A hallmark of this journal is its award-winning mission "legacy" series. In this issue, A. Christopher Smith offers a fresh assessment of our debt to William Carey, who, two hundred years ago, helped launch the modern missionary movement with the publication of his An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens.

Wilbert R. Shenk inaugurated the legacy series in April 1977, with a study of the life and work of Henry Venn, father of the indigenous church, three-self principles: self-support, self-government, and self-propagation. In the last fifteen years the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN has profiled sixty-seven individuals who contributed in a formative, pioneering way to the theory and practice of the Christian world mission. Over the next several years the editors foresee a comparable number of additional legacy articles, examining such figures as Charles H. Brent, Amy Carmichael, Orlando Costas, Melvin Hodges, J. C. Hoekendijk, Jacob Jocz, John A. Mackay, Donald A. McGavran, Robert Moffatt, Constance E. Padwick, Pope Pius XI, Pandita Ramabai, Ruth Rouse, Charles Simeon, Alan R. Tippett, and W. A. Visser't Hooft.

The legacies of our nineteenth- and twentieth-century fore-runners in mission are priceless gifts to us from the Lord of mission. The history and, yes, the nostalgia captured by the BULLETIN's legacy series are valuable in their own right. But far more important are the lessons and insights that our generation and the next are obliged to apply if we are to be faithful. Not infrequently we discover that the "reforms" of modern times amount to a belated application of what a predecessor had discerned and recommended a century earlier.

The legacy articles also function as a corrective to distorted perceptions. Christopher Smith, for instance, concludes that Carey has been typically drawn in heroic proportions that neither Carey nor his colleagues in the Serampore Trio would recognize.

Less drastic but in the same vein is the carefully nuanced portrait that Clinton Bennett, also writing in this issue, paints of Henry Martyn. Having burnt himself out at thirty-two years of age, Martyn is often memorialized for the inspirational value of his life. More important, says Bennett, are the lessons found in Martyn's mission method and approach.

The third legacy article in this issue profiles Samuel Ajayi Crowther, "the most widely known African Christian of the nineteenth century." Author: Andrew F. Walls underlines the pointed ways in which the dynamics surrounding Crowther's ministry anticipated the central issues of indigenous leadership down to the present time.

The INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN is grateful for the opportunity to recall and share our legacy.
The Legacy of William Carey

A. Christopher Smith

A scholarly quest for the “historical Carey” is long overdue. In spite of the fact that scores of biographies have been written about him, layers of popular mythology still remain to be cut through before the actual contours of his career as a pre-Victorian mission leader will be uncovered. His immediate brethren in the 1830s revered him as “the father of the Serampore Mission,” while evangelical posterity went much further and saluted him rather inaccurately as “the father of modern missions.” Since then, many attempts have been made to co-opt him as a heroic figurehead for the revitalization of missions in “the modern era.”

One thing certain is that a wealth of primary missiological sources and of erudite, contextual studies still remains to be examined. This largely untapped deposit is enough to merit a new era in Carey scholarship. It has much to contribute to an analysis of the course of a very unassuming English Baptist, born August 17, 1761, died June 9, 1834, who ended up functioning as something of a missionary archetype.

Hermeneutical Considerations

The enigma of William Carey’s life, historical significance, and missiological legacy is not easily resolved. What are we to make of this “consecrated cobbler” who invested so much of his life in a Calcutta college and then founded one of his own?

Let us begin by considering the epitaph he chose for his tombstone in Bengal. Far from being incongruous, it reflected the struggle that he and his close colleagues went through in life and the modesty with which they looked back on whatever they managed to achieve. The words were taken from the last verse of hymn 181 in John Rippon’s Arrangement of the Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. (1802, third edition). They were used by Joshua Marshman at William Ward’s funeral, eleven years before our subject’s demise. Carey felt they were particularly apt and chose the first couplet for himself:

A guilty weak and helpless worm,  
On thy kind arms I fall.  
Be thou my strength and righteousness  
My Jesus—and my all.

Of course, this reflected Calvinistic conviction of personal unworthiness to stand alone before the Almighty; but there was, arguably, more to the inscription than that. Carey and his close colleagues were quite sure that they did not merit being decked with garlands or halos. Each was persuaded that it would be enough to be remembered simply as one who had sought to do his duty as a servant of Christ.

Ernest A. Payne was one of the few mission historians who realized that there was something profoundly enigmatic about Carey as a person. He asked in 1961: “How are we to reconcile his intense self-distrust with his great achievements, the range of his interests and his apparent [in]decision of character?” Of all Carey’s biographers, only his nephew Eustace got close enough to him “on the mission field” to realize that there was something odd about the way in which Carey functioned and contributed to the running of “the Serampore Mission” (independently of the Baptist Missionary Society from the 1820s). His critique appeared in various publications and was given a more missiological turn by William Adam, a perceptive, young, Baptist missionary in Bengal of whom Carey once wrote very highly.

Just as relevant for our hermeneutical inquiry is evidence emerging from right within the inner circle of the Serampore mission operation. Along with Carey, William Ward and Joshua Marshman rose to fame in some British circles and became known as “the Serampore Trio.” They were amazingly close-knit as a leadership team. For several decades they complemented one another in an intricate way. Indeed, very few people in Britain ever realized how dependent Carey was on his partners for insight and a wide range of initiatives. This in itself should alert us to the great need there is to refrain from assuming that Carey should be given the limelight, while his lesser-known colleagues fade into the background. To the contrary, historical integrity requires us to recognize that too much has been attributed to him at others’ expense—as if he were a great, solitary figure who towered above his contemporaries. Carey would have been horrified to think, for example, that he was being credited with the wisdom of men such as Andrew Fuller, John Ryland, John Sutcliffe, or Charles Grant—not to mention his own partners and a host of other expatriates in Bengal. That is why a somewhat “trinitarian” approach is called for, which sees Carey as one member of a triumvirate, and which recognizes that he was greatly indebted to three immediate groups of people: the Baptist Missionary Society’s home-base troika of Fuller, Ryland, and Sutcliffe; a sizable number of Orientalists and pandits (learned men) in Bengal; and his own close colleagues along with their dedicated wives. This does no despite to his person. Rather, it considers him in situ, recognizing what a huge difference others made to his life both before 1793 and after 1799. We therefore do well to distinguish carefully between his pre-1800 legacy and his post-1800 legacy.

Before 1800, Carey passed through three apprenticeships—as an artisan, a pastor, and a missionary. From then on, his career moved through several phases that mirrored the evolution of his metropolitan mission beside the Hoogli estuary of the Ganges delta. These phases also reflected developments in the fortunes of the East India Company and in the course of British rule in India. When such factors are taken into account, and special attention

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Carey and his colleagues were sure that they did not merit being decked with garlands or halos.

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Despite his evangelical-Calvinist convictions, Carey argued that means should be employed to propagate the Gospel throughout the world.

Two sisters and one brother who survived infancy. Brought up in an Anglican home, he married Dorothy Plackett, the daughter of a local Dissenter, in 1781, several years before he became a Baptist.

