Redemptoris Missio

"I see the dawning of a new missionary age," states Pope John Paul II in his encyclical Redemptoris Missio ("Mission of the Redeemer"). Subtitled "On the Permanent Validity of the Church's Missionary Mandate," the 36,000-word document, issued on January 22, 1991, was signed by the Pope on December 7, 1990—the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Decree on Missionary Activity (Ad Gentes) of the Second Vatican Council, and fifteen years after the Apostolic Exhortation on Evangelization in the Modern World (Evangelii Nuntiandi) issued by Pope Paul VI. Reportedly the result of almost five years of work, the encyclical is the most important official Catholic statement on the world mission of the church since the Second Vatican Council.

In the clearest terms possible, the encyclical restates the validity and universality of the church’s mandate for world evangelization, affirming that "for all people—Jews and Gentiles alike—salvation can only come from Jesus Christ." It is a refreshingly positive document, breathing confidence, optimism, and encouragement; devoid of condemnations or anathemas, yet pointing to pitfalls to be avoided.

One of the "most serious reasons for the lack of interest in the missionary task," according to the Pope, is "a widespread indifferentism... based on incorrect theological perspectives... characterised by a religious relativism which leads to the belief that 'one religion is as good as another.'" It is particularly distressing, he says, when people give excuses that would impede evangelization, and claim to find support for their views "in such and such a teaching of the [Second Vatican] Council."

Within the context of the cosmic and corporate character of salvation in Christ, the overall emphasis is on proclamation as "the permanent priority of mission." The aim of proclamation is conversion, which means "accepting, by a personal decision, the saving sovereignty of Christ and becoming his disciple. The church calls all people to this conversion."

Asia is singled out as the territory "towards which the church’s mission ad gentes ought to be chiefly directed." Social sectors worthy of greatest attention are big cities, youth, migrants, and the poor. Inculturation, described as "incarnating the Gospel," is particularly urgent for a "translation" of the Gospel, and must be guided by two principles: "compatibility with the Gospel and communion with the universal church." Dialogue, likewise, is treated positively: there is "no conflict between proclaiming Christ and engaging in interreligious dialogue." But these two expressions of mission "should not be confused, manipulated or regarded as identical, as though they were interchangeable."

Clearly a landmark document, Redemptoris Missio will strengthen and guide Catholic missionary activity well into the Third Millennium. It deserves careful study by all Christians concerned about the church’s missionary mandate, and we provide excerpts in this issue that suggest something of the richness it contains.
Encyclical Letter *Redemptoris Missio*: On the Permanent Validity of the Church’s Missionary Mandate (Excerpts)

**John Paul II**

These excerpts from the Vatican’s English translation of the encyclical retain the original paragraph numbers, but the footnotes are not included. The complete text of the encyclical appeared in *Origins*: CNS Documentary Service, January 31, 1991, and copies may be ordered from Catholic News Service, 3211 4th Street N.E., Washington, DC 20017-1100.

**Introduction**

The mission of Christ the Redeemer, which is entrusted to the church, is still very far from completion. As the second millennium after Christ’s coming draws to an end, an overall view of the human race shows that this mission is still only beginning and that we must commit ourselves wholeheartedly to its service. It is the Spirit who impels us to proclaim the great works of God: “For if I preach the Gospel, that gives me no ground for boasting. For necessity is laid upon me. Woe to me if I do not preach the Gospel!” (1 Cor. 9:16).

In the name of the whole church, I sense an urgent duty to repeat this cry of Saint Paul. From the beginning of my pontificate I have chosen to travel to the ends of the earth in order to show this missionary concern. My direct contact with peoples who do not know Christ has convinced me more of the urgency of missionary activity, a subject to which I am devoting the present encyclical.

The Second Vatican Council sought to renew the church’s life and activity in the light of the needs of the contemporary world. The council emphasized the church’s “missionary nature,” basing it in a dynamic way on the Trinitarian mission itself. The missionary thrust therefore belongs to the very nature of the Christian life, and is also the inspiration behind ecumenism: “That they may all be one... so that the world may believe that you have sent me” (Jn. 17:21).

2. The council has already borne much fruit in the realm of missionary activity. There has been an increase of local churches with their own bishops, clergy and workers in the apostolate. The presence of Christian communities is more evident in the life of nations, and communion between the churches has led to a lively exchange of spiritual benefits and gifts. The commitment of the laity to the work of evangelization is changing ecclesial life, while particular churches are more willing to meet with the members of other Christian churches and other religions, and to enter into dialogue and cooperation with them. Above all, there is a new awareness that missionary activity is a matter for all Christians, for all dioceses and parishes, church institutions and associations.

Nevertheless, in this “new springtime” of Christianity there is an undeniable negative tendency, and the present document is meant to help overcome it. Missionary activity specifically directed “to the nations” *ad gentes* appears to be waning, and this tendency is certainly not in line with the directives of the council and of subsequent statements of the magisterium. Difficulties both internal and external have weakened the church’s missionary thrust towards non-Christians, a fact which must arouse concern among all who believe in Christ. For in the church’s history, missionary drive has always been a sign of vitality, just as its lessening is a sign of a crisis of faith.

Twenty-five years after the conclusion of the council and the publication of the decree on missionary activity *Ad Gentes*, fifteen years after the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Nuntiandi* issued by Pope Paul VI, and in continuity with the magisterial teaching of my predecessors, I wish to invite the church to renew her missionary commitment. The present document has as its goal an interior renewal of faith and Christian life. For missionary activity renews the church, revitalizes faith and Christian identity, and offers fresh enthusiasm and new incentive. Faith is strengthened when it is given to others! It is in commitment to the church’s universal mission that the new evangelization of Christian peoples will find inspiration and support.

But what moves me even more strongly to proclaim the urgency of missionary evangelization is the fact that it is the primary service which the church can render to every individual and to all humanity in the modern world, a world which has experienced marvellous achievements but which seems to have lost its sense of ultimate realities and of existence itself. “Christ the redeemer,” I wrote in my first encyclical, “fully reveals man to himself. . . . The man who wishes to understand himself thoroughly . . . must . . . draw near to Christ. . . . The redemption that took place through the cross has definitively restored to man his dignity and given back meaning to his life in the world.” I also have other reasons and aims: to respond to the many requests for a document of this kind; to clear up doubts and ambiguities regarding missionary activity *ad gentes*, and to confirm in their commitment those exemplary brothers and sisters dedicated to missionary activity and all those who assist them; to foster missionary vocations; to encourage theologians to explore and expound systematically the various aspects of missionary activity; to give a fresh impulse to missionary activity by fostering the commitment of the particular churches—especially those of recent origin—to send forth and receive missionaries; and to assure non-Christians and particularly the authorities of countries to which missionary activity is being directed that all of this has but one purpose: to serve man by revealing to him the love of God made manifest in Jesus Christ.

3. Peoples everywhere, open the doors to Christ! His Gospel in no way detracts from man’s freedom, from the respect that is owed to every culture and to whatever is good in each religion. By accepting Christ, you open yourselves to the definitive Word of God, to the one in whom God has made himself fully known and has shown us the path to himself.

The number of those who do not know Christ and do not belong to the church is constantly on the increase. Indeed, since the end of the council it has almost doubled. When we consider this immense portion of humanity which is loved by the Father...
35. The mission ad gentes faces an enormous task, which is in no way disappearing. Indeed, both from the numerical standpoint of demographic increase and from the sociocultural standpoint of the appearance of new relationships, contacts and changing situations, the mission seems destined to have ever wider horizons. The task of proclaiming Jesus Christ to all peoples appears to be immense and out of all proportion to the church’s human resources.

The difficulties seem insurmountable and could easily lead to discouragement, if it were a question of a merely human enterprise. In certain countries missionaries are refused entry. In others, not only is evangelization forbidden but conversion as well, and even Christian worship. Elsewhere the obstacles are of a cultural nature: passing on the Gospel message seems irrelevant or incomprehensible, and conversion is seen as a rejection of one’s own people and culture.

36. Nor are difficulties lacking within the people of God; indeed these difficulties are the most painful of all. As the first of these difficulties Pope Paul VI pointed to “the lack of fervor (which) is all the more serious because it comes from within. It is manifested in fatigue, disenchantment, compromise, lack of interest and above all lack of joy and hope.” Other great obstacles to the church’s missionary work include past and present divisions among believers and Christian communities failing to follow the model and for whom he sent his Son, the urgency of the church’s mission is obvious.

On the other hand, our own times offer the church new opportunities in this field: We have witnessed the collapse of oppressive ideologies and political systems; the opening of frontiers and the formation of a more united world due to an increase in communications; the affirmation among peoples of the Gospel values which Jesus made incarnate in his own life (peace, justice, brotherhood, concern for the needy); and a kind of soulless economic and technical development which only stimulates the search for the truth about God, about man and about the meaning of life itself.

God is opening before the church the horizons of a humanity more fully prepared for the sowing of the Gospel. I sense that the moment has come to commit all of the church’s energies to a new evangelization and to the mission ad gentes. No believer in Christ, no institution of the church can avoid this supreme duty: to proclaim Christ to all peoples.

To All Peoples, in Spite of Difficulties

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or inactive. What counts, here as in every area of Christian life, is the confidence that comes from faith, from the certainty that it is not we who are the principal agents of the church’s mission, but Jesus Christ and his Spirit. We are only co-workers, and when we have done all that we can, we must say: “We are unworthy servants; we have only done what was our duty” (Lk. 17:10).

**Incarnating the Gospel in Peoples’ Cultures**

52. As she carries out missionary activity among the nations, the church encounters different cultures and becomes involved in the process of inculturation. The need for such involvement has marked the church’s pilgrimage throughout her history, but today it is particularly urgent.

The process of the church’s insertion into peoples’ cultures is a lengthy one. It is not a matter of purely external adaptation, for inculturation “means the intimate transformation of authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity and the insertion of Christianity in the various human cultures.” The process is thus a profound and all-embracing one, which involves the Christian message and also the church’s reflection and practice. But at the same time it is a difficult process, for it must in no way compromise the distinctiveness and integrity of the Christian faith.

Through inculturation the church makes the Gospel incarnate in different cultures and at the same time introduces peoples, together with their cultures, into her own community. She transmits to them her own values, at the same time taking the good elements that already exist in them and renewing them from within. Through inculturation the church, for her part, becomes a more intelligible sign of what she is, and a more effective instrument of mission.

53. Missionaries, who come from other churches and countries, must immerse themselves in the cultural milieu of those to whom they are sent, moving beyond their own cultural limitations. Hence they must learn the language of the place in which they work, become familiar with the most important expressions of the local culture, and discover its values through direct experience. Only if they have this kind of awareness will they be able to bring to people the knowledge of the hidden mystery (cf. Rom. 16: 25-27; Eph. 3:5) in a credible and fruitful way. It is not of course a matter of missionaries renouncing their own cultural identity, but of understanding, appreciating, fostering and evangelizing the culture of the environment in which they are working, and therefore of equipping themselves to communicate effectively with it, adopting a manner of living which is a sign of Gospel witness and of solidarity with the people.

Developing ecclesial communities, inspired by the Gospel, will gradually be able to express their Christian experience in original ways and forms that are consonant with their own cultural traditions, provided that those traditions are in harmony with the objective requirements of the faith itself. To this end, especially in the more delicate areas of inculturation, particular churches of the same region should work in communion with each other and with the whole church, convinced that only through attention both to the universal church and to the particular churches will they be capable of translating the treasure of faith into a legitimate variety of expressions. Groups which have been evangelized will thus provide the elements for a “translation” of the Gospel message, keeping in mind the positive elements acquired down the centuries from Christianity’s contact with different cultures and not forgetting the dangers of alterations which have sometimes occurred.

54. In this regard, certain guidelines remain basic. Properly applied, inculturation must be guided by two principles: “compatibility with the Gospel and communion with the universal church.” Bishops, as guardians of the “deposit of faith,” will take care to ensure fidelity and, in particular, to provide discernment, for which a deeply balanced approach is required. In fact there is a risk of passing uncritically from a form of alienation from culture to an overestimation of culture. Since culture is a human creation and is therefore marked by sin, it too needs to be “healed, ennobled and perfected.”

**Dialogue With Our Brothers and Sisters of Other Religions**

55. Interreligious dialogue is a part of the church’s evangelizing mission. Understood as a method and means of mutual knowledge and enrichment, dialogue is not in opposition to the mission ad gentes; indeed, it has special links with that mission and is one of its expressions. This mission, in fact, is addressed to those who do not know Christ and his Gospel, and who belong for the most part to other religions. In Christ, God calls all peoples to himself and he wishes to share with them the fullness of his revelation and love. He does not fail to make himself present in many ways, not only to individuals but also to entire peoples through their spiritual riches, of which their religions are the main and essential expression, even when they contain “gaps, insufficiencies and errors.” All of this has been given ample emphasis by the council and the subsequent magisterium, without detracting in any way from the fact that salvation comes from Christ and that dialogue does not dispense from evangelization.

In the light of the economy of salvation, the church sees no conflict between proclaiming Christ and engaging in interreligious dialogue. Instead, she feels the need to link the two in the context of her mission ad gentes. These two elements must maintain both their intimate connection and their distinctiveness; therefore they should not be confused, manipulated or regarded as identical, as though they were interchangeable.

I recently wrote to the bishops of Asia: “Although the church gladly acknowledges whatever is true and holy in the religious traditions of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam as a reflection of that truth which enlightens all men, this does not lessen her duty and resolve to proclaim without fail Jesus Christ who is ‘the way, and the truth and the life’. . . The fact that the followers of other religions can receive God’s grace and be saved by Christ apart from the ordinary means which he has established does not thereby cancel the call to faith and baptism which God wills for all people.” Indeed Christ himself “while expressly insisting on the need for faith and baptism, at the same time confirmed the need for the church, into which people enter through baptism as through a door.” Dialogue should be conducted and implemented with the conviction that the church is the ordinary means of salvation and that she alone possesses the fullness of the means of salvation.
Social Concern and Evangelization: The Journey of the Lausanne Movement

Valdir R. Steuernagel

Introduction

The day was over. I tried to sleep, but the images kept dancing before my eyes. It had been a memorable day. To visit the Isiolo people in a semi-desert area of Kenya, and the wind blowing unceasingly, making it very difficult to enjoy life. The dust, a close ally of the wind, penetrated every single corner, but seemed to have a special attraction for eyes, irrespective of glasses. But what is dust in your eyes when compared with the pain of absolute poverty, seen more dramatically in the faces of the many dust-covered children without any decent food to eat, or houses to live in, or beds in which to sleep?

The church in Isiolo was talking about Jesus, the water of life, and simultaneously digging wells for the people to have water to live. The word of the Gospel, in Isiolo, has to become incarnate. The word for “incarnation” in Isiolo is water. There word and water are twins, and as such they enhance two symbols of life: Jesus, the water of life, in whose name life-giving water is given to the people.

Words and symbols may change from place to place. However, in every place mission must assume the language of incarnation. Looking at the church and its mission from the perspective of the Isiolo people or better, from the perspective of the poor, it is rather puzzling why there has been so much conflict within the church and theological circles, in the West particularly, about the interrelation of word and water, word and table, preaching and serving, evangelization and social action.

The Lausanne movement, the main object of this study, is a good example of how much tension surrounds the subject within evangelical circles, and how much it has cost sectors of the present and worldwide evangelical family to overcome the dichotomy between evangelization and social concern.

The Journey of the Lausanne Movement

There is no need to speak much about the importance of the International Congress on World Evangelization (Lausanne I) held in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1974. The history of the event and of the Lausanne movement speaks for itself. The entire movement (which, it could be argued, had its beginnings in the World Congress on Evangelization held in Berlin in 1966) put world evangelization decisively on the agenda of world Christianity and even set the tone of much that has been said about world evangelization in the last quarter of this century. The Lausanne movement was in tune with the Spirit and with its times. It has become one of the most representative points of reference of contemporary evangelicalism. Focusing on the need for opening windows to the world and facing the winds of modernity, it has attempted to understand and reinterpret the missionary task of the church in a world community that has become global.

Lausanne was a congress that became a movement, an event that became a symbol. As a congress, its purpose was to ask the worldwide church to embrace the task of evangelization in the context of a modern, growing, and increasingly unevangelized world. As a movement, Lausanne had to shape its identity and clearly define its goal: to maintain and expand the momentum for effective world evangelization.

The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE) that emerged as a result of the congress tried to establish real and serious continuity to the congress by facilitating a process of networking for world evangelization and by addressing, through several consultations, some of the key issues highlighted by the Lausanne Covenant. The interrelation between evangelization and social responsibility was one of those issues.

The Discussion Within Lausanne

The Lausanne Covenant speaks clearly about a theology of mission that embraces “sociopolitical involvement.” By doing so the Covenant reflects what happened at the congress itself. The congress clearly addressed the need for Christian involvement in the sociopolitical arena and said that in order to be relevant and faithful, evangelization has to take into account the social context and to make evident God’s holistic concern and commitment to justice for all people.

Lausanne’s attention to social concern reflected the effort of North American evangelicalism to reread the Bible in the light of its own growth and public reemergence. This evangelicalism, typified by Billy Graham, had already become widely recognized and accepted. Lausanne’s attention to sociopolitical involvement reflected the British vein of evangelicalism, which, unlike its North American counterpart, has consistently kept alive its rich heritage of social and political involvement. John Stott is a good example of this tradition. But Lausanne went even further to raise issues of social justice and to express concern about “every kind of oppression.” This primarily reflected the contribution of a third-world evangelicalism that was reading the Bible in contexts of dependency, poverty, injustice, and oppression. This evangelicalism, in its search for a missionary obedience, was prepared to

Valdir Steuernagel, a Lutheran pastor in Brazil, is Vice-President of the Latin American Theological Fraternity, and an alternate member of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization.
reevaluate the evangelicalism imported from the North and to face the challenge of becoming contextual. This was a kingdom-oriented evangelicalism, with the Latin American Theological Fraternity being a good example.

If it is true that the Covenant found room for the above expressions of Christian sociopolitical concern, it is also true that the so-called “Lausanne consensus” was a nervous one. The task and challenge of interpreting Lausanne became the real battlefield. How to understand “sociopolitical involvement,” how to relate it to world evangelization, and how far and deep Lausanne, as a movement concerned with evangelization, should go into the subject became key issues. Conflict started very early, indeed at the very moment the task of the Lausanne Committee was being defined.

