policy and policy-making was as significant in Uganda as the mission’s impact on the state.

Hansen bases his study primarily on data from unpublished documents in state and church archives in Uganda, some of which later were lost irretrievably in the Ugandan turmoil.

The author documents the close collaboration that took place in the 1890s between the CMS and the colonial state in extending their influence throughout Uganda. Chiefs and sub-chiefs were selected because they were Protestant or Catholic, according to the religious group given favor in each district. Mission lands and rights to tenant labor were material benefits bestowed on the mission.

Instead of “secularization,” Hansen chose the interpretive concept of “civil religion.” He relates how colonial officials opted for mission schools supported by government...
Die Konzilien in Lateinamerika.
Part I: Mexiko 1555–1897.


Part I of the history of Latin American councils has been under Willi Henkel’s care and he deals with the five provincial councils of Mexico (which until the eighteenth century included the northern part of modern Central America), and the councils of the new archdioceses of the nineteenth century. The introduction about “The Church in Hispanic America” (pp. 1–48) has been written by H. Pietschmann. It begins with a summary describing the archives where unpublished sources can be found (p. ix), followed by a list of the published editions of the councils, when they exist (pp. ix–x), and a short but well-selected bibliography about the subject (pp. x–xvi). The introduction, as a general overview of the history of the church until the end of the nineteenth century, has of need been very general.

Enrique Dussel is President of the Commission for the Study of Church History in Latin America (CEHILA), with residence in Mexico City.
in order to fit into forty-eight pages. However, apparently no use has been made of the new materials presented in the General History of the Church in Latin America (in Spanish, that CEHILA has edited since 1977 and has reached its seventh volume now), which would have allowed a vision with another hypothesis for Latin American history.

In the history of the Mexican councils themselves, Henkel gives an adequate factual description of the events but he does not bring to light any new facts that might come from unpublished sources (except for manuscript no. 266 of the Bancroft Library for the Third Mexican Council). However, what is very valuable is the contribution regarding the councils of the nineteenth century (in Oaxaca, Durango, Guadalajara, and Michoacán), about which in this case the unpublished Vatican sources bring to light events that were unknown up to this moment. In these, as in the other councils, we miss a description of the ec- clesial, political, and social significance of the councils in their respective day in Mexico. One cannot find the church-world relation, and perhaps for that purpose it would have helped to include Latin Americans in the list of authors. To sum up, we have here a most valuable publication in which we cannot but praise the fact that the Latin American councils have been included.

—Enrique Dussel


In this book the prolific Harvie Conn, professor of missions at Westminster Theological Seminary, further establishes his place among the astute, creative missiologists of our day. He demonstrates a grasp of missiological and related materials—past and present—that is quite phenomenal. His writing style is appealing and understandable—a fact that those who have learned from his writings over a period of time will greatly appreciate.

Eternal Word... grows out of lectures given at Fuller Seminary in 1980 but is augmented by much additional material. Conn describes the shift in paradigms ("Consciousnesses One and Two") that have emerged out of the interaction between anthropology and theology in the past. Presently, he sees missions as taking the largest steps toward triadologue among the three disciplines. Building on Eugene Nida’s dynamic-equivalence idea and Kenneth Pike’s tagmemics, Charles Kraft is proposing a new model for theologizing across cultures—that of ethnotheology. Conn sees this and other contextualization attempts as presaging “Consciousness Three.” He proposes three items for the agenda of this triadologue: a discussion of basic paradigms, of myth and symbolism, and relativism.

This book deserves a wide reading. Theologians, anthropologists, missiologists—all stand to be instructed by it. Of course, not all will be happy with the direction of Conn’s discussion. Those who are concerned for “cultural validity” may cringe a bit when they are asked about the implications of their preoccupation with human beings and culture. Those who

David J. Hess人格 is Professor of Missions at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in the School of World Missions and Evangelism there. He served as a missionary in Japan from 1950 to 1962.
are concerned for the integrity of the Bible may demur when, as an evangelical, Conn seems to conclude that in the emerging dialogue the risk of overlooking the insights of anthropology is greater than that of compromising biblical authority.

Conn poses far more questions than answers in this book. But that is what he set out to do. And what he set out to do he has indeed done well.

—David J. Hesselgrave

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Ph.D. 1984. (To be published under the same title by Paternoster Press, Exeter, U.K.)

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This list was prepared by Walter J. Hollenwege, Professor of Mission, Department of Theology, University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT, U.K. It is a sequel to the list of Birmingham dissertations published in the International Bulletin in July 1982. Inquiries for further information should be sent to Professor Hollenwege.
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