William Carey lived during a time of great change, when Europe's Enlightenment was beginning to make itself felt in English church and society. While a teenager, newspapers and mass-produced literature periodically came his way. As a young Midlands man, he became vividly aware of the outside world through reading about the American revolution and Captain Cook's voyages of discovery in the Pacific. He was most fortunate, during his shoemaking years, to live within reach of some noted Bible expositors. Anglican and Baptist pastors such as Thomas Scott, Andrew Fuller, Robert Hall, Sr., and John Sutcliff provided him with guidance and a sense of church history that helped him break free from the straitjacket of hyper-Calvinism: viz., an exclusive type of Reformed theology that denied that sinners were duty-bound to exercise faith before they could be saved. A neo-Puritan theology much indebted to Jonathan Edwards thus was mediated to Carey without his having to pore over theological tomes. That freed him to focus on language-learning and to pursue his geographical interests during the little spare time he could find at day's end.

Six years (1787-1793) were spent pastoring Particular Baptist churches in Northamptonshire. That was when he became aware of early Protestant missionary work in North America during the previous 150 years. Given the evangelical-Calvinist convictions

is given to the cultural dynamics of the Baptists' Serampore enterprise, it becomes natural to reevaluate some of the popular "pleasing dreams" that have accrued to his memory. These we will now outline, believing that "truthfulness will be more of a contribution" than "heroic myths" to the cause of mission.1

Inspiration and Obligations

Carey's much-narrated years in England before 1793 certainly make a good story. His father, Edmund Carey, was a weaver who became "master of the small free-school" in Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, when William was about six years old. The boy's own grandfather, likewise, had once been the village's schoolmaster, so it comes as no great surprise that he himself turned to primary school teaching, in another of his county's villages, when he was in his mid-twenties. His uncle, Peter Carey, was a local gardener who had once served as a soldier against the French in Canada. He stimulated his nephew's imagination greatly. Thus, although William was a poor country boy, living in a landlocked province far from London and the sea, he was able to count his blessings. These he turned to good use by applying himself to acquiring knowledge during spare time. He had

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he had assimilated, he began to argue that means should be employed to propagate the Gospel throughout the world. By 1792, he finally prevailed on his provincial brethren to seriously consider founding a society to "preach the Gospel to every creature." With their support, he wrote an unpretentious booklet that has been popularly called "the charter of modern mission with its argument, review, survey and programme." Entitled An Enquiry into the Obligations [sic] of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, it provided missionary apologetic and made practical suggestions in a forthright manner. His indebtedness to other authors for information was undoubtedly great. Distribution of the eighty-seven page pamphlet was very limited in Carey's day; however, it did contribute significantly to the formation of "the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel amongst the Heathen" in October 1792. Humble and hesitant though that first step was, it surely represented a leap of faith on the part of the dozen or so Midland Baptists who first subscribed to the cause. This voluntary society was the prototype of what came to be known as the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) by the end of the century.

Unusual Developments

Because times were so hard in Britain during the years after the French Revolution, late 1792 was a rather inauspicious time for "launching out into the deep." So many questions remained to be answered by the infant society, yet Carey forged ahead, declaring: "Expect great things. Attempt great things." Little did they think how they would be overtaken by events. John Thomas, the eccentric, footloose, Baptist medic-cum-evangelist who had spent several years in Bengal, strangely turned up. After some rudimentary screening by the BMS's first leaders, his offer of service was accepted, as was Carey's. Thus by June 1793, after many embarrassing crises, Carey and his family, which included five young children, found themselves setting sail for India in a foreign ship that was engaged in clandestine trade for illegal English interests! "Providence" of a very unusual—even ominous—sort was at work. Five months later, the largely unprepared mission party managed to slip into Bengal. Then six years of high drama began, in which Carey's wife was tragically driven insane. In order to survive, and to avoid deportation by the East India Company, Carey eventually accepted employment as superintendent of an ill-fated indigo works in the remote interior of Bengal. An "interloping" Dissenter who had recently displayed republican sympathies in Britain was a persona non grata. Thus Carey was under enormous pressure to "bend to the wind." As he did so, the BMS managed to put down its roots and make an impact in history.

During the first decade in Bengal, Carey discovered a surprising range of private enterprise and intellectual activity at work within the expatriate community. Precedents were to be found for almost every activity that his Serampore-based mission would engage in. For the most part, the Serampore Trio harnessed and adapted others' ideas, inventions, and procedures for use in an integrated missionary enterprise. Pragmatic, "Enlightenment" values operated within the framework of evangelical Calvinism, in the era of Britain's industrial and agricultural revolutions, to introduce something quite unusual into the stream of missionary history. Mission perspectives thus broadened; but the aim was unchanged: to convert India’s people and those who were part of the European occupation.

How different Carey's missionary career would have been had Marshman and Ward not arrived in the tiny Danish "colony" or entrepot of Serampore at the end of 1799! Their arrival upset all his mission plans, virtually forcing him to move to the coast, dangerously close to the British-controlled metropolis of Calcutta. However, he was soon to value his new colleagues highly. They rescued him from becoming a solitary missionary hero incontestation with heathen natives after the manner of David Brainerd. They provided the sort of skills needed for the creation of a team that could free him from most mission management and outreach responsibilities.

Here too we must add how much slatol was brought to his life by petite Charlotte Rumohr. Six months after his first wife died (1807) in a state of derangement in Serampore, he married this linguistically gifted, Danish lady-of-means whom he had baptized in the Danish enclave in 1802. With her, he enjoyed thirteen years of joy, until she passed away in 1821. Another gracious helpmeet came along two years later in the person of a British widow. Mrs. Grace Hughes had been part of colonial Bengal for many years; she was to survive him. With all their help over three decades, he consequently was able to devote his energies to a sedentary, though extremely demanding, ministry of Bible translation and college tutoring in secluded surroundings. It was a very unusual arrangement for one who was apparently a "mission pioneer," but it reflected the extraordinary and unrepeatable situation that the Serampore Mission managed to take advantage of between 1800 and 1837.

This sheds light on an innocuous-looking comment that Carey made in 1810 in a letter he wrote to Andrew Fuller, the secretary of the BMS in Britain whom he trusted so highly. In it he confessed: "In point of zeal he [Marshman] is Luther; I am Erasmus." This subtly pointed to the modus operandi of the Serampore triumvirate. It corroborates other evidence picturing Carey as a pious, irenic, hard-working, low-key leader who maintained a rather retiring, literary lifestyle, thanks to the complementary labors of two stalwart co-directors, and a large team of pandits. Unlike Marshman, who was an aggressive evangelical, ever ready to contend "up front" for the mission, Carey was a more meditative person who preferred to "sit on the fence" in times of strife. Perhaps that facilitated his surprising appointment by the British Governor-General in 1801 to the post of tutor in Bengal—and later to the professorship in Bengali, Sanskrit, and Marathi—in what would now be called the "Civil Service" establishment of Calcutta's Fort William College. The Enquiry had never envisaged such a development. Such "subimperial" employment made all the difference to his career as a linguist and translator and dramatically affected his mission's prioritizing. It meant that he functioned as a metropolitan official who never traveled beyond the twelve-mile stretch between Serampore and Calcutta after 1799. For more than thirty years, one of his major tasks was to earn huge amounts of money (many hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling, in today's values) and to secure...
printing contracts from the government for the Serampore Mission Press. By such means, the Trio sought to make themselves and the evangelization of northern India financially independent of the BMS. At the same time, they made themselves useful enough to Bengal’s British rulers that they secured a significant measure of immunity from official opposition.