**Mexico 1975: Defining the Task of Lausanne**

In January of 1975 a meeting of the Lausanne Continuation Committee took place in Mexico City, to elaborate on the future of Lausanne. This turned out to be a difficult meeting. While Billy Graham challenged Lausanne to “stick strictly to evangelism and missions,” John Stott, as he wrote to Anglican Bishop Jack Dain, was “very reluctant to see any network for the specialist

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and exclusive purpose of evangelism,” and envisioned a continuity that “in keeping with the spirit of Lausanne . . . could accept from the beginning that as evangelicals the responsibilities God has laid on us are broader than evangelism.”

In the end, Mexico ’75 said that it was the task of Lausanne “to further the total Biblical mission of the church, recognizing that ‘in this mission of sacrificial service, evangelism is primary,’ and that our particular concern must be the evangelization of the 2,700 million unreached people of our world.”

By aiming to wed a “broader” and a “narrower” understanding of Lausanne’s task, the Mexico meeting left the question open for interpretation.

**Simple Lifestyle! Too Radical?**

In March of 1980 an International Consultation on Simple Lifestyle was called with the purpose of further developing the Covenant’s reference and challenge “to develop a simple lifestyle in order to contribute more generously to both relief and evangelism” (para. 9). By relating simple lifestyle to evangelism, relief and justice, the consultation concluded that none of those aspects could be separated from each other:

So then, having been freed by the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, in obedience to his call, in heartfelt compassion for the poor, in concern for evangelism, development and justice, and in solemn anticipation of the Day of Judgment, we humbly commit ourselves to develop a just and simple lifestyle, to support one another in it and to encourage others to join us in this commitment.

In spite of the effort to interrelate evangelism and simple lifestyle and to express commitment to world evangelization, there was a sense of nervousness with the outcome of the consultation within LCWE. Chairman Leighton Ford regretted the lack of a more focused and direct discussion on evangelism. Donald Hoke, was very clear about his unhappiness:

I feel very, very strongly that we must recognize that we cannot commit ourselves to move forward in every area covered by the Lausanne Covenant. On retrospect, I feel that the Consultation on a Simple Lifestyle was a mistake. There is no clear note issued in their report that we are to sacrifice for the sake of world evangelization.

**COWE: Reaching the Unreached.**

The LCWE Consultation on World Evangelization (COWE), held in June of 1980 in Thailand, was a full-scale international consultation designed to concentrate on “how the unreached people should be reached with the Gospel.”

While some of the working groups within COWE did address the issue of social concern, COWE as a whole did not want to do so. This refusal opened wounds: What is the authority of the Covenant within the movement? Is the whole Covenant still accepted?

The reaction to COWE came in the form of “A Statement of Concern on the Future of the LCWE,” signed by 200 participants, addressed to the LCWE Executive Committee. The intention of the “Statement” was to challenge LCWE to “reaffirm its commitment to all aspects of the Lausanne Covenant,” including those that deal with the issue of justice and oppression, and to “convene a World Congress on Social Responsibility within three years.”

The reaction to the “Statement” was, according to Orlando Costas, “cool and disappointing.” It included an endorsement of the entire Covenant by the “Thailand Statement” and referred the issued to a future “small consultation . . . on The Relationship between Evangelism and Social Responsibility.”

By the end of 1980, the evangelical family was more divided than when the year started. The Simple Lifestyle Consultation was interpreted as speaking too much the language of the “radical evangelicals,” whereas COWE was criticized not only because “social responsibility” had been excluded from its program but also because it was embracing a definition and strategy of evangelization that did not sufficiently take into account the broader definition of mission as articulated in the Covenant. The year 1980 showed that LCWE preferred to take the safe road of mainstream “evangelism only” instead of risking to walk down the streets to the many “Isiolo people,” where water and food are short, poverty grows, and the signs of exploitation, oppression, and injustice are abundant.

**CRESR 1982: Building In-house Bridges**

The Consultation on the Relationship between Evangelism and Social Responsibility (CRESR, June 1982) was the most carefully planned and potentially threatening consultation ever held by the LCWE. The consultation was prepared in such a way that the radical tone of the Simple Lifestyle Consultation would be avoided, a clear relation to evangelization would be maintained, and the “primacy of evangelism” would not be discussed.

In the light of this strict framework, it is amazing how well the Lausanne community received CRESR and the consensus document it produced (the “Grand Rapids Report, Evangelism and Social Responsibility: an Evangelical Commitment”). Elaborating on the relationship of evangelism and social responsibility, the report recognized “at least three equally valid relation-
ships": 1. "Social action is a consequence of evangelism"; 2. "Social action can be a bridge to evangelism"; and 3. "Social action not only follows evangelism as its consequence and aim, and precedes it as its bridge, but also accompanies it as its partner."

Having dealt with the relationship between social responsibility and evangelism, the report moved on to "the question of primacy," affirming that "evangelism has a certain priority" because, at the end of the day, it "relates to people's eternal destiny."

The statement produced by CRESR is impressive for the volume of material that it covered and for the sense of wholeness that surrounded it. Although it became an in-house document that helped to alleviate tensions within the Lausanne movement, it did not become a working tool for those who live at the frontier of life, dealing daily with bare survival, discrimination, injustice and oppression. Lausanne still owes the broader Christian community, as well as the poor, a study process that addresses the relationship of evangelism and social responsibility from the perspective of justice and of those who suffer and whose lives are characterized by an enormous variety of needs—need for the Bread of life and need for bread to live.

CRESR certainly did not say the last word about evangelization and social responsibility. However, it is difficult not to reach the conclusion that, after CRESR, there was a tendency within Lausanne to close the chapter on social responsibility. This is why Lausanne II and the way it would treat the issue of social concern was so important.

**Lausanne II: The Poor Were on the Agenda, But...**

The Second International Congress on World Evangelization (Lausanne II), which gathered more than 4,000 people in Manila, Philippines, in July of 1989, did not have the advantage of being the first. It had to respond to the question of continuity to Lausanne I and, at the same time, to deal with the demands faced by another generation.

The challenge faced by Lausanne II could clearly be seen on the issue of "sociopolitical involvement" and its relation to evangelization. Would Lausanne II endorse, sharpen, and bring up to date the fifth paragraph of the Covenant, or would there be an attempt to stick with it without giving it much attention, staying more in the tradition of COWE than of Lausanne I?

An occasional observer of Lausanne II would say that the poor won a place in the agenda of Lausanne. Two major plenary sessions dealt respectively with "Good News for the Poor" and "Social Concern and Evangelization." Both subjects were pursued in workshops; the challenge of poverty and of evangelizing the poor was always on the screen through media presentations. And two affirmations of "The Manila Manifesto" referred to it: "We affirm that we must demonstrate God's love visibly by caring for those who are deprived of justice, dignity, food and shelter" (A–8), and, "We affirm that the proclamation of God's kingdom of justice and peace demands the denunciation of all injustice and oppression, both personal and structural; we will not shrink from this prophetic witness" (A–9).

In spite of the place of the poor on the agenda there was, for many, a sense of uneasiness and disappointment:

a. The main tone of Lausanne II was the evangelization of the world under the catchword "AD 2000." In this view the Gospel is a programmatic content to be shared, the world is a demographic scenario to be reached, and people are categorized as "reached" and "unreached." The poor receive attention primarily because they are unreached.

b. The poor were seen as the objects of our care and evangelistic effort. Lausanne had not gone through a pedagogic conversion, inspired by the Gospel, that would dilute such paternalism, allowing for real partnership and making the poor the co-agents of their own confrontation with the Gospel.

c. The Lausanne movement has consistently refused to pursue the consequences of what the Covenant calls "sociopolitical involvement," in spite of some attempts in that direction, at Lausanne II.

According to my view Lausanne can no longer avoid entering into a study process that would concentrate on justice and would further develop a theology of the kingdom as the basis for mission. Expressing the uneasiness of many Latin Americans present at the congress, I had the opportunity on the final day to address briefly the plenary and to ask Lausanne to move in that direction:

> It is interesting to observe how much Lausanne II has expressed concern for social involvement as a part of mission. Again and again, the videos have given us the image of the poor and of the work of the church among them. What we have not done quite enough is to push the question further by dealing with what the Lausanne Covenant calls "sociopolitical involvement." I am afraid that by working mainly with the biblical motif of compassion and by interpreting it through the eyes of a liberal and idealist individualist ideology we have produced a "cup of water" tradition, which does not respond entirely or adequately to the needs of many who live not only in the Third World but in the First World as well. The compassion motif needs a companion motif, and that is called JUSTICE: kingdom's justice. . . . May I suggest that the time has come when we have to ask the political and economic questions of our times and to grapple with them within the perspective of our Christian mission. . . . At this point, however, we seem to suffer from a syndrome of cautiousness that paralyzes us. . . . How can we keep silence about millions of abandoned children, about the degenerating poverty, immorality and exploitation in our cities? How can we keep silence about apartheid, drug traffic, nature destruction and the terrible issue of foreign debt?"
Notes

1. Some of the consultations sponsored by LCWE were "The Homogeneous Unit Principle" (Pasadena, June 1977); "Gospel and Culture" (Willowbank, January 1978); "Evangelical Consultation on Simple Lifestyle" (London, 1980); "Consultation on World Evangelization" (Pattaya, 1980); "Evangelism and Social Responsibility" (Grand Rapids, 1982); "Holy Spirit and Evangelism" (Mexico City, 1985); and "Consultation on Conversion," Hong Kong, (1988).


7. Donald Hoke to Ford, July 8, 1980, Folder 12, Box 7, Collection 46, Archives of the Billy Graham Center.


10. Ibid.


15. It should also be recognized that many of those at Lausanne were committed to mission in a holistic perspective and were networking for it at Lausanne II. The Covenant had been too big a blessing to be chained and the Lausanne informal network had become too wide and deeply rooted in third-world soil to be restricted to a narrow and ascetic understanding of evangelization.

16. See especially Caesar Molebatsi's address entitled "Reaching the Oppressed," in Transformation 7 (January/March 1990): 25–27. However, there was an unavoidable sense that Molebatsi was out of tune with the official stance of the congress, even if very much in tune with many participants who gave him a significant ovation.

17. From the writer's own unpublished manuscript.


The Changing Balance in Global Mission

Larry D. Pate

Look at the nations and watch—
and be utterly amazed.
For I am going to do something in your days
that you would not believe,
even if you were told.
—Habakkuk 1:5 (NIV)

Two years ago, if the rapid decline of the communist nations had been predicted, few would have believed it. We are living in times of dramatic change in the global balance of power, changes that hold great implications for the church.

As the map of world political power is being redrawn, so is the map of missionary activity. Whole nations consisting of scores of ethnolinguistic groups are opening to the outside overnight. At the same time, God is raising up new forces from unexpected quarters to join in the missionary enterprise. Just as the Western world is consolidating its political power, spiritual power is shifting toward the non-Western world. Nowhere is this more evident than in the missionary movement arising among the churches of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This essay analyzes the growth and development of this movement.

Current Two-Thirds World Missions Studies

The information reported here is the result of two recent studies of the Protestant Two-Thirds World missions movement. The first and largest was commissioned by the Strategy Working Group of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization in preparation for Lausanne II in Manila. This information was published as From Every People: A Handbook of Two-Thirds World Missions with Directory/ Histories/ Analysis (Larry D. Pate, MARC, 1989). The second, recently completed by the Two-Thirds World Missions Ministries of OC International (formerly Overseas Crusades) was a study of Protestant Two-Thirds World missionaries serving with Western agencies.

We have combined the information of these two studies and statistically updated the information to the end of 1990. This yields a fairly comprehensive picture of the growth of the Protestant missions movement from the Two-Thirds World.

The Dramatic Growth of Two-Thirds World Missions

Our research demonstrates that the growth of the non-Western Protestant missions movement continues to be phenominal. While the growth rate of the the Two-Thirds World evangelical churches is a remarkable 6.7 percent per year, the Two-Thirds World missions movement (which our studies identify as almost entirely evangelical) is growing at 13.3 percent per year. This projects to a phenomenal 248 percent increase every ten years!
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The study of Protestant Two-Thirds World Missionaries serving in the global mission movement has assumed a major portion of the church's responsibility for world evangelism. As of the end of 1990, Two-Thirds World Protestant missionaries comprised 35.6 percent of the total Protestant missionary force in the world! These missionaries are potentially sending agencies of TWMWA missionaries. These agencies were sent a survey to determine if this was the case and to discover pertinent information about these missionaries. Three hundred and seven agencies (70 percent) returned information to us. Of those 307, 86 agencies (or 28 percent) reported Two-Thirds World missionaries among their missionary teams. They reported having sent out 2,402 missionaries fitting our definition. Using statistical analysis, we estimate there are an additional 325 which were not reported, for a total of 2,727.

By comparing the data listed above with some additional data relating to Western Protestant agencies as a whole, the following facts become apparent:

1. The number of Two-Thirds World missionaries serving with Western agencies is not a significant portion of Protestant Western totals. TWMWA missionaries represent only 3 percent of the total Western missionary force of 91,013 (estimated).

2. The vast majority of TWMWA missionaries (92.2 percent) is sent by interdenominational and internationalizing Western agencies rather than by denominational agencies.

3. Western mission agencies have little inclination to send Two-Thirds World missionaries as a part of their missionary teams. Of the 307 reporting agencies, only 86 are actually involved in sending TWMWA missionaries and only 29 are denominational boards. The remaining 221 Western agencies reported no such missionaries at all.

4. A surprising average of 26 percent of the overall funding for TWMWA missionaries comes from the Two-Thirds World. This average is misleading, however, inasmuch as it is mostly due to the success of the larger interdenominational agencies, namely, Youth with a Mission and Operation Mobilization, in garnering strong local support for TWMWA missionaries serving in their home countries. In most other cases, TWMWA missionaries receive only about 1 percent of their support from the Two-Thirds World.

5. Most TWMWA missionaries are involved in long-term ministry. Only 7.8 percent of those reported in the survey are on assignments of two years or less.

6. The number of TWMWA missionaries sent by each agency is not usually very large. Though there was an average of 30 TWMWA missionaries reported per agency, the median was 7. That is, half of the agencies reported 7 or fewer TWMWA missionaries. The average was much higher than the median due to the larger number on the teams of the interdenominational agencies.

In 1990 Two-Thirds World missionaries were 35.6% of the world's Protestant missionary force!

By combining the data on the Two-Thirds World missions movement with the data on the Two-Thirds World missionaries serving with Western mission agencies, we can develop a fairly clear picture of the global balance in Protestant missionary personnel.

The two pie charts of Figure 2 represent the above data for the end of 1990. There were approximately 137,170 total Protestant missionaries at the end of 1990. Of this total, an estimated 46,157 were Two-Thirds World missionaries sent out by non-Western agencies. Another 2,727 were Two-Thirds World missionaries sent out as part of Western missionary teams. Finally, 88,286 were Western missionaries sent out by Western agencies.

This establishes the fact that the Two-Thirds World Protestant missions movement has assumed a major portion of the church's responsibility for world evangelism. As of the end of 1990, Two-Thirds World missionaries comprised 35.6 percent of the total Protestant missionary force in the world! These missionaries are...
not mere statistics. They are living, suffering, struggling, sacrificing, witnessing, and often very effective cross-cultural missionaries, who very well may make a greater impact than their counterparts from the Western world.

A Glance Over the World Missions Horizon

For some time, a number of evangelical missions leaders have been proclaiming the strategic importance of the growth of the Two-Thirds World missions movement. The importance of this movement becomes even clearer when we project the growth of both Western and non-Western missions to the year 2000.

As stated above, our data indicates the non-Western missions movement increased by an estimated 32,919 missionaries from 1980 to 1990, reflecting an average annual growth of 13.3 percent, or an increase of 248 percent per decade. By comparison, in approximately the same period (1979–1988), the Western missionary movement grew at an annual rate of 4.0 percent, or 48 percent per decade. In other words, in the last decade the Two-Thirds World missions movement has grown more than five times as fast as the Western missions movement.

While not so dramatic, the growth in the number of Two-Thirds World mission agencies is also very substantial. Figure 3 depicts the totals from 1980 to 1988, plus projections to the year 2000. The growth rate from 1980 to 1988 was 62 percent. If the growth of mission agencies in the Two-Thirds World continues as it is, there will be 1,971 non-Western mission agencies in the year 2000.

Figure 4 shows the total number of estimated Protestant missionaries projected to the year 2000, both Western and non-Western. As is pictured, there were an estimated 15,050 Two-Thirds World missionaries in 1980, 38,360 in 1988, and projected totals of 48,884 in 1990, 89,160 in 1995, and 164,230 in the year 2000. These figures include estimates of Two-Thirds World missionaries sent by Western agencies as well as those sent by non-Western agencies.

If both the Western missionary force and the Two-Thirds World missionary force continue to grow at their current rates, the majority of the world’s Protestant missionaries will be from the non-Western world by the year 2000. The number of Two-Thirds World missionaries would overtake the number of Western missionaries some time in 1998. By 2000, Western missionaries would be approximately 131,700 and Two-Thirds World missionaries would number over 164,200! This would make the non-Western missionary force 55.5 percent of the total Protestant missionaries.

Will the growth continue at this rate? It is important to remember that a projection is not a prediction. Growth rates change from year to year in various regions of the world. External factors such as economics, politics, changes in religious tolerance, financial exchange rates, and changes in government regulations can dramatically affect the rates of growth in a given country. It is impossible to predict what the true growth rate of Two-Thirds World missions will be in the future. The best we can do is project on the basis of what has happened in the past.

The Road to Cooperation in Global Missions

Historical forces are overcoming the inertia of the status quo in many arenas. Political ideologies of the left are collapsing. The balance of economic power is shifting toward Asia, Western Europe, and the Middle East. Around the world, there is a tremendous spiritual vacuum developing in the soul of mankind. If ever the world needed an authentic Gospel witness, it is now.
The Western and the non-Western churches need to find creative ways to partner in the spread of the Gospel. For it is only when churches are committed to each other as much as they are to the message that the Gospel can carry the moral authority and power the world is searching for. With that in mind, here are some possibilities for church and missionary leaders to consider:

1. **The church must learn to understand itself in a global context.** The Two-Thirds World missions movement allows an opportunity to do that. Missions is one arena in which it has been demonstrated that Christians can work together without necessarily stepping on theological and organizational toes. In addition, there are many important missionary tasks which cannot be accomplished otherwise. Some of them are included below.

2. **Global cooperation in missionary training is vital.** The rapid growth of the Two-Thirds World missions movement is creating an emergency need for adequate missionary training. While there are some excellent examples of Two-Thirds World missionary training institutions, many missionaries are sent to the field with little or no training, while others must wait months or even years for a training opportunity. But sending a missionary without training is like commissioning a carpenter without tools! With the number of Two-Thirds World missionaries promising to multiply three and one-half times during this decade, this is a priority issue for Western and non-Western missionary leaders alike.

3. **Global models of support must shift toward the Two-Thirds World.** There is a trend toward internationalization on the part of Western agencies. Organizations like Operation Mobilization, OC International, New Tribes Mission, SIM International (formerly Sudan Interior Mission), and Youth With a Mission have greatly increased the level of non-Western personnel in recent years.

4. **Informational resources must become decentralized.** A major problem confronting the global missions community relates to the growing demand for collection and dissemination of missions information. Principles of the social sciences are increasingly impacting missionary strategy. Concurrently, the technological age has brought new possibilities for collecting and analyzing data on the unreached. These forces are converging to increase the levels of expectation related to missions information.

   Such expectations are unrealistic so long as the information is so dependent upon North American personnel and equipment, as is the case now. There must be a rapid decentralization of both data collection and analysis of the data collected if the needed information is to be accurate and applicable to missionary strategy by a global missionary movement. Here is an area in which the Western church could supply needed assistance with equipment and training. Those are among the goals of such international agencies as Global Mapping International, DAWN ministries, and OC International.

   This need for decentralization of informational resources is also on the agenda of many non-Western missionary leaders. The Latin American Missions Fellowship (COMIBAM) is an indigenous international association that has done more than any other entity to multiply missionary vision and resources in Latin America. It has recently embarked on a plan to establish national and regional missionary information centers in each country of Latin America. One exists already in Argentina and another is being established in Brazil.

   Western churches and missions would do well to invest personnel and equipment in such centers of data collection and distribution. They could easily become an important stimulus for missionary activity and provide tremendously important information for missionary strategies in years to come. Such centers would become important for the entire global missionary enterprise.

5. **Western missionaries must be prepared to shift roles.** The rapid rise of the church in the non-Western world is changing the roles
of Western missionaries. Many church-related tasks in which Western missionaries have traditionally been engaged will increasingly fall into the hands of non-Western national leaders. As churches grow, they produce many well-trained and capable leaders who are perhaps even more qualified than the missionaries they will replace. Fewer missionaries will pastor churches and carry out evangelistic campaigns. National churches are producing more and more leaders for these positions. Equally important, those churches are producing enough resources to support those new leaders.

Added to pressure from national churches, the Western missionary will feel pressure from supporting churches. As it becomes increasingly apparent to the churches that many missionary tasks can be accomplished as well or better by less expensive Two-Thirds World missionaries, some of their support will shift toward non-Western missionary activities. As a result, Western missionaries will become more specialized in their roles, leaving more traditional "general missionary" activities to Two-Thirds World Christians and missionaries.

Conclusion

The dramatic growth in Two-Thirds World Missions, coming at a time of unprecedented missionary opportunity, challenges the church to redefine its missionary strategy in global terms.

The comfortable stasis resulting from the tug-of-war between communist and capitalist ideologies is over. Suddenly there's nobody on the other end of the rope! As long as there was tension on the rope, we were comfortable. The West could excuse itself from less immediate threats, such as the environment, world hunger, and the economic marginalization of nations. But while the West sits on its ideological posterior staring at a rope gone slack, the needs and opportunities of a world overdosing on human problems await a message with moral authority and hope.

The greatest hope for the human family and the greatest authority for fulfilling its promise lie in the Gospel of the Kingdom. More than ever, that Gospel is now being proclaimed from every people to every people! But the level of hope and impact it carries may very much depend upon how much the church sees itself, and performs its mission, on a global basis.

Notes

2. Pate, From Every People, ibid.
3. In order to be included in the figures related to this study, missionaries had to meet the following criteria: 1. they were born of parents of non-Western ethnolinguistic origin and raised in a non-Western country; 2. they are sent out under full missionary appointment by a Western agency (i.e., they are not local staff members or employees of a mission); and 3. they are working in a language other than their own mother tongue.
5. These should be considered conservative figures. Every effort throughout this paper has been made to select methods for calculations that do not inflate the figures.
6. These figures include data collected on Western agencies as of the end of 1988 updated to the end of 1990 at the 48 percent decadal growth rate reported earlier in From Every People, p. 45. However, figures for TWMWA missionaries have been subtracted from Western totals and added to Two-Thirds World missionary totals. Appropriate adjustments to Two-Thirds World missions totals have also been made where necessary to avoid any duplications.
7. These projections assume the same rate of growth for Western missions as existed from 1979 to 1988, which is 4 percent annual growth. They also assume the same rate of growth for the Two-Thirds World missions that existed from 1980 to 1988, which is 13.3 percent average annual growth.

The Foreign Mission Impulse of the American Catholic Church, 1893-1925

Angelyn Dries, O.S.F.

An article in the International Review of Missions in 1922 by Kenneth Scott Latourette drew my attention to the "marked awakening" of an interest in foreign missions on the part of the Roman Catholics in America.1 Historians of American Catholicism had not particularly made note of that, so I was curious to see what was going on during that period to draw Latourette’s attention. As American Protestant mission efforts during the Progressive Era were closely connected with the Social Gospel impetus, I wondered whether there was a similar correspondence for American Catholics. I also wondered whether there was any reciprocity between Catholic and Protestant mission proponents.

My research took me to twenty archives and libraries that contained material on missions, including those at Harvard, Yale, Union Theological Seminary, and the Vatican. I would like to briefly highlight the fruit of this research on the foreign mission impulse of the American Catholic Church from 1893 to 1925.2

The American Catholic foreign missionary awakening begins against the backdrop of the progressive religious world assembled in Chicago at the 1893 World Parliament of Religions, an event that intertwined social issues, religious unity, ecumenism, and
missions. Paulist Father Walter Elliott (1842–1928), one of the speakers, was rekindling Isaac Hecker’s dream of a Catholic America in the “experiment” of missions to non-Catholics. Elliott and his Paulist colleague, Alexander Doyle (1857–1912), held missionary conferences (1904, 1906, 1908, 1909) that provided the platform and themes for interaction among the mission protagonists examined in my work: the American branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith; Francis C. Kelley (1870–1936), the founder of the Catholic Church Extension Society, which gave financial aid to home missions; and James A. Walsh (1867–1936), Thomas F. Price (1860–1919), and Mary Joseph Rogers (1882–1955), founders of the Maryknoll men and women. As I viewed these people with an eye to their common background—missionary training, experience, or interest—I concluded that the “Americanist” issue for Roman Catholics did not dissolve after the Vatican decree Testem Benevolentiae (1899), but, rather, found new expression in the foreign mission impulse. As it had for American Protestants, the Spanish American War (1898) provided the political circumstances for American Catholics to promote foreign missions. Later, World War I became a watershed for the American Catholic foreign mission impulse. American Catholics then had a relatively good showing at the 1925 mission exhibit held on the grounds of the Vatican.

After relating the interaction of the persons who were instrumental in awakening the American Catholic consciousness to missions, I analyzed the ritual and thought categories of the symbolic structures that supported American Catholic mission understanding. I identified several strands of mission emphases that coexisted in the American Catholic experience by 1925, each of which reflected various anthropologies and ecclesiologies: devotional, scientific, bureaucratic, and reforming. This article will summarize some of my conclusions about the last two approaches to mission. It will close with a highlight of Catholic/Protestant interactions on mission during this period.

Francis C. Kelley, founder of the Catholic Church Extension Society, and James A. Walsh, founder of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society (popularly known as Maryknoll), held several commonalities in their approach to mission. They promoted an optimistic view of American values. They appropriated the economics of capitalism. They held an equivocal view of the role of women in mission and an orthodox theology that accepted the institutional structures of Roman Catholicism. From this common center, Kelley and Walsh constructed two divergent, coexistent strains of mission through their choice of rituals, symbols, and language which they used in mission gatherings, sermons, and mission literature. Two images that capture these divergent themes are the business focus of church construction and the martyr in the wilderness.

For Kelley, an emphasis on building respectable churches in small towns all across America provided a visible sign and form of Catholicism in traditionally Protestant areas. Successful Protestants constructed worthy churches. To establish solid structures in place of shabby buildings testified to the dignity of the Catholic faith and to the adaptability of Catholicism within the mainstream of American life. Kelley also orchestrated the First (1908) and Second (1913) American Catholic Missionary Congresses held in Chicago and Boston, respectively. These events emphasized Kelley’s preference for the grand ceremony, which viewed the church foremost as a missionary organization. Later on, the Extension President would cite the medieval period as the most important era of ecclesiastical history because during those centuries the church became an organization and was not simply composed of individuals, as it had been during the time of persecution and martyrs. Organizations required officers to conduct the business of the group. Officers, who advanced through the ranks in a system of reward, had authorization for particular areas of responsibility. Kelley recognized the importance of “a little red on one’s cassock,” as he shuttled back and forth across the Atlantic to the Vatican with the business of extension and some other non-home mission projects. Clear boundary areas for each person or group were therefore important and were reflected in the defined spaces of the church building and in serried ranks of clergy and laity who attended the American Catholic missionary congresses. Kelley’s approach canonized the system of rank, reward, and corporation during the same pre- and post-World War I period when that military imagery was used to support the regimen and hierarchy present in factories and in the railroad system (Extension relied on the railroad to transport its chapel cars and missionaries around the South and West) as well. With the outbreak of World War I, military imagery in American society also reinforced this structural, corporate vision of the church as the “Army of Christ,” the “Church Militant,” and the pope as the “General of the Army.”

From this ecclesial and cultural foundation came Kelley’s mission apologetic. His extension office was located in the fashionable Chicago Rooker Building and was appointed in grand style. Heeding the advice of board member, businessman, and friend, Ambrose Petry, Kelley intended to pattern a financially successful Home Mission society on the principles of “Thinking Big” with a modern (i.e., business) approach. In the “loose old moorings” of post–World War I America, Extension’s reliance on the system of railroad management and business enterprise could come into its own. The American businessman was the key to a new social order and the new “civilizer” able to repair the ravages of Europe. But Kelley’s use of modern techniques underlined his dichotomous and ambiguous relationship to the “world.” On the one hand, he advocated the economics of successful capitalism and the American “Christian” business ethos to raise money for home missions. On the other hand, his 1913 missionary congress speech condemned “godlessness,” and that “commercialism [which] has absorbed the activity of nations.” The business system had provided a pattern of thinking that fostered a “we” or “they,” God or the heathen, the individual or the church, light or darkness dichotomy. Such dualism would not necessarily find God among the “heathen” nor look for a bridge of common hopes and aspirations between the church and those to be evangelized.

The perception of church as organization and building reinforced allied dynamics for a mission apologetic: a deposit theory of faith fortified by the competitive elements in banking and business and an emphasis on the “artillery, the thunder of Christ’s eternal and unchangeable doctrines,” as Kelley termed it. The doctrine the church received was as clear and immutable as build­

One could construct St. Mary’s Church in rural Tennessee or the kingdom of God along the same principles.
egories, and division, all reinforced by scholasticism. Reason and careful thought controlled the chaos of irrationality, false doctrine, and the "disorganized masses" who represented the threat of Bolshevism and socialism in America. One could construct St. Mary's Church in rural Tennessee or the kingdom of God along the same principles. The missionary did not need to consider the issue of acculturation. Accommodation had already occurred with adoption of a particular set of American values. The missionary simply went in with the materials, the bricks and boards provided for him. The apologetic replicated the church structure, externally in the buildings and internally in the system of rank that guaranteed authenticity of the message and the mission. Kelley saw home missions as a strategic move in the ultimate conquest of the world by American Catholics.

The foreign mission impulse, as developed by James A. Walsh and Mary Josephine Rogers and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, was a reformist perspective that stressed organic, evocative, multivalent images of martyr and wilderness, and affirmed affect, will, diversity, and relationship. On the edge of the institution, held loosely by canonical and structural bonds, the foreign missionary was a reminder of the inner dynamic levels of the church's existence. The Walsh/Rogers ecclesiology, though orthodox in doctrine, emphasized a renewal of American Catholicism based on the dynamics of the early church, especially the age of the martyrs, attention to the Holy Spirit, and a "virile" Catholicism.

The first Maryknoll missionaries, sent to China in 1919, participated in a ritual that synthesized the features of the foreign mission archetype: departure, the crossing of boundaries (both geographic and spiritual), the journey into and struggle with darkness, the potential loss of one's life, and the evocation of symbols (light/darkness, blood/martyr). The pedagogic preparation for this departure introduced the missionaries to sacred objects (the relics of mission martyrs) and stories (the narratives of the life of Christ, martyrs, and other missionaries), all with a strong affective element. These symbols, as well as the CHI-RHO and circle emblem of Maryknoll, were to be the mnemonics that offered information about the wisdom, cosmology, and values of mission life. Such objects and stories put the person in touch with the pristine vigor of the early apostolic and martyr church, invested them with "deep knowledge," and installed within them the sacred power of origins.

The use of the "living martyr" image in the conferences, literature, and magazine of Maryknoll fulfilled a cultural as well as a spiritual need in American society. In a modern urban environment, where all kinds of people, from assembly line workers to intellectuals had experienced a sense of "weightlessness," loss of identity, and deprivation of first-hand experience, the possibility of death by martyrdom made all that one did seem more "alive." "Maryknoll thus presented a way of life that critiqued the dehumanizing elements of modern life. Walsh saw priests especially prone to the routine, boredom, and restiveness of an increasingly bureaucratic society. Against the weakness, "sentiment," relative luxury, and loss of meaning, he offered a robust Christianity. From such conditions in American society, the foreign missions provided an escape and a new frontier.

This ecclesial, cultural, symbolic framework provided the focus for the Walsh/Rogers nuance in the foreign mission apologetic of the American Catholic Church. The missionary came to transform and tame the wilderness, to bring about a civilization that was "not a jungle but a brotherhood," a possibility that existed because the work of God was there before the missionary's arrival. A nascent American Catholic mission theology, incarnational and trinitarian, viewed even "primitive" people as "stamped with the very image of the Godhead" and as "mirrors which reflected the Divinity." The "heathen" and "pagan" were not evil themselves, but "unenlightened." Recognizing the grace of God beyond their own efforts, the missionaries proclaimed: "We come to you because we are persuaded that you have the true God with you." This theological premise, supported by the Progressive Era reform ideas of "elevation," "uplift," and "brotherhood," in turn provided an optimistic approach to evangelization which emphasized compatibility of "native" characteristics with Gospel values: "Orientals are naturally religious"; democratic values among the Chinese would open them to the "brotherhood" of the Gospel.

The heart of the foreign mission formation was the Holy Spirit. The Spirit had brooded over the chaos antecedent to creation as well as over the foundations of the church. The pedagogic influence during the missionary's apprenticeship was this same "spirit of the Living God" who conformed the missionary "to the evangelical model of the true minister of Jesus Christ." Attention to that Spirit strengthened the chief missionary attributes identified by the Maryknoll men and women: "virility," the retention of one's natural dispositions, individuality, generosity, and adaptability.

As heroic soldiers of World War I had become "spokespersons for the national substance," so, too, did the American Catholic foreign missionary hope to become the ambassador of the "ecclesial substance," a nonpolemic, persuasive and engaging apologetic of witness and experience. This mission approach sought not only to "convert natives," but endeavored to be a rhetoric of persuasion for imitation within the home church. The Maryknoll departure ceremony was a small social drama that repeated the life story of the missionary Jesus and the life story of the missionaries who had preceded these particular men. The ritual meant to encapsulate a transformative experience of movement from one condition and culture to that of another, even as it signified the transforming power of light in the darkness, the changing of parochial vision into a worldwide heart and the life of the person into that of a missionary. The ritual, symbols, and categories of thought found in the ceremonies, mission literature, and sermons of Kelley and Walsh thus exemplify two divergent understandings of mission. Kelley focused on inorganic, denotive images of building and army; he affirmed convention, order, form, status, role, and the visibility of the church. Rationality superseded any reference to the Spirit or to other dimensions of the human person. Maryknoll's understanding of mission, based on organic, evocative, multivalent images of martyr and blood, affirmed affect, will, diversity, relationship, and Spirit.

Though contrastive in their mission understandings and apologetics, Kelley and Walsh both made frequent use of American Protestant mission literature and experience. In the theological climate of Modernism for Roman Catholics, papal censure of critical inquiry and the application of scientific thought to doctrine heightened a polemic atmosphere that dissuaded contact with
Protestantism and Protestant thought. But the presence of successful American Protestant mission societies and missions overseas led the above-mentioned men and women to read Protestant literature, note their mission conferences, and emulate their example.

The group having the greatest impact on the development of an American Catholic foreign mission impulse was the Protestant Student Volunteer Movement (SVM). Field Afar (Maryknoll), Extension (Kelley), and Catholic Missions (Society for the Propagation of the Faith) were among the periodicals that cited the large number of students who went to China through the SVM. Field Afar printed John Mott’s reflections on developments in that country. Rogers’s experience of the SVM at Smith College prompted her to begin a Catholic Mission Study Club. Mott’s ideas were partially the inspiration for the foundation of the Catholic Students’ Mission Crusade, a college/seminary organization designed to motivate students to mission action. One of the papers at the 1918 Crusade Convention explained the principles underlying the SVM.