A Realistic View of Achievements

William Ward, Joshua Marshman, and Hannah Marshman each made a massive contribution to the Serampore Mission, severally running the large printing and publishing press, counseling Christian workers, managing the finances and public relations, developing mission strategy, running a boarding school and many day schools, as well as directing and caring for a large household including many orphans, missionary widows, and servants. Thanks to them, their wives and their protégés, Carey was able to beaver away in his study, being spared the rigors of furlough in Britain when serious disputes with the BMS had to be tackled. In fact, he never did leave Bengal. He went there “for life,” and it was from that distant position that he emerged in the public mind as a mission catalyst. He was much more of a mission motivator and Bible translator than a pioneer in the heart of India—or a mission strategist. Thus it was the number of languages into which he carried out or superintended (rudimentary) translations of “the Holy Scriptures,” rather than the small number of Hindus that he led to Christ, that impressed pre-Victorian and Victorian minds and made him a household name in evangelical circles. Direct evangelistic outreach generally fell into the hands of junior missionaries and people who were rather inaccurately termed “native” brethren by 1805. Much heart-searching was to follow.

In financial, literary, educational, and technological terms, there can be no doubt that Carey and his colleagues made their mark in Asia at the beginning of Protestantism’s “modern missionary movement.” Many in the Anglo-Saxon world sought to emulate them, and their accomplishments were chronicled religiously by scores of biographers. However, more than a century later, much more was probably made of his original catalytic watchword—“expect great things. Attempt great things”—which was later embellished by British Baptists.

It can be argued that the six-word dictum provides criteria that are more appropriate for evaluating the course and outcome of his life and mission. This motto was coined in keeping with the tentative guidelines set forth in the pamphlet, which suggests in notable ways that it is very difficult to respond in the affirmative. So often, the triumvirate made decisions at variance with the tentative guidelines set forth in the pamphlet, which was written before Carey ever left the English Midlands. During his lifetime, much more was probably made of his original catalytic watchword—“Expect great things. Attempt great things”—which was later embellished by British Baptists.

The Serampore Trio often made decisions at variance with the guidelines of Carey’s Enquiry.

The Serampore Trio often made decisions at variance with the guidelines of Carey’s Enquiry.
had become more centralized than ever before. Was it becoming more of a burdensome “monument” than a lively movement? Few, if any British Baptist leaders were clearly aware that Carey’s team operated according to one model at their colonial base and yet appealed by means of another for practical expressions of solidarity from their mother-country. It was as if they functioned in two different worlds. No doubt that helps to explain why Marshman had such a turbulent furlough in England between 1825 and the rupture with the BMS in 1827.

During Carey’s last twenty years, tensions increased rather than decreased in the Serampore Mission. Its identity as a dissenting operation was rather ambiguous at times, and great problems were experienced in trying to accommodate a second generation of mission personnel. Institutionalization of the mission and maintenance of a large establishment resulted in the leaders increasingly losing touch with grassroots Indian life—notwithstanding their huge investment of time in linguistics and translation. Thus they became sahibs rather than sadhus. Even though they tried to put on a brave face in public, it caused them no end of sorrow that the real number of converts and homegrown churches resulting from decades of their (and their associates’) ministry was so low, by many standards. That is why they admitted in an important report in 1817: “relative to the work of conversion in India, perhaps all our expectations have been far wide of the mark.” Perhaps they would have had far more indigenous “disciples,” perhaps Baptist life in India would have been much more vibrant, perhaps the Serampore Mission would not have collapsed once the last of the veterans died (Marshman in 1837), if the resolute trio had focused on incarnating the Gospel directly in the midst of India’s rural society, rather than investing so heavily in professional, metropolitan means.

**Tradition in the Balance**

It is a commonplace that Carey “did more than any other man to awaken the conscience of Protestant Christians to the spiritual need of millions worldwide who had never heard of Jesus Christ.” But such a generalization may be far too sweeping. At least it needs to be examined carefully and restated with a sense of historical discrimination. To do this, we need to discover “the historical Carey” beyond the periphery of the Victorian era.

We will consider him as a Victorian and post-Victorian rallying point for Protestant mission shortly. Here, we would return to basics, noting that heroic imagery could be applied to him properly between 1793 and 1799. That imagery stuck to him in the popular mind during the next ten to fifteen years, especially during moments of high enthusiasm in Britain over the dramatic exploits of the Three. Certainly, he had enormous potential for stickability, and for submission to the inscrutable ways of Providence. He rose up the social scale in remarkable fashion in Ben-

**Was the Serampore mission subverted by the very forces of Western “modernity” and subimperialism that changed the face of India?**

**Legacy and Legend**

From 1826 onwards, Carey and his Serampore colleagues receded into the background of British Baptist approval. For a decade or more, official mission promotion referred very little to the lead they had set after 1800, except when funds needed to be raised for Bible translation and publishing. Publications and statements from the Trio’s pens—from the 1792 Enquiry to the significant, 1827 Edinburgh edition of *Thoughts on Propagating Christianity More Effectually among the Heathen*—were allowed to fall by the wayside or were consigned to oblivion. By the 1830s, Serampore College, the crown of their mission, began to look as if it were “a white elephant.” Thus we search in vain for evidence that Carey and his partners had much of an explicitly missiological impact on North Atlantic mission leaders—except perhaps among Baptists?—during the last two or three quarters of the nineteenth century.
Their legacy was of a different kind.

The Baptist Trio in Bengal, and Carey in particular, were transitional figures in “modern missionary history.” They paved the way for conservative Dissenters to launch forth into an era of pragmatic, evangelical mission outreach. They represented the meeting of American and British Protestant concerns for evangelizing “the heathen” at a time when missions were promoted only by a very small, zealous minority in the churches. Their cross-cultural evangelistic efforts probably had more in common with Puritan missions in North America than with mainstream Victorian evangelization in Asia. Their methods of Bible translation became a matter of considerable debate in their own day and needed to be overhauled. To be sure, they anticipated some Victorian and post-Victorian missio-theological reflection, but as evangelically reformed Baptists they were far more doctrinaire than Calvinists than were successive missionary generations. Their task was to make the most of the tense time when Britain’s role in the East Indies evolved from being purely commercial to fully imperial.