Catholic foreign mission leaders used their knowledge of Protestant missions in three ways: for motivation, for methodology, and for identifying differences between the two religious groups. Citing specific financial contributions given to Protestant mission societies, mission leaders hoped to persuade American Catholics to do the same. Catholics should not think Protestant missions were a sham because the success of their missions led the Chinese to believe that America was Protestant. The director of the Boston Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Joseph McGlinchey, reminded American Catholics that “Those who tell us that Protestantism accomplishes nothing in the missions must obtain their information from antiquated sources containing data that would have been true fifty years ago.” Protestants seemed to have the competitive edge.

The prolific Protestant mission study material in English was a goad to publish comparable literature to educate American Catholics on the need for a mission emphasis. Protestant mission conferences were often in the local papers. Because Catholics had few such conferences, their group was hidden from public view. Large lay involvement in missions was another “method” Catholics sought to emulate. Converts would find something missing in Catholicism with its scant reference to missions.

American Catholic mission writers attributed Protestant success in missions to their economic prosperity, organization, their press, and the “daring, adventurous and commanding nature of the Anglo-Saxon race.” Over against these reasons, the deficiencies of Protestantism were pointed out vis-à-vis Catholicism. Catholics, though they disagreed among themselves, formed a single rival against Catholic propaganda in the foreign missions and exaggerated their mission statistics. In contrast to the stability of Catholic missions obtained from the official sanction of the church, Protestants had no real authorization for their work. Catholic mission work was more arduous than that of Protestants (though it is unclear just how this was measured) and was more demanding of its neophytes. The implication was that Catholicism was a stronger, and, hence, more “virile” religion. And finally, the ultimate difference was that the Catholic missionary had given all in staying on the missions for the course of a lifetime. Unlike some Protestant missionaries who returned to the United States after a few years to pursue something else, the Catholic missionary went “the whole way into the wilderness” by staying with the people for life. Thus the American Catholic foreign mission consciousness was highly sensitive to and partially shaped by its interaction with Protestant leaders and mission thought.

Latourrette did a service to American Catholic historians by pointing to the development of mission activities in the period that spans the Progressive Era. A comprehensive history of American Catholic foreign mission impetus, activity, and theology is yet to be written. My work attempts to provide a seminal framework for the beginnings of that effort.

Notes
3. “Americanist” is the term given to those liberal bishops and clergy who favored a progressive adaptation of Catholicism to American political and social life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Among this group were John Ireland, John J. Keane, and Denis O’Connell. They generally followed the Orestes Browson and Isaac Hecker ideas that championed the democratic values of freedom of the individual, a sense of America as a providential nation, and the advocacy of the virtues found in the American experiment.

“Americanism” is the term given to the set of “doctrines” condemned by Leo XII in Testem Benevolentiae. What some conservative Europeans thought the Americanists were saying became the basis for this condemnation.

William Hutchison has pointed out that the same conflicts over the issue of “Americanism” broke out between liberal and conserva-
There is little interpretive work for this period wherein American Catholic foreign missions are launched. Hence, this bibliography concentrates largely on the primary sources.

Books


Articles


John Hick is a missionary. Readers of this journal who are familiar with Hick’s work may be surprised by this statement. I want to argue that Hick is committed to a form of mission that negates the traditional sense of evangelism shared by most Christian churches. In fact, I want to argue that Hick’s attempt to be genuinely accommodating to the religions of the world ends up by being accommodating to none, including Christianity. One may go so far as to say that Hick has replaced the “Good News” for all men and women with a universal ideology of mythification; it is a mythological understanding of central religious doctrines that will “set one free.”

John Hick’s Proposals

To justify these comments let me first briefly outline the suggestions proposed by Hick. Before proceeding, I would like to make it clear that Hick’s good intentions are never in question. I am dealing with Hick texts in which arguments are put forward and with subtexts within the texts that are not always under the control of the author. Furthermore, Hick’s writings on the issue span nearly two decades and have shifted and evolved during that period. We are fortunate enough to have his most recent thought encapsulated in one book: An Interpretation of Religion: Human Responses to the Transcendent (London: Macmillan, 1989). However, to put his recent thought into perspective it is necessary to trace its genesis.

In 1973, using an astronomical analogy, Hick suggested a Copernican revolution in the Christian theology of religions whereby Christians should “shift from the dogma that Christianity is at the centre to the realization that it is God who is at centre, and that all religions . . . including our own, serve and...
revolve around him." The earlier “Ptolemaic” dogmas placed the church and Christ as the source and center of salvation. According to Hick, these dogmas became increasingly implausible in the light of truth and holiness evident in other religions, as well as contradicting the Christian belief in a God who loves all people. Hence the Copernican revolution marked a shift from ecclesiocentrism and Christocentrism to one of theocentrism, analogous to the monumental paradigm shift in astronomy precipitated by Copernicus. God, not Christ nor the church, should be center stage. Hick suggested that this paradigmatic shift would facilitate a new understanding of religions whereby claims to superiority and exclusivity would dissolve, as would mission. A new era of interreligious ecumenism would dawn.

The fact that God is only known through his particular self-revelation and cannot be divorced from the context of his self-utterance is neglected by Hick. His doctrine of God becomes more and more free-floating, because to anchor it to any particular salvific event would mean privileging a particular group, which Hick finds unacceptable.

To facilitate his theocentrism, Hick had to de-center the incarnation. Basically, Hick’s argument is that Jesus should not be seen as God incarnate, but rather the divinity of Christ should be viewed mythologically. Hick’s definition of myth is crucial and carved at this stage is Hick’s maintaining the reality of God at the center of salvation—although whose God or whose understanding was still a covert theist and that his Copernican revolution did not accommodate to none.

To overcome this difficulty Hick proposes a Kantian distinction between the noumenal world (which exists independently and outside of human perception) and the phenomenal world (the world as it appears to our human consciousness) (p. 246 ff.). The varying phenomenal responses within the different religious traditions, both theistic and nontheistic, are to be viewed as authentically different responses to the noumenal Real. Hence, we cannot say that the “Real an sich [in itself] has the characteristics displayed by its manifestations, such as (in the case of the heavenly Father) love and justice or (in the case of Brahman) consciousness and bliss” (p. 247).

So just what does this talk about a heavenly Father amount to? Once more, the notion of myth saves Hick from his problem, but now it is applied not only to the incarnation but to the very idea of God; and it is further extended to the ultimate realities designated by the various religions such as the Hindu Brahman, or Allah in Islam, Yahweh in Judaism, and so on. Therefore, in Hick’s view, speech about our “heavenly Father” is “mythological speech about the Real. I define a myth as a story or statement which is not literally true but which tends to evoke an appropriate dispositional attitude to its subject matter. Thus the truth of a myth is a practical truthfulness: a true myth is one which rightly relates us to a reality about which we cannot speak in non-mythological terms” (p. 248). With this Kantian distinction, Hick severs any ontological connection between our human language and the divine reality and introduces an entirely instrumental use of religious language. According to Hick, all of the world religions testify to the salvific process in encouraging us to turn away from Self toward the Divine Reality, engendering love and compassion toward all persons.

Within Hick’s pluralist view that all religions are equally valid paths to the one Reality there is clearly no requirement for mission. It is worth noting that the word “mission” is not listed in the index to Hick’s four hundred and twelve page book. Rather, the new mission will now be concerned to break down old views of the relationship between religions and to spread a mythologizing hermeneutic that undercuts all religious truth claims.

Some critical reflections

It is now time to justify the claims at the outset of this essay. It is clear that Hick’s program entails a new form of evangelism. But rather than preaching the “Good News” of what God has done for all men and women through his Son Jesus Christ, a Christian of Hick’s pluralist persuasion will be committed to preaching a universal ideology of mythification. Traditional mission will now be viewed as imperialistic, for each religion has the presence of the divine in more or less equal measure. Each can therefore equally learn from the other, and none should make any claims that will upset this pluralist equilibrium. But how convincing are Hick’s arguments?

I have concluded that Hick’s notion of “myth” is deeply problematic and, ironically, his attempt to be genuinely accommodating to the religions of the world ends up by being accommodating to none.

His notion of “myth” (which has already been subject to many criticisms) is circular. Take the statement: “Jesus is divine.” According to Hick it is mythologically true because it evokes “an appropriate dispositional attitude to its subject matter.” But in what sense can this statement be appropriate, even mythologically, if there is not some sort of truth, other than my-
Hick believes that no religion should make any claims that would upset a pluralist equilibrium.

do not compromise the incarnation in acknowledging God's activity in history. The "Old" Testament's inclusion in the Christian Bible is testimony to this! There is much literature on this point that can be pursued by the reader.

Hick's attempt to use the category of myth to cut away the particularities of the self-revelation of God through Christ is problematic, for there is very little grounding for Hick's understanding of God. "God" is selectively what Hick wants God to be without the control of any authoritative revelation. Matters get worse in his most recent book. Even the doctrine of God seems too particular in that it favors theistic groups; now God must undergo the new mythologizing hermeneutic. It may be pertinent to add that when Hick deprivileges all interested groups (the world's religions), he equally mythologizes all of their ontological claims about the nature of ultimate reality, rendering them disfigured and often portraying them in a fashion contrary to their own self-understanding. Ironically, in his attempt to accommodate the world religions on an equal status, he ends up accommodating none of them, since he can only accept them within his system on his, rather than on their own terms.

This distortion of religious claims, Christian and non-Christian, is reflected in what I believe is Hick's inevitable agnosticism despite his best intentions. Hick is led into agnosticism when he presses the distinction between the Real in itself and its various phenomenal manifestations in relation to humankind. Agnosticism is the inevitable outcome of the trajectory of his flight from particularity: first from the particularity of the incarnation, then from the particularity of a theistic God, and then from the particularity of any religious claim, be it Christian or non-Christian. The outcome of the escape from particularity can only be to nothing in particular!

Hick's sharp distinction between the noumenal Real and the phenomenal images framed by the human mind raises the question of whether there is any proper relationship between the noumenal Real and the phenomenal images. Hick is so concerned to deprivilege any normative or ontological claim made by Christians (or any group for that matter) that he insists there can be no real relationship. He writes: "It follows from this distinction between the Real as it is in itself and as it is thought and experienced through our religious concepts that we cannot apply to the Real an sich [in itself] the characteristics encountered in its various manifestations" (p. 246). This inability to speak of the Real or allow "it" the possibility of self-utterance leads into a cul-de-sac. It reminds one of David Hume's comment on the supposed religious object of mystical experience. Hume writes of mystical claims that the Reality confronted is ineffable: "Is the name, without any meaning, of such mighty importance? Or how do you mystics who maintain the absolute incomprehensibility of the deity, differ from sceptics or atheists?" It is precisely this "absolute incomprehensibility" regarding the nature of Reality that threatens Hick's whole pluralist project in mystifying rather than illuminating the nature of the Real through this Kantian development. Kant had similarly to face the question of how he could claim to know that there is a correspondence between phenomena and things in themselves, and that the latter acts upon our consciousness. One may ask whether Hick's position is any different from skepticism or agnosticism. It would seem that the Real's invulnerability leads also to its redundancy. Only the human activity of turning away from self is left, although with less and less theoretical foundation or revelatory grounding, and without any specificity as to what this "turning away from self" involves.

At the outset, I suggested that Hick's proposals negate the traditional sense of evangelism and actually do harm to the possible harmonious relations between religions. In the above I have tried to show this to be the case. In what follows I will reflect on some of the lessons we can learn from Hick's failed enterprise and indicate some of the implications for mission through these lessons.

Some reflections on mission

John Hick's work is motivated, as with many other Western liberals in this area, by the admirable desire to avoid the triumphalist and colonial arrogance characteristic of much recent Western history, including missionary history. Johannes Verkuyl in this journal highlighted this same cluster of issues and argued that "Self-criticism of Western missions is necessary but it should not lead to defeat and paralysis. Rather it should foster renewal and new initiatives in mission for our situation today." I want to isolate two issues raised by Hick in the light of Verkuyl's comments.

First, Hick's criticisms of Christian theology stemmed from a genuine protest against an a priori condemnation of non-Christian religions. However, many of those in the mission field have long recognized the valuable insights and riches contained in the non-Christian religions. The real task of mission theology is not to provide blanket condemnations or affirmations, but to search for ways in which what is true and good in the world religions can be incorporated into Christian practice and understanding. Such a process is necessary for the church to be truly catholic. This process was already at work in the early church in which the Jewish heritage of the first Christians was employed in the
liturgical and prayer life of the church. As Christianity spread into the Hellenistic world, many of the early Fathers employed the philosophical framework of Greek thought to reflect on the mysteries of Christ. If Aquinas employed Aristotle to help articulate the Christian faith, surely Sankara’s and Ramanuja’s thought-worlds can be used to articulate the Christian faith in India today. And so on. The Gospel of Christ is not a Western commodity and need not be exclusively expressed in Western terms. Gener­uinely listening to and learning from non-Christian religions are part of the mission of the church to itself, to increase in its’ own self-understanding and be called to repentance and growth. Of course, in all this there is the danger of uncritical assimilation, so that an alien framework determines the Christian message. This is a danger but is not a necessary concomitant to indigeni­zation.

Second, Hick reacts to the arrogance, colonialism, and su­periority of some Christian missionaries. Again, such a reaction is understandable, but there is the very real danger of throwing out the proverbial baby with the bath water. This happens when it is deemed arrogant to make any claims to truth that may offend, question, or implicitly criticize a group of people. Strangely enough, Hick replaces one form of "arrogance" with another in that his pluralism implicitly claims a vantage point on truth, so that all religious claims are deemed mythological, whether or not ad­herents recognize this.

Christian mission cannot relinquish the truth: the truth of God’s self-disclosure and the Good News that is spoken to all men and women. However, if mission is to be credible, then the Christian church must rigorously subject itself to God’s Word in its witness to the world. If we preach a God of love and justice and our churches are seen to be characterized by divisions and support of unjust institutions and regimes, then the Gospel be­comes obscured by the bearers of the Good News. Crucified love, in service to the community, is central to mission. If it is seen as arrogant and offensive to oppose the stifling of love and com­munity, justice and peace, then Christians must stand so con­demned. This is not to suggest that the Gospel is purely a social gospel of political liberation, but that social and political liberation is one dimension of the Gospel—a dimension that is only properly rooted in an incarnational theology that takes history seriously. In one respect, mission is offensive—for all systems and ideologies come under the judgment of the crucified and risen Christ. Barth’s condemnation of “religion,” it should be remembered, was applied not only to non-Christians but also to the Chris­tian religion, inasmuch as the only criterion for the meaning of love is the crucified Christ. Many practices and beliefs within the churches will be criticized, and equally it may be appropriate to criticize the practices and beliefs of non-Christians. The latter, of course, can only be legitimate if there is a real understanding of what is being criticized.

I would like to finish with a question. Why are the writings of John Hick and like-minded theologians so popular among many young Christians? Could one reason be that the churches have not been able to crawl out of their imperial heritage, or that when they have done so, there is not enough consciousness among young Western Christians about the life of churches in other countries? Is there enough of the kind of Christian witness and mission that will genuinely call into question the solutions of Hick and show the genesis of his problems to be false?

Notes

2. Ibid., pp. 166–67.
3. Ibid., pp. 172 and 177 respectively.
6. See for instance my Theology and Religious Pluralism: The Challenge of Other Religions (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), chaps. 4 and 5; and the bibliographical guide in chapter 1 referring to some of the major per­tinent writings.
My Pilgrimage in Mission

William A. Smalley

The primary influences inclining me toward mission were my family, childhood experience as a missionary kid, and life in our close-knit denomination. Academic training and other later experience gave form to this impetus. God called, I was born in 1923 in Jerusalem, Palestine, where my parents were missionaries of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, working among Arabs in Jerusalem and Transjordan. My parents served congregations consisting largely of Christian Arabs and some expatriates, but their primary vision was for the conversion of Muslims, for whom they lived, at times, in difficult and even dangerous situations. They prayed year after year for “just one Muslim convert,” but when one man was finally converted he was ostracized and nearly killed by his family.

After we returned to the United States in 1934 my father became an executive in the C&MA, and our family preoccupation with mission continued in different form. Our best friends were often missionaries or former missionaries, and I was greatly influenced by frequent missionary speakers in our churches and at conferences. We were full participants in Alliance culture, which had a very strong missionary component.

This Alliance missionary culture had not yet been modified much by the changes that were bubbling up as the world moved toward and into the post-colonial period. Missionaries remained firmly in control of the churches they engendered. The concepts they held, the way they talked about their task and the people around them, their understanding of culture and of society—all echoed uncritically the Protestant missionary tradition going back toward and into the beginning of the nineteenth century and earlier.

In Alliance perspective missionaries were obeying Almighty God’s highest calling and were especially blessed to have been chosen to lead people of many nations to salvation. Missionary experience placed an individual among the elite and was the surest path to denominational prestige and advancement.

In spite of considerable ethnocentrism and self-satisfaction, Alliance culture was a warm culture, because people loved their fellow members and all who would join its society on their terms. Alliance theology was not sophisticated, but if people could see that someone who differed from them also loved Jesus, they were usually glad. Of course, blinders were often opaque, especially when those others who loved Jesus were Catholic or from a “modderlist” church.

My parents were thoroughly, deeply devoted both to Christ and to the Alliance, but they drew their boundaries more widely than many. My father was also one of the few of his generation in the Alliance to complete a college education, studying on furlough to do so. My home was intellectually more open than some Alliance homes; my upbringing was somewhat less doctrinaire.

Alliance culture was my culture, too, profoundly so. But I did have problems with aspects of it. In high school I was studious and widely read, which made me feel odd, sometimes, in Alliance settings. The anti-science fulminations I heard from some preachers seemed ridiculous, and attacks on Catholics, modernists, and liberals often struck me as bigoted and irrational. These were often supported by interpretations of Bible passages that seemed bizarre to me; their main effect weakened absolutist assumptions about the Bible.

Education

I matriculated in Houghton College in 1941 because it was inexpensive, small, church-related, and reasonably near home; also, the Alliance did not yet have liberal arts colleges. By God’s grace, it was exactly the right place for me for several reasons important to my pilgrimage in mission.

Although a good student in high school, I was somewhat learning disabled, easily assimilating some types of knowledge, but finding others impossible in spite of good study habits and many hours of intensive application. In high school, also, I felt like a religious and cultural alien because of my Alliance culture and shy nature. Although I graduated with good grades, I was left emotionally stressed and wondered if I could succeed in college.