Space does not allow us to reflect further on why Carey and his friends produced but a very small amount of missiological literature, by twentieth-century standards. Their hands were tied up with so many other responsibilities. Their concern was simply to provide basic tools for communicating the Gospel. They were filled with gratitude that the Lord spared their lives to do as much as they did for so long in Bengal, where the life expectancy of Europeans was extremely short. Carey, therefore, would not have stirred from his eternal rest if he had heard his dear friend Christopher Anderson declare in a special memorial sermon in Edinburg in 1834 that his “labours, however great,” were “chiefly preparatory or prospective.”

Surprisingly, extremely little has been done to investigate the extent (and nature) of whatever indigenous church growth did actually occur in Carey’s mission domain throughout the nineteenth century. Yet many there have been during the last one hundred years or more who have held him high as a universal missionary. All this calls for differentiation between “the Carey of tradition” and “the historical Carey.” It leads us to identify some of the diverse streams that either converged in his life or came together in the pilgrimage of the Trio.

In Carey we have a person accessible both to the humble poor and the self-made middle-classes of the Anglo-Saxon world. A figure who embodied the ideals, values, and aspirations of British evangelicals during the pre-Victorian phase of their country’s imperial history. A nonconformist and a Dissenter who became a valued member of Britain’s political establishment in Bengal. A self-educated young tradesman who rose to become a linguist and Orientalist—even a professor in a prestigious college. A peniless cottager who founded a grand scholarly institution of his own. A shoemaker who married an aristocratic lady. A rustic worker who used bare hands and improvised tools in an English backwater, who became a works foreman in the wilds of Bengal, only to end up at the cutting edge of European technology. A passionate village evangelist who spent precious years translating

### Carey has been called patriarch, apostle, prophet, and pioneer of modern Protestant missions.

Hinduism’s scriptures into English. Both a specialist and a generalist, he was an individualist and a trusty team-player, who operated in creative tension between the poles of what are now labeled pragmatism and dogmatism, liberalism and conservativism, ecumenism and evangelicalism, imperialism and independence. He is revered as a world-oriented “man of vision,” albeit from the European “Enlightenment.” He was a catalyst extraordinary who operated during an unrepeatable and critical kairos in world history.

This was the man who has featured in popular tradition as a marvelous, if not mythical, ideal. A supposedly familiar figure in mission history, about whom much has remained hidden for far too long. One who has become legendary for arousing brave and purposeful notions of “good old days” in the pre-Victorian era. Yet that has happened in spite of the certainty that he would deplore such usage of his name and memory. Thus he would be fully justified if he chose to address us by means of the words of counsel that he and his brethren gave to two young missionaries in 1807. Serampore sent them to Burma on a pioneer, reconnaissance mission, with this sound advice:

> On every subject of research weigh well all you see, all you hear; take up nothing hastily. We are not so sanguine as to hope for satisfactory answers to all these questions...[in] a month or two. Get whatever real information you can...Satisfactory information on these points will much help...the cause to be begun there.12

### Notes


4. On the creeping capitalist “subimperialism” that occurred in Bengal from 1765, under the aegis of the British East India Company, see P. J. Marshall, Bengal: The British Bridgehead, Eastern India 1740-1828, vol. II.2 of The New Cambridge History of India (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 70-136. Bengal became “a largely autonomous British-Indian state that was rather loosely connected with imperial Britain and pursued its own purposes of ‘safety’ and consolidation” until the early 1830s.


10. Cf. Ernest A. Payne, "Carey's 'Enquiry'," *International Review of Mission* 31:122 (1942): 185–86; and Smith, "Edinburgh Connection": 185, 190–93, 199–200. The 1827 work was written primarily by Joshua Marshman, although Carey was privy to its contents before its first printing in 1825.

11. Christopher Anderson, "A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. William Carey, D.D. of Serampore, Bengal," Edinburgh, 1834, p. 20 (delivered on November 30, 1834). Anderson called Carey "the Father of the Mission" at Serampore. When Carey thought that he himself was dying in 1823, he asked that Psalm 51:1–2 should be taken as the text for his funeral sermon.

12. These "Instructions to the Missionaries Going to Rangoon" were presented to Mardon and Chater in the form of a letter, dated January 13, 1807, signed by the Trio and three new missionary recruits. The quotation is from the last of twenty points drawn up by William Ward. The 1807 work was written primarily by Joshua Marshman, although Carey was privy to its contents before its first printing in 1825.

*Bibliography*

An extensive collection of Carey's letters, writings, and publications is now housed in the consolidated Baptist Archives in the Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford. The Baptist Missionary Society Archives for 1792–1914 are otherwise available in microfilm form, published by the Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tennessee 37234, USA.

**Major Writings by Carey**

(excluding small pamphlets, addresses, reports, and financial appeals)

1792 *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, in which the religious state of the different nations of the world, the success of former undertakings, and the practicability of further undertakings, are considered.* Leicester, England. Further editions: 1818, 1892, 1934, 1961.

1801 *Dialogues Intended to Facilitate the Acquiring of the Bengalee Language.* Serampore (three editions in seventeen years; published in Bengali). Otherwise known as his Colloquies.

1800s *Itihasmala* (in Bengali), or *Garland of Stories*. Calcutta. A lively, earthy picture of the manners and notions of Bengali people.

1824 *Dictionary of the Bengali Language* [87,000 words]. Calcutta.


For a listing of the Bible translations and Scripture portions (into many Indian languages) that he carried out or superintended, see Samuel Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, 8th ed., London, 1934, p. 426. For the three dictionaries and six grammars he wrote for various Indian languages: ibid., p. 214.

**Selected Works about William Carey**

More than thirty biographies were written on Carey between 1836 and 1990, mostly in English, but also in Bengali, Danish, Dutch, German, Swedish—and perhaps other languages. An excellent essay was written on some of the better works in English by Ernest A. Payne some thirty years ago: "Carey and His Biographers," *Baptist Quarterly* 19 (1961): 4–12; see also his "A Postscript," *Baptist Quarterly* 21 (1966): 328–31; cf. 19 (1962): 156.

Only the most noteworthy accounts and interpretations of his life are mentioned below; penetrating studies that make mention of him in his immediate contexts will be identified elsewhere.


Dissertations dealing with Carey are not provided here because they are out-of-date and have been superseded by the works cited above.
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The Legacy of Henry Martyn

Clinton Bennett

Henry Martyn, says the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church and the Dictionary of National Biography, was a "missionary." Samuel Zwemer, Temple Gairdner, and numerous other writers also refer to Martyn as a "missionary." Frequently, he is called "the pioneer Protestant missionary to Muslims" or even "the first modern missionary" to Islam.

Technically, however, Martyn was not a missionary; he was neither sent to India by a missionary society nor commissioned by his church for missionary work. This raises the question whether his legacy should be included in this series. The present writer believes it is correct to include Martyn's legacy, since undoubtedly he was a missionary in terms of his self-understanding and modus operandi.