In contrast, I thrived in the warm-hearted college atmosphere in which I found myself. The professors were unfailingly concerned about us. The tuition was low because they served with low salaries, ministering to us. I blossomed academically without debilitating emotional suffering as I learned to compensate more for my disabilities. I was stretched intellectually and spiritually. I easily became a leader, a big frog in a small pond. I revelled in working with my peers.

At Houghton I did not have to carry with me my Alliance wall against worldliness, either. The Wesleyan Methodists who operated the college were culturally even more conservative than Alliance people. We did not smoke or drink or go to the movies, but they made women wear stockings at all times, and some of their more conservative men did not wear ties. The “platform” of the college auditorium did not have a retractable curtain because that would make it a “stage,” and we could not put on “plays,” but produced play-like “programs” instead.

*Characterizations of institutions in this paper reflect the way I remember them at the time described, which of course does not mean that they were altogether that way then, or that they are like that now.

William A. Smalley spent most of his missionary years as a Bible Society Translation Consultant, and recently published Translation as Mission: Bible Translation in the Modern Missionary Movement (Mercer Univ. Press). He is now retired and living in Hamden, Connecticut.
At the School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary, key courses are taught only by the primary professor...even in the summer!

### SUMMER SCHOOL SCHEDULE for 1991

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We welcome students of any race, sex, color, national or ethnic origin.
The Alliance sent us out in 1949 to be missionaries and Bible translators, another open door with tasks that suited me. Our term in Laos and Vietnam was in some ways an exhilarating period of experimentation and learning. My anthropological and linguistic preparation it provides for Bible translation. I found that I could work for a Ph.D. in anthropology at Columbia University and could transfer to it the study I did at SIL. Once more God opened the door for me, this time to exactly the right academic field—anthropological linguistics—even though I then did not know it existed. Studying at SIL I discovered my intellectual niche, and the anthropological training at Columbia gave linguistics a broader cultural context. I became absorbed in the challenge to understand my faith in Christ in light of all I was learning about human culture.

Missionary Term

The Alliance sent us out in 1949 to be missionaries and Bible translators, another open door with tasks that suited me. Our term in Laos and Vietnam was in some ways an exhilarating period of experimentation and learning. My anthropological and linguistic background opened the way to rich experience in several languages and cultures. I saw people responding to God in different ways, both in previously existing churches and in a brand-new rapidly expanding church born from a peoples’ movement. Various missionary reactions to different cultural and social situations also stimulated critical thought about the missionary task.

We had some fine missionary colleagues, but among others—often the most senior people—the prevailing spirit included a mixture of North American jingoism, mission centeredness, and even contempt for local people and culture in general, along with paternalistic love for many individuals in the community around us. The changes I had undergone since my boyhood also had given me a different view of the relationship of Gospel to culture. I felt like an alien in my own culture when I realized that I could not fit into this group. Then God opened another door to associates and tasks that worked more compatibly. I was invited to be a translation consultant for the American Bible Society, and took the opportunity when our furlough began in 1954.

Translation Consultant

My world now expanded dramatically as I consulted with people in a wide range of Protestant denominations. Later, after Vatican II opened the translated Bible to the laity of the Catholic church, I also helped integrate Catholics into Bible translation. As I traveled in different parts of the world, I was blessed by the opportunity to worship in strikingly different churches, with a rich range of people. The Bible societies, furthermore, were seeking to move Bible society work out of the hegemony of a few societies in Europe and the United States into a worldwide network of national societies, and translation consultation was eventually internationalized under the United Bible Societies.

Now I also had to scramble intellectually and professionally to keep up with my new colleagues. Eugene A. Nida, my boss for many of those years, was developing what came to be known as the dynamic (or functional) equivalence theory of Bible translation, and as his colleagues we also struggled with formulating it and applying it to ongoing translations. In 1955 I took over the editorship of Practical Anthropology, a journal devoted to applying some of the insights of the social sciences to the missionary task. Over a few years we published some seminal articles that helped parts of the missionary movement develop a more adequate understanding of culture and the meaning of culture difference. About the same time I also assumed the leadership and development of the Toronto Institute of Linguistics, which met each summer to prepare outgoing missionaries for language and culture learning.

After several years of long trips to Africa and Southeast Asia, we moved to Thailand in 1962 to work more effectively with translators there and in nearby countries. This move gave me an opportunity to see the missionary task from another angle and to engage again in language and culture learning after having taught and theorized about it for some time.

Translation consultants’ primary responsibility is to help translators make sure that their translation of the Scriptures is faithful to the original and both clear and stylistically appropriate to the reader. Some Bible Society consultants are biblical scholars, others are linguists or anthropologists like me, who specialize in problems created by the languages and cultures into which translations are made. We helped select translators, oversaw the organization of translation committees, held training programs, checked translations, did background research, and helped translators solve their problems.

I also sometimes helped translators devise writing systems for unwritten languages, advised expatriate translators on language learning, helped some of them work out grammatical problems in the languages into which they wanted to translate, and surveyed the need and feasibility for a translation in particular languages or areas. At the end I was coordinating the work of more than a score of translation consultants and advisers under the United Bible Societies for the national societies of Asia and the Pacific. Together we were consulting with some three hundred Scripture translation projects in the region. I am grateful to have been able to contribute to the kingdom of God in this way through processes that were often personally rewarding to me as well.

All of this consolidated changes in some assumptions with which I had been brought up. For example, I increasingly came to understand that God’s love for all people meant more than that Christians should preach to them; it also had implications for how I and my society treated them socially, economically, and politically. It had implications for how we valued them as human beings, how we valued some of the ways they differed from us, and what they could teach us. I also came to realize that although our own culture was no better and no worse in itself than any other culture, the enormous economic, military, and political power of our country magnified our sins to the detriment of the whole
world far more than did the sins of any other people. It seemed especially ironic that we often expected Christians of other countries to imitate our secularized and materialistic way of life as their model for imitating Christ.

One by-product of my Bible Society work was that my opportunity to supervise Bible translation into many radically divergent languages sharpened my understanding of the human side of the Bible. I saw how inexact and relative all languages are—both the languages in which the Bible was originally written and those into which it has been translated. I began to realize, furthermore, that complex and rich documents such as the Bible can be translated effectively into widely differing languages only because language is so loose, flexible, and adapted to each culture in which it is spoken. Languages have to be inexact and relative, for example, to express ideas through figures of speech and other cultural comparisons, and for meanings developed in one culture to be filtered through the different ways of thinking prevalent in another culture.

After twenty-three years in Bible society work, however, I came to realize that it was time to leave. The schedule had been grueling. I began to take more seriously the toll my long absences had taken on Jane. Beyond that, the anthropological, linguistic, and missiological creativeness to which I had been encouraged in the early years had gradually been constricted to translation matters alone by new Bible Society leadership. I also felt stale and needed a fresh challenge.

Mission in America

I resigned in 1977 without prospect of employment. No door was open this time, posing a greater challenge to our faith than the earlier easy transitions had been. We sold our house and moved into a low-rent apartment; Jane easily found a secretarial position. I looked for work on two levels—a college teaching position or something comparable and a temporary job of any kind to help pay the current bills. It looked as though cross-cultural mission was over for us.

In this experience I sensed institutional injustice in our country more than I ever had before. In my search for a job on both levels I was also “overqualified.” It took weeks of answering ads and looking up store managers to find someone secure enough to take on a fifty-four-year-old Ph.D. at the minimum wage. I was finally hired as a clerk in a discount toy store, in a world which I had never experienced before, with people of minimal education.

It was a time of learning, growth, and liberation for Jane and me, shielded as we were from the most adverse aspects of the experience by believing that it was temporary, that we were not trapped in it. Most of my fellow workers, on the other hand, were on a treadmill, representative of the working poor with no hope of ever making much more than the minimum wage. When I finally did get an academic position in 1978 it came through a friend and former colleague, through an “old boy” network such as they could never tap.

Once again God opened a door to something that perfectly suited us, this time in ways we had never previously imagined. When we moved to Minnesota in 1978, and I began teaching in a college, we unexpectedly found ourselves in the midst of thousands of Hmong refugees, people from one of the ethnic groups with which we had superficial contact both in the days when we lived in Laos nearly thirty years before, and with whose translators I had later consulted.

Even though we had never worked as missionaries directly with Hmong people, our past suddenly became the present. For example, we met refugees arriving from camps in Thailand with documents in the writing system for the language which I had helped devise in our days back in Laos. We had prepared the system to make Bible translation and other Christian literature possible; now it had taken on an existence of its own and had become the primary system used for general purposes by those Hmong who were literate.

Jane, especially, threw herself into various forms of refugee assistance. Through her, and through working with and befriending some of the immigrants myself, my understanding of the arbitrariness and unfairness of our country toward the poor grew rapidly, even in a state which has some of the most liberal social service laws in the nation.

Since 1988 I have been retired, living and writing in another part of the country, where my growing part-time volunteer mission consists of attempts to alleviate social injustice, working especially through our church and with the local chapter of Habitat for Humanity. From the viewpoint of my Alliance boyhood I am practicing the “social gospel” that was denounced as the child of modernism. From my perspective, my present ministry reflects the most important theological inheritance I carry with me from those early days—faith centered in Jesus Christ.

“Love God and love your neighbor,” said Jesus. The Alliance of my youth expressed loving neighbor by preaching, by witness, by prayer. I express it for my present ministry more by seeking justice for the poor, the stranger, the orphan, and other kinds of oppressed people, against the norms of our national culture, a theme with which the Bible is saturated.

Thanksgiving

I thank God for such a rich and rewarding life, for Christ who loves me, for a childhood nurtured by loving parents and friends, for the faith they helped to instill in me, for a protective denominational culture when I needed it, for sacrificing teachers, stimulating colleagues, fascinating work, for the opportunity to study, to think, to write, for rich experiences, for enabling institutions, for friends in many countries, for Jane, our children and grandchildren—and for several conversions.

In the Alliance everyone must have been converted, but the type of conversion required of us occurred so long ago in my case that I do not remember it. I do however, remember some subsequent conversions relevant to my pilgrimage in mission. I was converted for example, from denominational tribalism to the world church, and today, although I am an elder in a Presbyterian church I am neither Presbyterian nor Alliance, but simply Christian. I was also converted from being a social conservative to a social liberal, which came as quite a shock when I first realized it. But most important of all, I have been converted to faith in God whose grace is much larger than the God of my youth, the outworking of whose will is more variable, more relative to the human situation; whose acts are more unpredictable, whose mind is not as structured by human assumptions; who is not as limited by denomination; or orthodoxy, or language or culture, or by the Bible.

I wonder to what this God will call me next.
The Legacy of Thomas Fowell Buxton

Andrew F. Walls

Perhaps the most striking of all the monuments and memorials that adorn St. George's Cathedral in Freetown, Sierra Leone, is a bust commemorating a person who never set foot there. It was set up by Africans in memory of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, described in the language of the times as “the Friend of the Negro.”

Thomas Fowell Buxton\(^1\)—he ordinarily used his second name—was born in 1786, the eldest son of a country gentleman. For a long while he combined a business career with managing his estate. He was brought up under both Anglican and Quaker influences and experienced evangelical conversion through the influence of Josiah Pratt, secretary of the Church Missionary Society. He married into a great Quaker family, the Gurneys (Elizabeth Fry, the prison reformer, was a sister-in-law). In 1818 he became Member of Parliament for Weymouth, which he represented until defeated in the election of 1837. Serious illness, increasing in later years, punctuated his public activity; he died in 1844, aged 57.

An Evangelical in Politics

Buxton was a public man by duty more than liking. An effective, but not a brilliant, speaker, he never enjoyed the rough-and-tumble of politics and believed that “good woodcock shooting is a preferable thing to glory.”\(^2\) He never held an appointive government office and was not regarded as a reliable party man either in religion or in politics.

Three concerns dominated Buxton’s public life. The first involved reform of the penal code (in particular reducing the number of offenses which carried the death penalty) and conditions in prisons. This early career built up a lifelong habit of thorough research and mastery of detail.

His second concern was the treatment of non-Western peoples under British rule. Beginning with the issue of sati (widow-burning) in India, he was soon absorbed by British dealings with the indigenous peoples of South Africa. Then came wider questions of the effects of Western colonization on the land-rights and way of life of the indigenous residents.

The third concern was slavery. In 1821 the aging Wilberforce asked Buxton to assume the parliamentary leadership of the anti-slavery cause. Buxton inherited a major project: to gain emancipation for all the slaves within the British dominions. He achieved this long-sought goal only to find it imposed new tasks: insuring that the act was implemented and getting rid of the apprenticeship system, which was the price exacted for emancipation in the West Indies. It led Buxton to his great dream for Africa, his famous book, and the disaster that brought him horror, heartbeat, and premature death.

These matters kept Buxton in public life when he longed for his estate and the woodcock. His selection of issues sprang directly from his evangelical vision. “Whatever I have done in my life for Africa,” he wrote to Josiah Pratt, his old minister, “the seeds of it were sown in my heart, in Wheeler Street chapel.”\(^3\)

Evangelicalism was about “real,” as distinct from “formal,” or “nominal” Christianity. This is instance in the title of Wilberforce’s celebrated book, A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this country, contrasted with Real Christianity. “Real Christianity,” following on the knowledge of sin and the consciousness of forgiveness in Christ, involved a life of ongoing devotion and practical duty. It had an inescapable social aspect, for the whole of society was assumedly, if far from really, Christian. The path of duty thus involved showing society the true implications of the profession it made. Buxton consistently grounded his arguments in the professedly Christian nature of British society.

Buxton was prepared to demonstrate statistically the sheer wastefulness and commercial inefficiency of the slave trade. Self-interest, however, was never a sufficient reason to evade a moral imperative:

> When I come to humanity, justice, and the duties of Christian men, I stand upon a rock... Without doubt it is the duty of Great Britain to employ the influence and strength which God has given her, in raising Africa from the dust, and enabling her, out of her own resources, to beat down Slavery and the Slave Trade.\(^4\)

In all of this, Buxton stands in the British evangelical mainstream. From its beginnings the Protestant missionary movement was linked with opposition to slavery. West African and West Indian experience demonstrated the hostility to missions of traders and planters alike. But Wilberforce and his Clapham Sect associates did not conduct the abolition campaign on the basis of moral and religious proclamation alone. The slave trade was an economic institution, upheld by political sanction; to win reversal of that sanction entailed winning the economic argument.\(^5\) In such matters Buxton is very much Wilberforce’s “heir at law”; his campaigns use the methods of Clapham.

The Campaign against Slavery

When Buxton assumed the leadership of the anti-slavery movement in 1821, the British slave trade had been illegal for fourteen years, and Britain was officially committed to inhibiting slave trading by other nations. But slavery itself was intact in most of the British Caribbean. The island of Mauritius also had it in a particularly brutal form; its legality protected all sorts of indignities and cruelties in South Africa and elsewhere. Few now defended slavery as beneficent; it was commoner to regard it as an unfortunate necessity. But there were strong vested interests, and even more complacency. Many held that things could not be as bad as the campaigners for emancipation declared. Successive governments had their own agendas, and Buxton’s priorities,

Andrew F. Walls, a contributing editor of this journal, is Director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh, Scotland.
even when applauded in principle, did not rank high there.

Part of Buxton’s task was thus the assiduous collection and systematic presentation of facts. His workload was prodigious: the Mauritian case brought on a heart attack. He had to employ parliamentary procedures skillfully; would the appointment of a committee be a useful way of examining evidence, or simply a means of delaying action? He had to maintain pressure to the annoyance of government and party managers, to put his friendships under strain. And he had to build up a body of informed opinion outside the House, and especially among committed Christians. Missionaries played a key part in his campaigns and supplied much of his evidence. The evident hostility of the planters toward them and the sufferings of West Indian believers demonstrated the true nature of the case:

The religious public has, at last, taken the field. The [planters] have done us good service. They have of late flogged slaves in Jamaica for praying, and imprisoned the missionaries, and they have given the nation to understand that preaching and praying are offences not to be tolerated in a slave colony. That is right—it exhibits slavery in its true colours.

After twelve years of motions, divisions, and commissions, the House of Commons in 1833 approved the emancipation of all slaves within the British dominions, Buxton presenting a national petition bearing so many pages of signatures that it needed four people to carry it. But the price of government sponsorship of the legislation was a clause binding slaves in the West Indies to a transitional period of apprenticeship to their former masters. The clause split the abolition movement. Buxton, fearing to lose the House of Commons in 1833 approved the emancipation of all people to carry it. But the price of government sponsorship of the whole measure, conceded apprenticeship in return for a government guarantee of complete emancipation at the end of the transition. (He afterwards concluded that this was a misjudgment.) After the passing of the emancipation act he constantly called for the review or reduction of apprenticeship. He demonstrated—again with missionary evidence—that the emancipated people had behaved with dignity and responsibility, their former owners with spite and tyranny. When apprenticeship was formally ended in 1838, Buxton was no longer in Parliament. He attended the debate as a visitor and was ejected for cheering.

“Aborigines’ Rights”

Buxton’s campaign against slavery ran alongside a series of interventions on other colonial issues, until “aborigines’ rights” became his main political concern. Once more, a missionary was at the center of the matter. John Philip, superintendent of the London Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope, championed the indigenous Khoi (“Hottentots” in the contemporary phrase) against abuses by whites. By raising the Khoi question in Parliament in 1828, Buxton helped to secure the decision that Khoi in the Cape were on the same legal footing as whites—a decision with long-term consequences. But larger questions were arising in South Africa, as whites seized land or cattled beyond the colony’s frontiers. Buxton secured a parliamentary motion recognizing the principle of African peoples’ right to their own land; its pious language may have blinded some members to the implications of the statement they were approving. Briefed by Philip, Buxton raised the conduct of the frontier war of 1835 against the Xhosa. To his delight, the government handed back “the territory we lately stole.” Buxton wrote:

The hand of the proud oppressor in Africa has been, under Providence, arrested . . . Only think how delighted must our savage friends be, and with what feelings must they have viewed our retreating army . . . This is, indeed, a noble victory of right over might.