Himself influenced by missionaries, especially by David Brainerd (1718-47) and William Carey (1761-1834), Martyn in turn influenced countless others, too numerous to mention, and, as Eugene Stock wrote in the History of the Church Missionary Society:

Though his name does not actually honour the CMS roll of missionaries, it is a recollection to be cherished that he was really the society's first English candidate; and though his career was brief, and he was never technically a missionary, yet his un-reserved devotion to Christ's cause, and the influence of his name and character upon succeeding generations, entitle him to be forever regarded as in reality one of the greatest missionaries.1

Having offered himself to the Church Missionary Society (CMS), Martyn was unable to proceed as a candidate because the sudden loss of his patrimony left his sister, Sally, dependent on him. This made it impossible for him to accept "the subsistence allowance of a missionary."2 Instead, he accepted the post of chaplain in the East India Company's Service—a post secured for him by Charles Grant (1746-1823), the influential, evangelical East India Company Director who believed it his duty to "improve" the moral and spiritual welfare of India. He began by recruiting chaplains of higher caliber than the majority, who devoted more time to acquiring money than they did to the "cure of souls." Martyn gratefully accepted the appointment, though he would have been "infinitely better pleased to have gone out as a missionary, as poor as the Lord and his apostles." He saw his task in India as primarily to further the cause of Christian mission. He recorded in his journal, "Walked by moonlight, reflecting on the mission .... even if I never should see a native converted, God may design, by my patience and continuance in the work, to encourage future missionaries."3

The following appraisal of Martyn's legacy will outline his life and career, and then examine four areas in which Martyn's missionary thinking, strategy, and method are particularly noteworthy.

Clinton Bennett is a Baptist minister, with a Ph.D. in Islamic studies from Birmingham University. He served in Bangladesh 1979-1983, followed by five years' ministry among the Bangladeshi community in Birmingham, U.K. He is currently Executive Secretary for Relations with People of Other Faiths in the Conference for World Mission of the Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland (previously the British Council of Churches.)

"Behold, I am Doing a New Thing"

Message from the Lausanne Consultation on Jewish Evangelism
Zeist, The Netherlands, August 9, 1991

As God once spoke to Israel, we hear his voice again today:
"BEHOLD, I AM DOING A NEW THING" (Isa. 43:19).

At the fourth international conference of the Lausanne Consultation on Jewish Evangelism, 150 people from five continents—including many Jewish believers in Jesus—gathered in Zeist, The Netherlands, August 5-9, 1991. In response to God's word to us, we offer the following message to the Jewish people, the churches and all those concerned with Jewish evangelism.

To the Jewish people:

We lament the resurgence of hatred against the Jewish people, against the state of Israel, and we abhor every action or attitude which threatens Jewish survival.

We rejoice in God's continuing care of his covenant people. We rejoice that many have found freedom from oppression in Eastern Europe and Ethiopia, and that many have returned to the land of their fathers. We hope and pray for an end to oppression and for peace for all in the Middle East.

We implore you in this time of renewed Messianic fervour to recognise that the era of redemption has begun with Yeshua of Nazareth. He is indeed the promised divine Messiah of Israel, as well as the light to the nations, revealing God's presence and saving power to all who receive him.

"BEHOLD, I AM DOING A NEW THING," says the Lord.
Childhood

Henry Martyn was born February 18, 1781, in Truro, Cornwall, where his father, John—an amateur mathematician and a former tin miner—had gained promotion as head clerk of a Truro merchant house. Henry, who suffered from tuberculosis from infancy, attended Truro Grammar School from where he entered St. John’s College, Cambridge, in 1797, after applying unsuccessfully to Corpus Christi, Oxford. At St. John’s he had the advantage of following his friend John Kemptorne (1775–1833), whose graduation as Senior Wrangler in 1797 had already set Martyn a goal to emulate. It was at Cambridge, too, that Charles Simeon (1759–1836), Fellow of King’s and vicar of Holy Trinity, was leading the Evangelical Revival within the Church of England, much stimulated by the theology of the Wesley brothers, whose Methodists now formed a corporate body distinct from the Established Church. In Cornwall, where the Wesleys had numerous followers, Sally Martyn had already experienced a spiritual awakening, and she encouraged her brother to give thought to his own spiritual condition. Shortly, he joined her in expressing deep Christian conviction. Their correspondence from this period suggests Methodist influence; a group meeting for Bible Study was termed a “society,” while private devotions were a “secret duty.” Indeed, at Cambridge, anyone who took religion seriously was nicknamed “a Methodist” whether they were followers of the Wesleys or not. By far the greatest influence, however, was Charles Simeon, whose church Martyn regularly attended from 1799.

At Cambridge

Martyn excelled as a student, gaining his B.A. as Senior Wrangler and First Smith’s Prizeman in 1801, a College Fellowship, and the Member’s prize for a Latin Essay in 1802, his M.A. in 1804, and his B.D. in 1805. It was obvious to his seniors that a brilliant teaching career (or perhaps a legal career—he planned to read for the bar) lay ahead. Indeed, Henry himself had, initially, no intention of taking a different course. He wrote “I could not consent to be poor for Christ’s sake.” However, Simeon, who was already scouting for evangelical chaplains for his friend, Charles Grant, and who was also involved in organizing the then embryonic Church Mission Society, encouraged Martyn to think seriously about entering the ministry. In 1803, he finally accepted Simeon’s offer of a curacy and was ordained deacon at Ely Cathedral.

By 1804, Martyn had read Jonathan Edward’s Life of David Brainerd and Carey’s Periodical Accounts and reached the conclusion that God was calling him to the work of overseas mission. Against the advice of his teachers, who “thought it a most improper step for him to leave the University to preach to ignorant heathen, which any person might do,” he offered himself to the CMS as their first English candidate. The circumstances already referred to above conspired to prevent this, and he sailed as a company chaplain instead. On his final visit to Truro, he was excluded from the pulpit of his home parish because of his “Methodist contamination.” Other pulpits, though, welcomed him. He also left behind a sweetheart, Lydia Grenfell, with whom he corresponded regularly during his time in India.

In Calcutta

After a 305-day voyage, Martyn reached Calcutta in April, 1806. He was welcomed, not by the senior Anglican chaplains—David Brown (1763–1812) and Claudius Buchanan (1766–1815), who were out of town—but by the Baptist, William Carey. They breakfasted together, and prayed, in Bengali! Martyn had used the voyage to study his Bengali, Urdu, Persian, and Arabic grammars. For several months, he impatiently awaited appointment to an inland chaplaincy. He wanted to be stationed “at one of the great

To the Churches:

We lament the teaching that the church has replaced the Jewish people in the purposes of God, and we lament the widespread reluctance to share the Gospel with Jewish people. Silence has often replaced shouts of joy that Jesus came as the Jewish Messiah, the Saviour of the world, and the only way of salvation.

We rejoice that the response of Jewish people to the Gospel is nonetheless gaining momentum in our time and that Messianic Jews are making a creative contribution to the life, worship, and witness of the worldwide Church. We also rejoice that significant numbers of Christians are again upholding “the New Testament pattern of taking the Gospel to the Jew first . . .” (Manila Manifesto, LCWE 1989).