The Cape question led Buxton to demand a parliamentary committee to investigate the treatment of indigenous peoples in British overseas settlements. Buxton was the committee chairman and the principal drafter of its report. Philip gave evidence, bringing also a Xhosa chief and a Khoi spokesman to do so as well. The secretaries of the three main missionary societies testified to the trail of violence, land robbery, rape, disease, and alcoholism left by the white settlement. The committee, calling for watchfulness against white exploitation of indigenous peoples everywhere, declared:

Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives if they have evinced a desire to live in their own country.

The tone of the 1837 report of the Select Committee on Aborigines contrasts with modern generalizations about nineteenth-century opinion, and indeed with developments later in the century. Yet it represents the overseas policy desired by the evangelical, humanitarian, and missionary interests that Buxton embodied.

Buxton desired to see “aboriginal peoples” in secure possession of their lands, able to deal with Westerners on equal terms. He believed their happiness, however, would best be furthered by the spread of Christianity and “civilization.” The condemnation of the British presence overseas was that it inhibited, rather than furthered, the spread of Christianity and civilization.

“The African Slave Trade and its Remedy”

These ideas lie behind Buxton’s last great adventure, the project that consumed and eventually broke him.

As emancipation became realizable, it became evident that the slave trade itself, far from being abolished, was not even reduced. The sufferings of the victims were worse than ever. Diplomacy and naval patrols were manifestly incapable of stopping it on their own. There was still a transatlantic demand for slaves and a demand in Africa for manufactured goods that was supplied primarily by the slave trade.

Buxton determined to confront slavery at the economic level: to cut off its source of supply by providing a more profitable alternative. “The real remedy, the true ransom for Africa, will be found in her fertile soil.” The redemption of Africa could be effected by calling out her own resources.

After he lost his parliamentary seat in 1837 Buxton incorporated his researches in a book which eventually appeared as The African Slave Trade and its Remedy. It examines the current statistics and context of the slave trade by means of standard sources and especially official papers. It concludes that in 1837 and 1838, more slaves were crossing the Atlantic than when Wilberforce began his campaign fifty years earlier. The related raiding, marketing, passage, and landing murdered seven out of every ten slaves taken. The depopulation of Africa was proceeding at the rate of half a million people per year. The slave trade deprived Africa of all possible benefits of civilization and inhibited Christian preaching.

Were this obstacle removed, Africa would present the finest field for the labours of Christian missionaries which the world has yet seen . . . [T]here is in the negro race a capacity for receiving the Gospel beyond most other heathen nations. . . .
The West owed restitution to Africa for the desolation it had inflicted upon it. Africa had a right to Britain's best blessings, the Christian faith and that corpus of intellectual and technical achievement comprised in "civilization" but it could receive them only with the destruction of the slave trade.

Buxton proposed to strangle the slave trade by the development of African agriculture. The West could stimulate that development by maintaining regular trade, buying African agricultural products, and selling the consumer goods so obviously welcome in Africa. The paths of Christianity, commerce, and civilization thus crossed. Only Christianity could cure Africa's ills; but commerce—in which Africans, holding the rich resources of their land, would be equal partners—could open the way.

Let missionaries and schoolmasters, the plough and the spade, go together, and agriculture will flourish; the avenues to legitimate commerce will be opened; confidence between man and man will be inspired; whilst civilization will advance as the natural effect, and Christianity operate as the proximate cause of this happy change.14

Buxton saw Africans as the evangelists and civilizers of Africa, with Sierra Leone and the West Indies providing an independent, educated mission force. In human as in economic terms, his vision was the liberation of Africa, under the leading of Providence, out of her own resources.

In 1840 European knowledge of inland Africa was very sketchy. Buxton saw the great rivers of Africa as highways. He proposed that the British government should commission an expedition to the Niger, concluding treaties with African rulers promising regular steamer trade in return for an embargo on slave selling, and investigating the possibilities for agricultural, commercial, and technological development.

Buxton believed that Africa was to be liberated by her own sons.

The Niger Expedition

The political climate was unusually favorable. The government accepted the proposal. Buxton received the honor of a baronetcy. The expedition was prepared with elaborate care: specially designed ships, high quality commanders, hand-picked crews, a team of agricultural and scientific experts. The Church Missionary Society was invited to send observers. The Prince Consort inspected the vessels and presided at a vast public meeting. In Sierra Leone a company of interpreters and auxiliaries joined the vessels, people who had once been taken as slaves from the areas the expedition was to visit.

In mid-August 1841 the expedition entered one of the mouths of the Niger. Early in October the last of its ships was limping back, its commander prostrated by fever, the cabins crammed with sick and dying, the geologist working the engines with the aid of a textbook. Those seven weeks cost forty-one European lives.15

It was the end of publicly sponsored schemes for the redemption of Africa. Satirists had a field day.16 Buxton, discredited and heartbroken, died little more than two years after the disaster.

Buxton and the Christian Significance of Africa

In assessing the legacy of Buxton it is well to begin with this, his greatest failure.

Buxton himself did not believe that the disaster invalidated the argument of The African Slave Trade and its Remedy: "We know how the evil is to be cured; that it is to be done by native agency; by coloured ministers of the Gospel. Africa is to be delivered by her own sons"17

The Niger Expedition helped to concentrate minds on what missions had long agreed in principle: the key to the evangelization of Africa was the preparation of an African mission force. Not a single African member of the expedition had even been seriously ill. Sierra Leone's Christian community, which had come from all over West Africa after being uprooted by the slave trade, was the nucleus of a missionary force, already equipped with the necessary languages. One of the expedition's missionary observers was the Yoruba ex-captive and future Christian bishop, Samuel Adjai Crowther; his outstanding qualities showed the potential available in Sierra Leone.

The few years following the Niger Expedition saw unprecedented expansion in African missions. Missions were established further inland than before; there was more investment in African education, more trust in Africans as missionaries. The Church Missionary Society opened its Yoruba mission with Crowther as an ordained member of a mission party containing other Sierra Leoneans. His later ministry was spent with a Sierra Leonean staff, evangelizing the area through which the Niger Expedition sailed, or had meant to sail. Against all the early evidence, Africa became the most productive field of mission endeavor. Buxton had grasped the Christian significance of Africa ahead of most of his contemporaries.

As for the West Indies, his book was read there, and Caribbean Christians were so stirred by it that they moved for a mission to Africa. The Calabar Mission, later a proud boast of Scottish churchmen, began rather against the advice of prudent Edinburgh. Its original membership, white and black, ordained and lay, came from Jamaica, on the initiative of a Jamaican presbytery. It was one of a series of Caribbean initiatives, now largely forgotten, but traceable to the legacy of Buxton.18

Mid-century missions worked on Buxtonian principles. The Yoruba Mission party took Sierra Leonean builders and carpenters (who were also catechists and teachers) and introduced machinery and printing and newspapers as well as churches and schools. They inhibited the growth of a slaving economy by showing that cotton growing was a viable substitute.19

Two of the best-known names in mid-century missions are true heirs of Buxton. Henry Venn became a secretary of the Church Missionary Society (of which Buxton was a vice president) during the Niger Expedition period. In his practical, evangelical vision, missionaries were asked to report on seeds and soils; mission supporters might be asked for machinery, or specialist advice, or the services of their firm to import Yoruba cotton. Buxton had foreseen the African evangelization of Africa; Venn spelled out the formula of a self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating church with both godly African bishops and skilled African mechanics. A self-governing church needed leaders on a par with missionaries; a self-supporting church needed a viable economic base.20

The whole life of David Livingstone (who as a missionary candidate was at the Niger Expedition sendoff) embodies Buxton principles. He shared Buxton's belief in the efficacy of legitimate
commerce to displace the slave trade, and even his mistaken predilection for rivers as the key to Africa. He knew at first hand the colonial abuses that roused Buxton. He shared Buxton’s active hatred of slavery and his belief in African dignity. His famous words at Cambridge in 1857, “I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity,” can only be understood with Buxton’s work in mind.21

The Inheritance

In less than fifty years from Buxton’s death virtually the whole of Africa was divided between the Western powers, and monopoly companies took their pleasure with great tracts of the Continent. Neither in concept nor in deed was this the legacy of Buxton. Buxton loathed what was done in most existing colonies, and sought no empire, political or commercial. He looked for a free partnership in which Africa and the West would share economic benefits, technological resources, a common discourse of ideas, and deep-rooted Christian faith:

I firmly believe that, if commercial countries consulted only their true interests . . . they would make the most resolute and persevering attempts to raise up Africa—not to divide her broad territory amongst them, nor to enslave her people, but in order to elevate her into something like an equality with themselves, for their reciprocal benefit.22

Buxton gave shape and direction to ideas accepted in the Christian constituency of his time. He was certainly not an original theologian; he used the standard evangelical expressions of his day. That faith involved the application of the Gospel to all of life and all the world. He would have been puzzled by a phrase like “holistic mission” and bewildered by some modern debates about it. But whenever someone today raises in Christ’s name a voice on behalf of the voiceless; or seeks in that name to bless a people with better crops, or renew land ravaged by warfare; to build free and open relationships with people despised or exploited, or to demonstrate to their own nation its responsibility for another’s sufferings—Fowell Buxton was there first.

Notes

1. Buxton’s descendants reflect another form of his legacy. Several were distinguished figures in anti-slavery and social reform. Others (including his grandson Barclay Fowell Buxton in Japan and his great grandson Alfred Barclay Buxton in Congo and Ethiopia) played an important part in mission developments. The family relationships by marriage—Barclays, Grubbs, Hookers, Studds—would provide a map of a large sector of the British evangelical world.


3. Ibid., p. 46.


12. The book has a complex publishing history, since there was a private circulation version for government ministers, separate publication of part one, and revisions of it thereafter. See the preface to the Cass reprint. References here are to the second edition, 1840.


15. There are accounts of the expedition in William Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, Narrative of the Expedition sent by Her Majesty’s Government to the River Niger in 1841 (London, 1848) and Journals of the Rev James Frederick Schön and Mr Samuel Crouther who accompanied the expedition up the Niger . . . (London, 1842).

16. See the ludicrous scheme for a coffee colony at “Borrioboola-Gha, on the left bank of the Niger,” in Dickens’ Bleak House.


Bibliography

Buxton’s only major writing is The African Slave Trade and its Remedy. London: Murray 1839-40. Reprinted by Frank Cass, London, 1967. Various speeches, pamphlets and contributions to the Anti-Slavery Reporter were published but have not been collected.


Book Reviews

Christian Uniqueness
Reconsidered: The Myth of a Pluralistic Theology of Religions.


It is annoying, but what can one do? To most people, “myth” equals “untruth,” and “myths” exist to be exploded, discredited, and replaced by “the facts.” When in 1977 John Hick and his British team assembled the symposium The Myth of God Incarnate, the reaction was predictable. Ten years on, Hick, this time with international assistance did it again, with The Myth of Christian Uniqueness. Both books conveyed the impression (especially to those who had not read them) of old-fashioned iconoclastic modernism: God never became incarnate and Christianity is not unique. The book under review is a response to the especially to those who had not read the symposium book under review is a response to the problem of how to affirm relatedness without relativity, uniqueness without arrogance. Kenneth Surin, I think, puts his finger on an important issue when he draws attention to the “world ecumenism” of the levelers and its cosmocultural implications (p. 201). Monika K. Hellwig points out another, in the name of Christianity that now induces a bad conscience in the Christian community (or at least part of it). Sometimes one feels that it is this bad conscience over against the grotesque memories of a barely understood Christian past that has made the present generation of liberal Christians nervous of affirming anything too forcefully.

The D’Costa volume is, though, notably more affirmative than the two previous “myth” books, or at least more critical of the Hick-Knitter assumptions. On the critical side, perhaps John Milbank’s essay is the strongest. Not surprisingly, the most affirmative is that of Lesslie Newbigin. Alongside his last sentence, “But I suspect that the church also contains...” (p. 147), I wrote, “Bravo!” But all the essays contain good things, even though the reader is left to decide what

Eric J. Sharpe is Professor of Religious Studies in the University of Sydney.

Justice, and Only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation.


“I am an Arab, a Palestinian, a Christian, and a citizen of the State of Israel, in that order... I would add that I am an Episcopalian (Anglican) and a clergyman” (pp. 17, 13). Thus does Naim Stifan Ateek, author of Justice, and Only Justice, identify himself. Canon of St. George’s Cathedral in Jerusalem and pastor of its Arabic-speaking congregation, Ateek draws on his experience to construct a liberation theology applicable to the Palestinian-Israeli situation. In service of this goal, Ateek yields to pulls from three directions: the compelling drive to give an account of what it was like to grow up Palestinian before and through the 1948 revolution; the grace-moved vocation to provide a Christian meditation on justice from the Scriptures and its application to Israel-Palestine; and the more objective, distanced position to provide a history of the area and a solution to the intractable political situation. While compelling, he is only partially successful in his endeavor. Ateek begins his volume with a very powerful and moving account of his family’s being expelled from their home in Beisan during the 1948 war. Some of his family were humiliated, some exiled; all suffered. This background stays with the reader throughout the volume, even if its emotional power does not always provide adequate

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With this volume the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention launched the A.D. 2000 publication series that has become a globally significant effort to stimulate and collaborate ventures for world evangelization. Through bold graphics, Barrett portrays the challenge: In A.D. 1900 Christians were a powerful presence in nineteen or twenty megacities of the world (defined as international, multinational, transnational cities with populations larger than one million). By contrast, in A.D. 2000, Christians will be a rather marginal presence in most of the more than four-hundred megacities of the world.

There is little space for analysis in this short book. What drives global urbanization—the changing roles of cities as the world moves from rural nations to interlocking cities—is not examined. In sum, he argues that under the twin pressures of accelerating task and diminishing time, we must give every urban person the opportunity to hear the Gospel and choose Christ. We must set aside other fine objectives such as discipling, church planting, relief, and social action, which must clearly be secondary lest they divert resources or undermine the larger cause of proclamation (p. 31). First, according to Barrett, we should identify cities in Category A, where resources for mission exist, then through coordinated strategies of mobilization deliver them to cities in category B through megaplanning. Hereafter the language shifts to "musts" and "shoulds" that bring interdenominational churches and mission agencies into total cooperation, with "discreet monitoring" (p. 34).

Surely no one person today has a grasp on more data about mission than David Barrett. That is why all of us in urban mission and evangelism strategy development are in such awe of him and in debt to him. That also is why these scenarios are so difficult for some of us. As a teacher of mission history, I am offended by the selective and pejorative use of historical materials ("Dark Ages"). Biblical theologians will recoil at the theological vacuity and missiological reductionism that ignores more than a thousand biblical texts that witness to God's redemptive city agendas. Others I fear will see these megplan solutions as yet one more attempt by white, Western Baptists (like me), who, while rapidly withdrawing our churches from troubled cities in the United States, will yet presume to call for coordinated structures to mobilize everyone else's ministries abroad.

If we fail to evangelize the large cities in the next decade or before the Lord comes, I doubt that it will be for the reasons stated in this book. On the contrary, it will be because the Gospel of the kingdom was not proclaimed and demonstrated, because principalities and powers were not confronted and systems of oppression transformed, because God's marvelously polychrome Body is undervalued in all its urban manifestations, or because the rest of us under the tyranny of limited time and evaporating resources, shift mission strategy from the labor-intensive focus on partnerships with urban persons to the capital-intensive preoccupation with urban plans—all in the name, of course, of the "one who became flesh and dwelt among us."

—Raymond J. Bakke


Only a Beginning: The Passionists in China, 1921–1931.


We welcome the publication of these two books that deal with American Catholic missions in China and provide important source materials for those who are working on Chinese church history. Christianity in China up to 1950 was still very much a "foreign institution," as Jean-Paul Wiest points out in Maryknoll in China (p. 407). Nearly all valuable source materials are still kept in the mission-sending countries. The preparation of Chinese church history needs the cooperation of church historians and secular scholars from both China and the West. Hence the publication of these two books makes a significant contribution.

The two books have two common features. One is authenticity; both are based on firsthand information that in-
Christians and non-Christians alike, for orating with all people of good will, Christianity cannot remain a knoll in China. Religious situation, social environment, as well as joys and sorrows of the missionaries, success and failure of their work, and even conflicts among missionaries from different religious orders.

Some differences between the two books may also be mentioned. Maryknoll in China puts more emphasis on summarizing the past experience and has afforded us some lessons for overseas ministries that merit attention. Examples: "A missioner’s adaptation to his surroundings served as a catalyst enabling him or her to evangelize" (p. 262). "Christianity cannot remain neutral because its message of universal love and liberation of mankind is in itself a political force" (p. 408); "The intrinsic value of corporal works of mercy is to prepare the coming of the Kingdom of God by collaborating with all people of good will, Christians and non-Christians alike, for the building of a world that is more just and fosters full human development" (p. 201); "The experience of the Chinese Church during this century could be a living testimony that Christianity...can adapt and survive under any government and ideology" (p. 408).

Another difference is that Maryknoll in China gives us a more practical and realistic account of the political situation in China, while Only a Beginning comes to certain conclusions by conjecture. Maryknollers recognized "that they would never be able to reach the core of Chinese thinking" (Maryknoll, p. 280), but surely missionaries must do their best to know the Chinese aspirations.

It is noteworthy that the "Hall of the Martyrs" near the main entrance of the major seminary of the Maryknoll Fathers was quietly made into a set of offices in 1967, which signifies a new beginning of the relationship between American and Chinese Catholics. It is hoped that a recounting of the complete story of the Passionists in China with an appraisal of the new China may be published soon.

—Xu Rulei

Christianity with Power: Your Worldview and Your Experience of the Supernatural.


Charles H. Kraft, professor of anthropology and intercultural communication at Fuller Theological Seminary, tells in this book how he moved from an evangelicism without power to a ministry of power through his expe-

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Before his death on November 5, 1987, Orlando E. Costas was dean of An-
dover Newton Theological School. Pastor, evangelist, educator, and mis-
siologist, Costas served as a mission-
ary—first with the Latin America Mission and then with the United Church Board for World Ministries—before assuming teaching and administrative posts in the United States.

In the preface, his wife, Rose, ex-
plains that he envisioned this book as the first of a three-volume project, to be available in both English and Span-
ish editions. He wanted it to provide a theoretical framework of contextual evangelization "... to enrich the teaching of evangelization in theological seminaries in both of the Ameri-
cas" (p.x).

The book reflects Costas's concern for "holistic evangelism." Writing from the perspective of the radical evangelical tradition, Costas is con-
cerned to preserve the integrity of both telling and doing, proclamation and service, word and deed, evangelism and justice. He seeks to overcome potential polarization by incorporating both em-
phases within a theology anchored in the biblical teaching about the King-

don of God.

Costas writes from the underside of history. He draws heavily not only upon his personal experience as a member of an oppressed Hispanic mi-
nority, but also upon the writings of liberation theologians. Yet he refuses

to accept those elements of their thought that capitulate uncritically to Marxist presuppositions or undermine biblical authority. Costas seeks to define lib-
eration in biblical rather than sociolog-
cal categories.

The book's eight chapters are care-
fully researched (with thirty-two pages of end notes) and well organized. The initial chapter provides the theoretical framework for the rest of the book. The second explores both the personal and social dimensions of contextual evan-
gelism. The third and fourth chapters, the most unique and powerful in the book, relate prophetic evangelization to the story of Esther and link the evan-
gelistic legacy of Jesus to the perspec-
tive from the Galilean periphery highlighted in the Gospel of Mark. The four subsequent chapters are thematic in nature. They treat, in turn, the Trin-
itarian basis of mission, the message of the cross, the call to conversion, and the life and mission of the church.

Whether or not this book will be-
come "a classic in the field," as Dr. Gabriel Fackre predicts in the Intro-
duction (p. xii), Liberating News cer-
tainly is a significant and challenging volume that merits serious attention.

—Kenneth B. Mulholland

Kenneth B. Mulholland is Dean and Professor of Missions at Columbia Biblical Seminary and Graduate School of Missions, Columbia, South Carolina. Previously, he served for nearly fifteen years as a missionary in Central America under the United Church Board for World Ministries.
Our Father Abraham: Jewish Roots of the Christian Faith.


Marvin R. Wilson is the Harold J. Ockenga Professor of Biblical and Theological Studies at Gordon College. He has coedited several significant books on dialogue between evangelicals and Jews, and has probably immersed himself more broadly in Jewish studies than any other evangelical scholar in our day. As a result, he is impressively conversant with Jewish life and thought, particularly with those issues—historical and theological—that have arisen in the Jewish encounter with the Christian churches down through the centuries.

Our Father Abraham is primarily addressed to Gentile Christians and passionately calls on them to discover their Jewish heritage—"the deep spiritual link every Christian has with the Jewish people" (p. xvi). Wilson also wants Christians to become aware of "the negative consequences" (from de-Judaizing to anti-Judaism to anti-Semitism) "that have resulted from the church being severed from its Jewish roots" (p. xvii). In many ways Christians will find this book most helpful. My recommendation, however, would be that they read it alongside Rabbi Yschiel Eckstein's apologetic for Judaism: What Christians Should Know About Jews and Judaism (Word Books, 1984). The enthusiasm of an outsider should always be tempered by the precise claims of a committed insider!

Part I reviews the elements of this Hebrew heritage—what it means that Gentile Christians are "spiritual Semites," grafted into God's Old Testament people: "The Olive Tree" (Rom. 11:17). Part II traces the emergence of the church within Jewry and its tragic movement toward Gentile domination and consequent hostility to all Jews, whether or not they believed in Jesus. Part III becomes more problematic, stating that without early Jewish sources as well as the Old Testament, one cannot gain a correct understanding of the New Testament. Wilson shows the various ways in which the church impoverished herself and lost wholesome elements in her worldview and life-style because of having lost an awareness of her Jewish

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Arthur F. Glasser is Dean Emeritus, School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California.
roots. Part IV moves further in this direction with its sympathetic treatment of Jewish marriage and family patterns, the evolution of the Jewish Passover, followed by a description of Christian ambivalence over the complexities precipitated by the existence of the State of Israel. Part V is devoted to "practical" considerations: "how Christians can reach out and build productive relations with today's Jewish community" (p. xviii).

What will confuse readers in their efforts to catch the full measure of this book are the two enthusiastic endorsements of Our Father Abraham on the back cover. One is by Rabbi A. James Rudin of the American Jewish Committee, a leader widely known for his vigorous opposition to Jews for Jesus and all other evangelicals seeking to evangelize Jews. The other is by Professor Carl E. Armerding of Regent College, an institution deeply committed to biblical Christianity. I am not surprised at the rabbi's enthusiasm, but I am troubled over Dr. Armerding's understanding of the evangelistic task of the church. How can he endorse Wilson's amazing claim that "in the New Testament Paul stresses that the coexistence of both faiths"—Rabbinic Judaism and Biblical Christianity—"is in keeping with God's mysterious plan" (p. 328)? All rabbis are agreed that the church's confession of Jesus Christ as the Son of God is sheer madness, absurdity, even idolatry. Dr. Armerding knows this, but chooses to call Wilson's book "a powerful first salvo." In what war? Is a battle being joined within evangelical ranks to establish the incredible antibiblical thesis that Rabbinic Judaism is for Jews but biblical Christianity is only for Gentiles? Are we to disregard the apostle Paul's contention that "Christ crucified is a stumbling block to Jews" (1 Cor. 1:23), but so what? Jews are saved by self-effort (some say) or by divine grace (Wilson says, pp. 20, 21) but certainly not by Jesus Christ.

Wilson wants Christians to establish "personal contact with the Jewish community" and "become personally involved in the contemporary Christian-Jewish encounter" (p. 320). We should "reach out thoughtfully, humbly and caringly to Jews," and this reaching out is to be expressed by "interfaith dialogue, educational activities and social action" (p. 324). I agree fully. However, by dialogue are we to understand that its object is "not to convert one's partner from one faith and tradition to another" (p. 325)? True, Wilson makes a concession: on the outside possibility that one's partner in dialogue initiates interest in hearing about the Christian hope, then one should be prepared to "give an answer" (p. 326).

Wilson loves the Jewish people. We love him for this. He wants us to "reach out thoughtfully, humbly and caringly to Jews" (p. 324). We endorse this, but when we are told that evangelizing Jews is a no-no, we must ask Dr. Armerding where he stands with respect to the New Testament revelation that the Gospel is "to the Jews first" (Rom. 1:16). Wilson doesn't mention this text, and his omission is in keeping with his overarching thesis. But what is happening within evangelical ranks today?

Fortunately, under the heading, "The Uniqueness of Jesus Christ," the Manila Manifesto (1989) clearly states:

We affirm that Jews need Jesus as much as anyone else, that it would be a form of anti-Semitism, as well as being disloyal to Christ, to depart from the New Testament pattern of taking the gospel to "the Jew first" (International Bulletin of Missionary Research, October, 1989, p. 166).

There is much helpful material in Our Father Abraham, but its tragedy is that it builds toward a fundamental rejection of the great concern of the New Testament: "that in everything Jesus Christ might be preeminent" (Col. 1:18).

—Arthur F. Glasser

Understanding and Nurturing the Missionary Family: Compendium of the International Conference on Missionary Kids, Quito, Ecuador, January 4-8, 1987.


Pam Echerd, who with her husband works with Wycliffe Bible Translators in Guatemala, and Alice Arathoon, the wife of a Guatemalan businessman, have made an important contribution to the study of missionary families by editing a compendium of the International Conference on Missionary Kids, held in Quito, Ecuador. The editors have abridged ninety presentations into two volumes, one emphasizing the missionary family and the other putting emphasis on the MK. The Quito conference was the second international conference, the first being held in Manila in 1984. The third conference was held in Kenya in December 1989. Each conference has had a larger attendance than the last, indicating the desire of mission entities, churches, and the academic community to identify the needs of missionary families and to work toward solutions.

Basically, the papers presented dealt with the problems, both old and new, facing missionary families, particularly MKs, and it is good to have these brought together. Some of the "old" problems deal with preparation for going to the field and reentry, the Christian boarding school and other schooling options, and parenting skills in an overseas setting. Some of the newer issues addressed include the adult MK, the mental health needs of missionary families, and the cultural issues faced by MKs and MK schools.

The presentations included tend to enumerate the issues rather than offer ways of implementing solutions.

Shirley Torstrick is Codirector of International Family and Children's Educational Services and a high-school teacher in Richmond, Virginia.
Suggestions offered, while worthwhile, are either very broad or so specific that they might be difficult to adapt. Two broad areas that are missing are the MK who is not academically inclined or should not go to college, and the teaching of critical reasoning skills needed in today’s world.

These two volumes should be a high priority for mission administrators and MK school personnel, who, by becoming aware of the complexities of the issues, can seek solutions to the problems facing missionary families.

—Shirley Torstrick

A Directory of Religious and Parareligious Bodies and Organizations in the United States.


If you can afford it, this directory is an extremely handy desk reference tool of names and addresses for more than 5,700 religious and parareligious organizations in the United States. There is cross referencing of over 1,500 popular names of various groups, and many entries are followed by either a general classification or the name of a specific parent organization, but no additional information is given. The next edition would be enhanced if telephone numbers were added.

The directory is amazingly comprehensive and accurate. Included, for example, are American Society of Missiology, Association of Evangelical Professors of Missions, Association of Professors of Mission, United States Catholic Mission Association, and every mission-type organization I looked for except United Christian Ashrams International (150 East Fairview Ave., Montgomery, AL 36106). Various foundations are listed because of their activity in religious grant making, but missing is the Foundation for Theological Education in Southeast Asia (86 East 12th St., Holland, MI 49423).

Not included are religious publishers, seminaries, church-related colleges, universities, or Bible institutes. But Christianity Today Institute in Carol Stream, Illinois, Missionary Internship in Farmington, Michigan, Overseas Ministries Study Center in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S. Center for World Mission in Pasadena, California, and Zwemer Institute in Altadena, California are there.

—Gerald H. Anderson

A Missionary Prophet: The Church and Colonialism in the Philippines.


William Henry Scott became an Episcopal lay missionary in 1946. Since 1953 he has served in the Philippines, mostly at the famous mission station in Sagada in the mountains of central Luzon. “Scotty” is the author of important works on Philippine history, but most of the seven essays in this brief volume are reflections on missions and on inequities in Philippine society that missionaries ought to address. Invariably interesting and thought pro-

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IN THIS PROVOCATIVE STUDY Anton Wessels explores the manner in which Jesus has been introduced to and received by various non-European cultures. After an introductory sketch showing how European art through the centuries has mirrored the changing images of Jesus—youthful shepherd, triumphant conqueror, man of sorrows, and so on—Wessels looks at some of the many other, non-European cultural-historical images of Jesus.

Against the background of this review of representative past and present images of Jesus, Wessels addresses a number of urgent questions: What is the relation of Jesus Christ to the various cultures of the world? How do the various cultural images examined relate to the New Testament? Is Jesus only the redeemer of humankind or its liberator as well? What is the relation between knowing Jesus Christ and following his way?

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Gerald H. Anderson is Editor of this journal.
The longest, and perhaps most significant, is "Rethinking the American Missionary Presence in the Philippines." Written in 1974, "Rethinking" addresses issues raised by Frederick Dale Bruner in an influential 1968 essay which suggested that the continuing presence of foreign missionaries was harmful to the Philippine church. While Scott is more than willing to criticize the activities of numerous missionaries and in general sees "certain errors in missionary patterns," he does not favor a missionary withdrawal. Criticizing Bruner on historical grounds, Scott maintains that missionaries who understand their vocation properly can and should speak with "a prophetic voice from within a foreign culture" (p. 57). Scott's argument is forceful, though it is regrettable that the publisher did not include Bruner's essay as well, thus allowing a direct comparison.

—Kenton J. Clymer

Kenton Clymer is Professor of History at the University of Texas at El Paso. He has been a Fulbright Professor at Silliman University in the Philippines and is the author of Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines, 1898-1916: An inquiry into the American Colonial Mentality.

The authors, a group of men and women, Protestant and Roman Catholic, clergy and laypeople, have written about poverty and survival, struggle and hope, reality and challenge. Significantly, the longest chapter deals with the concept of shalom and reminds the readers that people are endowed by God with the capacity to reverse destructive trends. Happily, this chapter appears later than the lengthy essay that discusses the Filipinos' "elusive quest for development" (pp. 57-84).

Essays that feature an overview of who the Filipino people are, as well as profiles of the contemporary Philippine church, and a description of the divided nature of Philippine society, offer valuable information for better understanding.

Rice in the Storm gives ample food for thought and discussion.

—Ann C. Kwantes

Ann C. Kwantes has been a missionary with Christian Reformed World Missions since 1969. After eleven years in Tokyo, Japan, she went with her husband and children to Manila, Philippines. With a doctorate from the University of the Philippines, she has taught Asian and Philippine studies in Manila and the United States.


Translating the Message is not just another book about Bible translation, but a new paradigm for understanding the history of the expansion of Christianity, the missionary role, and a theology of culture. Lamin Sanneh, Professor of Missions and World Christianity at Yale Divinity School, sees Christian expansion as a "vernacular translation movement," guided by the Missio Dei and inexorably expressing a Gospel that is as culturally pluralistic as Pentecost.
Developed in Sanneh’s rich prose and meticulous scholarship, the book’s central thesis includes the following:

1. "Translatability," the need for translation across a cultural boundary, is an essential feature—the "birthmark"—of Christianity, demonstrated in the early church breakthrough of Christian faith from the Jewish languages into the idioms of the Hellenistic world. This translatability relativizes its source; that is, it denies normative status to any language or culture—and ennobles each receptor culture as a legitimate vehicle of God’s message and salvific purpose.

2. Christianity has spread principally by a strategy of "mission by translation," which "makes the recipient culture the true and final locus of the proclamation." This diametrically contrasts with the strategy of Islam, which, with its untranslatable Qur’an, advances by "diffusion," making the missionary culture the inalienable carrier of the message.

3. In sub-Saharan Africa during the past 150 years, Sanneh’s historical focus, missionaries found that they were forced to use African concepts to convey their message, including such central ideas as the term for God. As they learned from the African, they discovered that translation reversed the roles of missionary and African, promoting the local culture and ultimately bringing into being the vernacular Scriptures that would minimize the missionaries’ own role as external agents.

4. Sanneh calls for a new paradigm for interpreting the missionary role in Africa that would lift the dialogue above the present antagonism and breast-beating. While the author does not ignore the problems of the past (he recounts the crushing of Yoruba Bishop Crowther and the dismantling of the Niger Mission by the expatriate missionary machinery), his “paradigm of reciprocity” would recognize that missionaries, for whatever motivation, made translation into the vernacular languages their "chief objective," while Africans have responded with a faith rooted in the Scriptures and social concern.

Professor Sanneh’s numerous insights have advanced our understanding of the nature of the Gospel and its relationship to culture. Subsequent scholars will address the issues that do not fit neatly into the paradigm of "mission by translation:" (1) Bilingualism. Many vernacular languages in Africa and elsewhere were left without translated Scriptures, even among peoples very responsive to the Christian message. In some places the message was delivered in “missionary languages,” the language of one people group, such as Käte in Papua New Guinea, chosen by the missionaries as a lingua franca for a linguistically diverse area. In many places in Kalimantan, Indonesia, today, the message has been received—and believed—in the national language of Indonesian. In these situations there has been a "translatability" of the Gospel, but the transfer was made by the new believer and not the missionary.

(2) Language of education. Missionaries have chosen (or had chosen for them) languages of theological or higher education that were often European languages. The impact of these choices has often been a demigration of the vernacular on the local level and a mixed blessing to the church.

The church worldwide has much to learn by pursuing the path of discovery on which Professor Sanneh has placed us.

—John D. Ellenberger

John D. Ellenberger is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Missiology at Alliance Theological Seminary, Nyack, New York. His missionary experience of 27 years was in Bible translation and church ministries in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.
Christian Relief and Development: Developing Workers for Effective Ministry.


Half this diverse collection of nineteen articles by seventeen western contributors is devoted to "foundational issues" of social involvement by evangelical Christians. The other half deals with "curriculum foundations" for equipping Christian workers. The intended audiences are Christian development workers and their teachers.

Editor Edgar J. Elliston imposes no common viewpoint on the variety of disciplines and approaches in the foundational issues. Some contributors argue passionately for a holistic ministry of evangelism and social concern. There are pleas for development sensitive to non-Western cultures and to the natural limits of the earth. Some writers identify dangers in Western development and evangelicals' insensitivity to its deficiencies.

In contrast, another author contends that most people are poor because of their ethic of underdevelopment: in Africa and elsewhere their deficient sense of future time inhibits hope and development. Elliston intervenes, however, stating that worldviews of Africans provide bases for relationships with the environment and people, creating opportunities for change. Elliston looks for change also in the "worldview of ethnocentric westerners."

The editorial free rein leaves pitfalls for the new development worker. One author stereotypes a social gospel that "overlooked sin and underplayed the need for repentance." A chapter on economic perspectives provides inappropriate theory and a misplaced emphasis on the availability of raw materials.

The section on curriculum foundations considers instructional goals and approaches for different kinds of workers. These chapters are theoretical; the language is often technical, featuring long lists and categorizations. Development workers who are not professional educators will find this section unengaging. Only chapters on training for relief and for health evangelism describe actual programs for education of workers. Most contributors refer frequently to training, as well as to the terms education and development preferred by many developers of people.

The section on curriculum foundations corresponds to Elliston's own field of leadership selection and training in the School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary. He writes that the book contains what he wished he had known before undertaking eighteen years of service in Ethiopia and Kenya.

—Theodore Wilde


The story of the friendship between M. K. Gandhi and C. F. Andrews, Indian and Englishman, Hindu and Christian, is well known, especially since Attenborough's film Gandhi (which inspired this book, and a still from which provides the cover photograph), but it is well worth retelling. That is what David Gracie of the Church and World Institute at Temple University has done, linking together Gandhi's and Andrews' own words with a sensitive and thoughtful narrative commentary.

It is a unique story. For twenty-six years, from Andrews' mission of enquiry and support (while still a member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi) to Gandhi in South Africa, through some of the most critical years of the Indian freedom struggle, to Andrews' death in Calcutta in 1940 with Gandhi at his bedside, the two shared a deep involvement in public affairs and a deep friendship. Their very public roles, their lively, questing minds, their deep religious commitments, and their gifts as communicators mean that the story embraces many interesting issues in the development of modern India and illuminates some crucial mission issues touching theology and politics, the struggles of the poor, and relations with people of other faiths.