We implore the churches to stand with us against powers that promote anti-Semitism and to affirm the urgency of Jewish evangelism. We Jewish and Gentile believers in Jesus need to strengthen our resolve to work together, and together we call upon the whole church to take the whole Gospel to Jewish people everywhere.

“BEHOLD, I AM DOING A NEW THING,” says the Lord.
centres of Indian population," since he regarded ministry to Indians as well as to company personnel as integral to the job he had come to do."

Meanwhile, he continued his language study and regularly visited the Baptists at Serampore, where he began to assist in the work of Bible translation. Stephen Neill has commented that Martyn’s approach differed from that of the older, self-taught men. Martyn, he says, set himself “a standard of scholarship beyond their reach” and was sometimes critical of them. Nonetheless, Carey reported, “We take sweet counsel together and go to the house of God as friends.” He added that wherever Martyn went “the church need not send a missionary,” and there is no evidence of a breach in their relationship. Perhaps ironically, once in India (where missionaries were not legally allowed until 1813), Martyn found some advantage in being a chaplain. He wrote that “a missionary not in the service is liable to be stopped by every subaltern but there is no man who can touch me.”

As Chaplain

Subsequently, Martyn was stationed in Dinapore (October 1806–1809), followed by Cawnpore (1809–1810). Previously, he had thought Hinduism his best field of endeavor. “I feel,” he wrote to Christianity, Nathaniel Sabat, with whose help he also embarked on Persian and Arabic versions. He began to read “everything I can pick up about the Mohammedans.” He sought out the Muslim ulama, whom he engaged in discussion and debate.

At Cawnpore, he translated the Book of Common Prayer into Urdu. His health, however, quickly declined and after just four full years in India, he was granted unlimited leave of absence. In requesting leave, he had two purposes in mind. He intended to return to England to persuade Lydia Grenfell to return with him as his wife; and en route he proposed to visit Arabia and Iran, whose drier climates he thought might improve his health. There, he wanted to test the Persian and Arabic translations and, if possible, to gain for the former the Shah’s own commendation. Thomas Thomason (1774–1829), formerly Martyn’s co-curate at Holy Trinity and now a company chaplain, wrote to Simeon: “He is on his way to Arabia, in pursuit of health and knowledge. You know his genius, and what gigantic strides he takes in everything. He has some great plan in his mind of which I am not competent to judge [but it is] much beyond his feeble and exhausted frame. In all other respects, he is the same as he was; he shines in all the dignity of love, and seems to carry about him such a heavenly majesty as impress the mind beyond description.”

In Arabia, Persia, and Turkey

At Bushire, Martyn showed his Persian and Arabic translations to local scholars, who approved of the former the Arabic defective. Then began Martyn’s arduous and difficult journey through Iran, first to Shiraz, where his friend, Sir John Malcolm (1769–1837), had commended him to the governor, then on to Teheran where he was unsuccessful in gaining an audience with the Shah.

It was at Shiraz that he wrote his Controversial Tracts, in reply to Muslim scholars (Mirza Ibrahim, “preceptor of all the Mullahs,” and Muhammad Ruza Ibn Muhammad Amin of Hamadan) with whom he was invited to debate. There, too, he revised the Persian translation, since scholars there reversed the earlier opinion, rating the Arabic version higher than the Persian. It was at Teheran that, remarkably (or perhaps miraculously), he survived the Vizier’s challenge to recite the Kalimah, and instead recited, “God is God and Jesus is the Son of God.” It is impossible to tell whether the volatile crowd, which yelled “God is neither begotten nor begets,” was held back by fear of reprisal or because they were impressed by Martyn’s courage. Certainly, there is evidence that Muslims, especially Sufis, recognized in Martyn a “spiritual drunkenness” and a piety (Thomason’s “heavenly majesty”) that led them to dub him “merdi Khodai” (a man of God). 17

Next, Martyn visited Sir Gore Ouseley (1779–1844), the British Ambassador at Tabriz, who, fearing confrontation if Martyn presented the translation to the Shah, did so himself. It was well received: “In truth,” said the Shah, “through the learned and unremitting exertions of the Reverend Henry Martyn, it has been translated in a style most befitting sacred books, that is in an easy and simple dictum. . . . The whole of the New Testament is completed in a most excellent manner, a source of pleasure to our enlightened and august mind.” The translation was subsequently published at St. Petersburg under Ouseley’s personal supervision (1815) and at Calcutta (1816).

Announcing

The American Society of Missiology will hold its 1992 annual meeting at Techny Towers in Techny, Illinois (near Chicago), June 12–14. The theme of the meeting will be “1942, 1972, 1992: Mission in Quincentennial Perspective.” The Association of Professors of Mission will meet June 11–12 at the same place in conjunction with the ASM. The theme of their meeting will be “Moving Toward the Center: Missiology for Pastoral Education.” Lois McKinney of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School is president of the ASM, and Mary Motte, F.M.M., of the Mission Resource Center: Missiology for Pastoral Education, is president of the ASM and Mary Motte, F.M.M., of the Mission Resource Center for Pastoral Education. The next conference of the International Association for Mission Studies will be held August 3–11, 1992, at Hawaii Loa College, Kaneoku, Oahu, Hawaii. The theme of the conference is “New World, New Creation: Mission in Power and Faith.” For membership applications in IAMS and further information on the conference, write to: Joachim Wietzke, General Secretary of IAMS, Mittelweg 143, D-2000, Hamburg 13, Germany.

as early as 1804, “the utmost encouragement and even desire to go and preach to the Hindoos. My talents seem to me to be peculiarly suited to them.” In Calcutta, when he thought that his first posting would be to Varanasi, he wrote, “God will employ me to strike at the heart of Hinduism; may the Lord make bare his holy arm, and cause his worm to behold the downfall of Satan.”

But almost immediately after his arrival in Dinapore he began his Urdu translation of the Bible, assisted by a Muslim convert who had been translated in a style most befitting sacred books, that is in an easy and simple dictum. . . . The whole of the New Testament is completed in a most excellent manner, a source of pleasure to our enlightened and august mind.” The translation was subsequently published at St. Petersburg under Ouseley’s personal supervision (1815) and at Calcutta (1816).
Martyn, now racked by tuberculosis, turned toward Istanbul en route for home. He survived as far as Tokat, where he died on October 16, 1812, and was buried by Armenian clergy, of whose “ancient and desolate church he was always a lover.” He had indeed “burned himself out for God,” fulfilling the pledge he had made on first reaching India. That example alone has inspired many to devote their lives to missionary service, and numerous books, both popular and scholarly (including at least one novel), have been written about him.

However, Martyn’s legacy consists of much more than the inspirational value of his life.

Ecumenical Collaboration

Martyn’s approach to mission was never narrowly sectarian. He knew that when he faced a Muslim he did so primarily not as an Anglican but as a believer in the Lord Jesus Christ. Also, in addition to his early collaboration with the Baptists, he regularly communicated, in Latin, with the Fathers of the Propaganda Fide and “more than once . . . protected the [Catholic] priests at Patna from the persecution of the military authorities.” Biographer George Smith observes (1892), “At the beginning of this century, Anglican, Baptist and Romanist missionaries all over the East co-operated with each other in translation work and social intercourse.” Visiting Goa, Martyn commented, “Perhaps many of these poor people, with all the incumberances of Popery, are moving towards the Kingdom of God.” He also developed what proved to be a vital friendship with the Armenians, whose Calcutta clergy commended him to their brethren in Persia, whose Patriarch he visited at Etchmiazan, whose churches he visited at Teheran, and whose clergy finally honored him with the burial rite normally reserved for an archbishop.

Martyn and many of his colleagues, who formed what was known as “The Associated Clergy” to facilitate exchange of news and research, knew that rivalry between churches could only damage the cause of Christian mission. As mission to Islam developed, ecumenical collaboration became an important priority. When in 1906, Protestant missionaries to Muslims gathered at Cairo to think and plan together, their ecumenical impulse testified to the continuing power of Martyn’s legacy.

Enlightened Attitude

Although the British in India displayed some respect for Indian institutions, the general attitude was one of disdain and superiority. Martyn quickly became aware of this: “They seem to hate to see me associating at all with the natives.” His Cambridge friend and biographer, John Sargent (1780–1833), wrote that if Martyn “so much as spoke to a native, it was enough to create wonder and alarm.” He soon earned the nickname “The Black Clergyman” because he received Indians in his home. “Our Countrymen,” Martyn wrote, “when speaking of the natives said . . . that they cannot be converted and, if they could, they would be worse than they are.” He observed how annoyed the general in charge at Dinapore was because he dared to suggest that Indians “were not all fools, and that ingenuity and clearness of reasoning were not confined to England and Europe.”

It is indeed a tribute to Martyn that when attitudes toward Indians were becoming increasingly negative, he rejected that view. Arguably, Martyn, like Carey, went to India early enough to be free from the later, more imperialistic attitudes from which subsequent missionaries found it difficult to disassociate themselves. While mission historians are correct to censured those missionaries who devalued other cultures and imposed European culture, they can also argue, based on Martyn’s legacy, among others, that imperialistic attitudes are neither inevitable nor intrinsic to the missionary mind-set.

Missionary Scholarship

Martyn qualifies as an early exemplar of a “missionary scholar.” Although he sailed for India “without having first read a single word of the Koran, even in its English dress,” he soon realized that knowledge of Islam was as necessary as knowledge of Christianity. Nor was he too proud to confess his ignorance. As late as 1811, while en route to Iran, he recorded in his journal, “Making extracts from Maracci’s Refutation of the Koran. Felt much shame at being obliged to confess my ignorance of many things which I ought to know.” Hearing of a book being written in Cambridge for Muslims, he wrote (1812), “Let it not go to press until it has been approved by men who know the East and know eastern ways of seeing, imagining and reasoning.” This emphasis on scholarship, on the need to study Islam, its history, authoritative texts, faith and practice, was later echoed by many who succeeded him as missionaries to Muslims. Perhaps many still rushed in with too little preparation, but Martyn’s early example can be said to have contributed directly to an ongoing tradition of missionary scholarship.

Missionary Method

Martyn pioneered several models of missionary work. He was, for example, an early advocate of education, not in exchange for “conversion” but as an expression of Christian concern for the total person. He established a school at Dinapore in which he eschewed proselytization: “I told them that what they understand by making people Christians was not my intention. I wished children to be taught to fear God and to become good men.”

However, he is best remembered for his use of “controversy,” especially in his CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS. In these, he rehearsed all the old arguments against Islam: Muhammad was foretold by no prophet, worked no miracles, spread his religion by means utterly human, framed his precepts to gratify human sensuality . . . This confrontational method was taken up by, among others, Karl Pfander (1803–65), whose work, says Christian Troll, “sowed the seeds of enmity and hatred in the hearts of Indian Muslims” who “started to suspect the missionary efforts of the Christians as a plot to destroy Islam.” Since Martyn was one of Pfander’s role models, his legacy here must, sadly, be recognized as having contributed to fostering Muslim animosity, a fact
he would himself regret, because although he employed controversy, he had serious reservations about its effectiveness. This is suggested by his conclusion to his second Tract: “If you [Muslim ulama] do not see the evidence to be sufficient, my prayer is that God may guide you so that you, who have been a guide to men in the way you thought right, may now both see the truth, and call men to God through Jesus Christ.” This represents Martyn’s real position; he knew that argument and debate would not win converts. They are won by God’s love, when human souls are touched by that love.

In one journal entry he commented, “how impossible it is to convince the people of the world, whether Christian or Mohammedan, that what they call religion is merely an invention of their own, having no connection with God.” Consequently, Martyn believed that God could touch Muslim souls despite Islam.

A Soul-Centred Approach

Instead, Martyn preferred “personal talks” with “a small circle of interested Muslims,” which, he believed, could produce “mutually responsive notes.” “Zeal in making proselytes they are used to,” he wrote, “but a tender concern manifested for their souls is certainly new to them, and seemingly produces corresponding seriousness in their minds.”

Martyn, writes Christian Troll, “saw it as his main endeavour to share the religious experience of the forgiveness and peace of God attained through Jesus Christ. He purposefully set out to appreciate whatever was best in his Muslim acquaintances and ascribed such to the activity of God.” He also knew (hence his single-minded approach) that the task of witnessing to Muslims was time-demanding and best pursued within the context of genuine friendship. Thus “he insisted on the need for fostering lasting friendships with the enquirer.”

How, then, did he regard Islam? There are frequent references in his work to Muhammad as an “imposter” and to Islam as Satan’s child. Undoubtedly, this accurately represents his estimate of Islam. However, he believed that God could touch Muslim souls despite Islam; therefore he revered and respected Muslims for the souls within them. He tried to see beyond a person’s religion to the soul’s spiritual condition. Also, like Carey, he thought Indian literature (and in his case, Persian, which he had admired from his Cambridge days) to be of at least “human interest.” He saw profit in trying to understand not only the languages “but also the thought-world of those to whom the Gospel is preached.”

Though sometimes obscured by his Controversial Tracts, this soul-centered approach represents Martyn’s most positive contribution to missionary method. In his Tracts, he identified an important stumbling block between Christians and Muslims: disagreement about “the genuineness and integrity of the Christian scriptures,” which again suggests that “book based” approaches are of limited value; only when soul meets soul can progress he hoped for. Some of his successors, Thomas Valpy French (1825–1891) among them, expressed a similar respect for Muslim souls and regarded them less as opponents to be defeated, more as “souls” to be won.

Conclusion

In addition, therefore, to the inspirational value of Martyn’s life, his legacy in the areas of ecumenical collaboration, respect for Indian culture, scholarship, and missionary method, warrants him a place in mission annals as one whose life and work anticipated some of the best aspects of missionary endeavor as that enterprise developed in the years following Martyn’s own premature death.