Of course, a story presented as this is, through the words of the two main characters, and entirely from published sources, lacks important dimensions, such as, for example, what the Indian left's interpretation of Gandhi could offer or that of the new Dalit theologians, or a more searching scrutiny of some of the ambivalences of Andrews' position. But that is to ask for more than the present book sets out to provide.

The author's hope is that it will call us "to a renewed sense of what is possible" (p. 190). Certainly, to show this strong-minded, obstinate Hindu and this earnestly testifying Christian working together in a common human project, united by a profound and lasting affection, "without any compromise, syncretism, or toning down of vital distinctions" (p. 182), is to conjure urgent and important missiological possibilities.

The author's royalties are to go to the Archbishop Desmond Tutu Southern African Refugee Scholarship Fund, which would have pleased both Charlie and Mohan.

—Daniel O'Connor
On the Tail of a Comet: The Life of Frank Buchman.


In this absorbing and comprehensive biography, British journalist Garth Lean offers a sympathetic account of the career of Frank Buchman (1878-1961), the American Lutheran minister who became a world-renowned spiritual leader through his pioneering efforts with the Oxford Group and Moral Re-Armament (MRA). Lean, whose credentials as a biographer already have been established in previous studies of John Wesley and William Wilberforce, here tackles a much more recent and controversial subject as he boldly attempts to demonstrate that this pietist-turned-moralist played a pivotal role in twentieth-century religious history.

Buchman was a missionary only in the broadest sense of the word. As a young man, he imbibed the same revivalistic spirit that undergirded the modern missions movement and he was appointed by John R. Mott as a YMCA secretary at Pennsylvania State University. Then he served briefly under YMCA auspices in India and China, where he experienced markedly strained relationships with the missionary establishment. In later years, Buchman's ties to the missionary enterprise were at best informal and peripheral. Lean capably charts Buchman's extensive travels and contacts with several foreign dignitaries, but the long-term benefits of these ventures for missions or the church are not impressive.

Certainly Buchman's life and ministry deserve the definitive biography that Lean provides. He pursued his dreams to the hilt and labored valiantly to alert the West to its moral crisis. In addition, he has been victimized by unfair press coverage; thus Lean's account is a welcome contribution to the ongoing debate about the MRA founder's virtually nonexistent ecclesiology and his all-too-apparent willingness to camouflage Christian distinctives in the critical years after World War II.

—James A. Patterson

Oecumenische Inleiding in de Missiologie: Teksten en Konteksten van het Wereldchristendom.


This book is a first for missiology. A team of ten Roman Catholic and eleven Protestant missiologists from the Netherlands have joined hands to produce what is, quite appropriately, termed an "Ecumenical Introduction to Missiology." The editorial committee consisted of Arnulf Camps, Libertus Hoedmaker, and Marc Spindler, with Frans Verstraeten (who for many years served as General Secretary of the International Association for Mission Studies) as editor-in-chief.

The book contains chapters on what a Dutch "introduction to missiology" (the Dutch are well-known for such "introductions") would traditionally include: theology of mission, biblical foundations for mission, theology of religions, and so forth. To these, however, several chapters are added that address the context of mission in a variety of countries and continents. This then is the second major novel feature of this "introduction": not only is it written by an interconfessional team, it also reveals a profound awareness of what has been called the "globalization" of the Christian church and mission.

It is impossible to do justice to this important publication within the confines of one short review (for a much more detailed review, see Missionalia 17:1 [April 1989], pp. 70-74). An overview of the book's contents together with some concluding remarks will therefore have to suffice.

Part I deals with the pluriformity of world Christianity. Six scenarios are presented: the Middle East ("cradle and melting pot" of the church); Western Europe (with emphasis on "emancipation and pluralization"); China ("from foreignness to contextualization"); Ghana ("between tradition and modernity"); Indonesia (the church a "minority, but in a strong position"); and Brazil ("old and new Christianity").

David J. Bosch is Editor of Missionalia and Professor of Missiology at the University of South Africa in Pretoria.

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Part II is devoted to world, mission, and church. Five chapters survey: the biblical foundation and orientation of mission; the role of hermeneutics in mission; the people of God and the ends of the earth (largely a discussion of the concept missio Dei and missiological issues in mission in general); models for a theology of religions; and evil (Dutch: onheil, literally: "unsalvation"), salvation, and mediation.

Part III surveys the missionary movement in history and offers brief overviews of Catholic and Protestant missions (from 1492 and 1789 respectively), followed by a chapter on western missionary history as viewed from the Third World.

Part IV, the largest in the book, discusses missionary vitality in contemporary Christianity. A chapter on Africanization and liberation of church and theology is followed by chapters on Asia ("searching for its own identity as source of renewal"); Latin America ("evangelism in a Christian continent"); Eastern Europe ("burning issues for church and theology in the Second World"); and North America and Western Europe ("missionary initiatives in the First World"). The section on North America is the least satisfactory in the book and is riddled with stereotypes and oversimplifications.

The fifth and final part of the volume surveys mission, oecumen, and missiology. A good chapter on the development of missiology as a theological discipline is followed by very informative chapters on contemporary currents in missiology and on the missionary movement and organization in Catholicism, mainline Protestantism, and evangelicalism.

A few concluding remarks may serve to summarize the book’s value.

The book gives clear testimony to the fact that missiology is breaking new ground in the Netherlands. It is written by a new breed of missiologists; the gurus of the previous generation (Mulders, Bavinck, Kraemer, Hoekendijk and others) are present only in the background.

In spite of its title, the book is ecumenical only to a degree. Apart from Rob Matzken (whose contribution covers four pages), the conservative evangelicals are absent (perhaps because they declined to participate in the project?).

Contributors were so keen on being fair to everybody that some chapters are largely surveys of views of others, without clearly spelling out their authors’ views on controversial issues. Only a few authors (inter alia Jerald Gort, Hoedemaker, and Matzken) show their theological colors clearly.

Parts I and IV introduce the reader to a truly bewildering plurality of Christian contexts and currents. Much of this is excellently done. There is, however, no overall integration and little attempt at cross-referencing and comparing situations and challenges in one part of the world with those elsewhere. The result is that the reader is left somewhat confused. The book almost creates the impression of an encyclopaedia rather than an organic whole. But perhaps that is a faithful reflection of the contemporary missionary and missiological scene!

In spite of these points of criticism, the publication of this "Ecumenical Introduction to Missiology" is an event. For years to come it will be a major textbook and reference tool in those missiological circles where Dutch is understood. Perhaps it should be made available, in a revised and shortened form, to an English readership.

—David J. Bosch

Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three Self Movement, and China’s United Front.


The author’s purpose is “to describe, interpret and analyse the Christian experience in China in terms of the relationship between the Protestant Three Self Movement (TSM) and the Communist United Front.”

Four Chinese ideographs provide the full phrase from which the English title is derived: “Seeking the common ground, while reserving differences,” the basic principle that allowed religious bodies, non-Communist political parties, and individuals to support the policies of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The TSM, formed in the early 1950s, has been the organization through which Chinese Protestant Christianity has been able to participate in the United Front. This has involved proving its patriotism and Chinese self-identity by denouncing western imperialism’s aggression in China and renouncing its own connections with the western missionary movement. It has meant also Christian participation in the same kind of denunciation meetings as were being promoted in society generally. Wickeri seems a bit ambivalent about these meetings where Christians attacked fellow Christians, both Chinese and westerners. On the one hand, he writes, “no amount of explanation can justify the excesses of the denunciation movement,” but a few pages on, he attempts just such a justification. He does report, however, that some of the TSM leaders who took part have since admitted “Perhaps we went too far.”

This is a useful, honest, and not uncritical study that will be appreciated by all who are seeking a better understanding of the religious situation in China since 1949: the TSM in its two periods; the significance of the Christian home meetings; Document 19 of 1982; the precarious nature of the United Front’s functions and policies, “turned on and off at the discretion of the people in power” and “requiring a stronger basis in law.” As Wickeri rightly points out, this is not just a religious question. It involves the whole question of democracy. The events of June 3-4, 1989, confirm this view, as did the fact that both TSM and the United Front ceased to function from about 1957 until the “Cultural Revolution era” was over in 1976.

Space limits the discussion of other important issues in the book, but it is worth quoting Colin Thubron’s recent comment: “The shadow of the Tienanmen massacre will fall across every study of modern China for the near future.” That would appear to be true of this study also.

—John Fleming
In 1983, Albert Nolan declined the Master Generalship of the Dominican Order in order to continue his work in South Africa on behalf of the poor and oppressed. This book, an attempt to rethink the implications of the Christian gospel in the South African context, is one product of his labors. It sets forth a carefully argued theology deeply rooted in the struggle for democratic liberation in South Africa. For Nolan, the gospel proclaims good news for the poor that challenges the faithful to act with them as a worshipful community totally and joyously committed to fundamental social transformation. An individualist reading of the gospel, he argues, obliges western Christians to interpret the good news as therapy for personal sins rather than a promise of God’s power in faithful struggle against socioeconomic domination. The faith constitutes for Christian activists an additional dimension for organization and action—a deepening and an enfolding of the struggle for human dignity and democracy in South Africa.

Nolan’s reading of the gospel obliges him to social analysis. If the gospel is indeed good news for our time, then we need to be able to read the signs of the times with Christ’s mind and in God’s Spirit. Proper theology requires competent sociohistorical analysis. Nolan’s analysis, undertaken in the spirit of Christian hope, discovers a new world aborning in South Africa on the wings of “people’s power.” Divisions among both dominators and dominated tend to be elided in Nolan’s talk of “system” and “people.”

While he repeatedly criticizes the abstract and ahistorical generalities of western theological language, Nolan does start from the tradition that he abjures. As a result, the book fails to convey the rich texture and original imagery that so strikingly characterizes black South African preaching. Nonetheless, this book both challenges and inspires.

—T. Dunbar Moodie

T. Dunbar Moodie is Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, N.Y.
Hibbard, who ably guided the establishment and growth of Silliman University. In the field of medical work, the example is on Panay, and the focus is on J. Andrew Hall, who rendered medical service with distinction.

The author, born into a missionary family in Indonesia, acknowledges that the missionaries may have been slaves of the contemporary American expansionist attitudes at that time—a combination of money, manifest destiny, and mission expansion; but she believes that, motivated by the fervor of the Christian Gospel, they sought what was good for the Philippines.

Connected with the Christian Reformed Church in North America and assigned in the Philippines, the author claims that the Spanish colonial approach imposed colonial authority, while the American approach sought the welfare of the Philippines. The imposition of authority may have been balanced by the search for what is good, but from the perspective of the Filipino nationalist, both powers imposed the colonizer's authority and subdued the colony's sovereignty.

The book significantly locates the history of mission in the larger context of general history. In their work as evangelists, educators, and physicians, the missionaries succeeded in laying the foundation for future Filipino Christians to build upon. The book may not excel in literary style and elegance as historical literature, but it is informative—a definite contribution to help make Philippine historiography less lean, more dynamic and productive.

—Mariano P. Apilado

MISSION IN THE 1990s

Edited by GERALD H. ANDERSON
JAMES M. PHILLIPS
and ROBERT T. COOTE

The contributors to this comprehensive resource bring into focus the priorities and central themes of authentic global mission for the 1990s, addressing its task and purpose and the various challenges it will face in the remaining years of this decade, such as religious pluralism, secularization, the preferential option for the poor and liberation theology, the modern Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, and recent developments in Eastern Europe. The book also features encyclopedist David B. Barrett's unique global statistical table—a striking perspective on the status of today's church and the extent of its outreach.


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Pioneer of political independence in sub-Saharan Africa, the state of Ghana under Nkrumah was the first to confront the mission-connected churches with the challenges, and opportunities, of the new African regimes. Pobee's study of this crucial period was completed in 1977, though it is only now published. The author, therefore, has not drawn on some of the more recent scholarship, but the book has the very great benefit of being written by a distinguished Ghanaian academic, who as a young man shared both in the enthusiasms of the independence won by Nkrumah and in the difficulties presented to church leaders by some of the nationalist excesses. His detailed, careful analysis of these years has a wide relevance for anyone interested in contemporary African Christianity.

The author begins by considering the unpreparedness of the churches: the anachronism of white leadership.

Richard Gray is Professor Emeritus of the History of Africa at the University of London. A collection of his essays entitled Black Christians and White Missionaries is forthcoming.
In Search of the Karen King.


This doctoral thesis by a former missionary with the Baptist Union of Sweden has as its subtitle, "A Study in Karen Identity with Special Reference to 19th Century Karen Evangelism in Northern Thailand." This is much more than simply an excellent thesis, however. It is a book that gives a graphic account of "the indigenous missionary attempts by Karen Baptists from Burma to encourage religious change in the muang nua (Northern Thailand)" (p. 11). It is well written, with plenty of footnotes that provide excellent material for all who are interested in the Karen, as well as in the development of the church in Southeast Asia.

It is fascinating to follow Hovemyr's presentation of various factors coming together to mold the Karen church in Thailand: the political situation in Burma and Thailand; the political situation in the United States (as it cut down on mission giving); the millenarian movement among the Karen; the divisions regarding mission strategy among the missionaries in Burma; and the involvement of the mission board in Boston. I appreciate the way Hovemyr does not shy away from presenting the conflicts in their full dimension, but he then goes on to show what positive and negative effects these had on the growth of the incipient church.

The reader is treated to quotes and insights from data that have not been available to the general public, thanks to Hovemyr's knowledge of many languages. He treats his data with integrity, helping the reader both understand and feel the "marginalization" of the Karen (as well as other tribal people in Southeast Asia). Anthropologists, missionaries, and mission boards owe a debt of gratitude to the author, as well as to the University of Uppsala and Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia for sharing this excellent thesis in the form of this book.

—Paul Lewis

Gifts and Strangers: Meeting the Challenge of Inculturation.


Anthony Gittins is an anthropologist and associate professor of mission theology at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago. This book places the insights of sociocultural anthropology at the service of missionaries and all who cross into cultures unfamiliar to them. The author fears that some readers may find the book difficult, and perhaps the application of anthropology to theology is more likely to be appreciated by theologians with a grounding in the human sciences. Nevertheless, the book raises issues of vital importance to missionaries and to a multicultural church. Is it possible for meaning to be transferred from one culture to another? Is it possible for a missionary to identify with another culture? What might conversion, renewal, or inculturation mean in practical terms?

Anthony Gittins answers these and other questions by invoking some of the classic instances of anthropology: the potlatch of the Northwest American Indians, the Kula cycle of the Trobriand Islanders in Melanesia, and the Mumi of the Solomon Islands. Using anthropological analyses of gift exchange and
hospitality, he ends with a portrait of the missionary as "stranger," ambassador of Christ who is both missionary and stranger. The missionary must live in creative tension, trusting the personal qualities that facilitate survival in other cultures but listening to his or her hosts and reading their cultural expectations. Like Jesus, the missionary is sent to the marginalized and the victimized. The missionary had nothing to gain in status or reputation from the people he or she frequented. The missionary listened, received, shared, adapted. The missionary identified and worked with the local community, also undergoing linguistic and cultural adaptation. Through all of this the missionary, like Jesus, was set for the rising and falling of many.

—Aylward Shorter

**Let My People Live: Faith and Struggle in Central America.**


Under the sponsorship of the Calvin Center for Christian Scholarship in Grand Rapids, Mich., a commission of nine theologians, Latin Americanists, and students undertook the preparation of "a Reformed approach to the crisis in Central America." This book is the result of their research, interviews, on-site visits, and conferences held to test their ideas.

The procedure is circular. They begin by considering Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero as a paradigm of what is happening to church people in Central America, especially in the central metaphor of life and death. They then consider the roots of the present crisis by examining the beginnings of the land tenure system, the failure of modernization efforts, the Cuban scare, and the present decade of United States intervention and its rationale (the promotion of democracy). They then return to considering the consequences for the church.

The critique of United States policy presented here reflects the thinking of the majority of Central Americans and United States Latin Americans. This is also a good effort to communicate sympathetically the perspective of liberation theology to an audience not familiar with it. Little new ground is broken, given the large number of issues treated. What is perhaps new is the Reformation framework of interpretation and the attention paid to Protestants and evangelicals in Central America, who are often ignored or reduced to stereotypes. If a Protestant study group were going to read a single book on the area, this would be a good choice.

—Phillip Berryman

**Dissertation Notices**

Asana, Festus Ambe.
"Problems of Marriage and Family Life in an African Context."

Barlow, Philip Layton.
"The Bible in Mormonism."

Carter, Joan Elsie.
"Interpersonal Skills in Cross-Cultural Effectiveness: A Descriptive Study of Christian and Missionary Alliance Missionaries."

Egbulem, Chris-Nwaka.
"The 'Rite Zairois' in the Context of Liturgical Inculturation in Middle-Belt Africa Since the Second Vatican Council."

Hong, Sung Chul.
"Effect of John Wesley's Group Concept on Evangelism in Korea."

King, Roberta Rose.
"Pathways in Christian Music Communication: The Case of the Senufo of Côte d'Ivoire."
Ph.D. Pasadena, Calif.: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1989.

Moss, Mary Lynn.
"A Comparison of Missionary Kids, International Students, and American Students on Measures of Loneliness and College Adjustment."

Moyer, Bruce Campbell.
"Seventh-Day Adventist Missions Face the Twenty-First Century."

Ross, Paul Vaughn.
"Appropriate Technology Needs of Missionaries Serving in Developing Countries."

Schulz, Thomas Neil.
"A Study to Determine the Basic Needs of MK's [Missionary Kids] Upon Re-entry to the United States and to Define and Describe a Re-entry Program Designed to Meet the Needs."
Ph.D. Lincoln, Nebraska: Univ. of Nebraska, 1985.

Showalter, Nathan D.
"The End of a Crusade: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and the Great War."

Swanson, Jeffrey Wallace.
"The Moral Career of the Missionary."

Williamson, James G.
"Christianity and Other Religions: The Approaches of Raimundo Panikkar and Robert C. Zaehner."
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