Notes

3. Ibid., p. 61.
5. Padwick, Henry Martyn, p. 35.
6. Ibid., p. 43.
7. Ibid., p. 51.
8. Ibid., p. 87.
11. Ibid., p. 241.
13. Ibid., p. 478.
15. Ibid., p. 128.
17. Smith, Henry Martyn, p. 373.
18. Padwick, Henry Martyn, p. 158.
19. Ibid., p. 152.
22. Ibid., p. 318, and see Wilberforce, Journals and Letters, vol. 2, p. 86: “All the RC priests are lawful ministers, according to the word of God” (July 6, 1807).
26. Ibid., p. 95.
27. Sargent, Henry Martyn, pp. 177, 225.
33. Smith, Henry Martyn, p. 412.
34. Wilberforce, Journals and Letters, vol. 2, p. 55 (April 28, 1807). See also...
The Legacy of Samuel Ajayi Crowther

Andrew F. Walls

Samuel Adja1 Crowther was probably the most widely known African Christian of the nineteenth century. His life spanned the greater part of it—he was born in its first decade and died in the last. He lived through a transformation of relations between Africa and the rest of the world and a parallel transformation in the Christian situation in Africa. By the time of his death the bright confidence in an African church led by Africans, a reality which he seemed to embody in himself, had dimmed.

Today things look very different. It seems a good time to consider the legacy of Crowther.

Slavery and Liberation

The story begins with the birth of a boy called Ajayi in the town of Osogun in Yorubaland in what is now Western Nigeria, in or about the year 1807. In later years the story was told that a diviner had indicated that Ajayi was not to enter any of the cults of the orisa, the divinities of the Yoruba pantheon, because he was to be a servant of Olorun”, the God of heaven.” He grew up in Yoruba states. Warfare and raiding became endemic. Besides all the trauma of divided families and transplantation that African slavery could bring, the raids fed a still worse evil: the European traders at the coast. These maintained a trade in slaves, illegal but still richly profitable, across the Atlantic.

When Crowther was about thirteen, Osogun was raided, apparently by a combination of Fulani and Oyo Muslims. Crowther twice recorded his memories of the event, vividly recalling the desolation of burning houses, the horror of capture and roping by the neck, the slaughter of those unfit to travel, the distress of being torn from relatives. Ajayi changed hands six times, before being sold to Portuguese traders for the transatlantic market.

The colony of Sierra Leone had been founded by a coalition of anti-slavery interests, mostly evangelical Christian in inspiration and belonging to the circle associated with William Wilberforce and the “Clapham Sect.” It was intended from the beginning as a Christian settlement, free from slavery and the slave trade. The first permanent element in the population was a group of former slaves from the New World. Following the abolition of the slave trade by the British Parliament in 1807 and the subsequent treaties with other nations to outlaw the traffic, Sierra Leone achieved a new importance. It was a base for the naval squadron that searched vessels to find if they were carrying slaves. It was also the place where slaves were brought if any were found aboard. The Portuguese ship on which Ajayi was taken as a slave was intercepted by the British naval squadron in April 1822, and he, like thousands of other uprooted, disoriented people from inland Africa, was put ashore in Sierra Leone.

By this time, Sierra Leone was becoming a Christian community. It was one of the few early successes of the missionary movement, though the Christian public at large was probably less conscious of the success than of the appalling mortality of mis-

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37. Troll, Christian Muslim Relations in India, p. 9.
sionaries in what became known as the White Man's Grave. To all appearances the whole way of life of Sierra Leone—clothing, buildings, language, education, religion, even names—closely followed Western models. These were people of diverse origins whose cohesion and original identity were now beyond recall. They accepted the combination of Christian faith and Western lifestyle which Sierra Leone offered, a combination already represented in the oldest inhabitants of the colony, the settled slaves from the New World.

Such was the setting in which young Ajayi now found himself. We know little of his early years there. Later he wrote that

... about the third year of my liberation from the slavery of man, I was convinced of another worse state of slavery, namely, that of sin and Satan. It pleased the Lord to open my heart. ... I was admitted into the viable Church of Christ here on earth as a soldier to fight manfully under his banner against our spiritual enemies.4

He was baptized by the Reverend John Raban, of the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society, taking the name Samuel Crowther, after a member of that society's home committee. Mr. Crowther was an eminent clergyman; his young namesake was to make the name far more celebrated.

Crowther had spent those early years in Sierra Leone at school, getting an English education, adding carpentry to his traditional weaving and agricultural skills. In 1827 the Church Missionary

The mission intended to demonstrate a whole new way of life, of which the church and the school and the well-built house were all a part.

Society decided, for the sake of Sierra Leone's future Christian leadership, to provide education to a higher level than the colony's modest schools had given. The resultant "Christian Institution" developed as Fourah Bay College, which eventually offered the first university education in tropical Africa. Crowther was one of its first students.

The Loom of Language

This period marked the beginning of the work that was to form one of the most abiding parts of Crowther's legacy. He continued to have contact with Raban, who had baptized him; and Raban was one of the few missionaries in Sierra Leone to take African languages seriously. To many of his colleagues the priority was to teach English, which would render the African languages unnecessary. Raban realized that such policy was a dead end; he also realized that Yoruba, Crowther's mother tongue, was a major language. (Yoruba had not been prominent in the early years of Sierra Leone, but the political circumstances that had led to young Ajayi's captivity were to bring many other Yoruba to the colony.) Crowther became an informant for Raban, who between 1828 and 1830 published three little books about Yoruba; and almost certainly he also assisted another pioneer African linguist, the Quaker educationist Hannah Kilham.

Crowther was appointed a schoolmaster of the mission, serving in the new villages created to receive "liberated Africans" from the slave ships. A schoolmaster was an evangelist; in Sierra Leone church and school were inseparable. We get glimpses of an eager, vigorous young man who, at least at first, was highly confrontational in his encounters with representatives of Islam and the old religions in Africa. In later life he valued the lessons of this apprenticeship—the futility of abuse, the need to build personal relationships, and the ability to listen patiently.

Crowther began study of the Temne language, which suggests a missionary vision toward the hinterland of Sierra Leone. But he also worked systematically at his own language, as far as the equipment to hand allowed.

Transformation of the Scene

Two developments now opened a new chapter for Crowther and for Sierra Leone Christianity. One was a new link with Yorubaland. Enterprising liberated Africans, banding together and buying confiscated slave ships, began trading far afield from Freetown. Some of Yoruba origin found their way back to their homeland. They settled there, but kept their Sierra Leone connections and the ways of life of Christian Freetown. The second development was the Niger Expedition of 1841, the brief flowering of the humanitarian vision for Africa of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. This investigative mission, intended to prepare the way for an alliance of "Christianity, commerce and civilization" that would destroy the slave trade and bring peace and prosperity to the Niger, relied heavily on Sierra Leone for interpreters and other helpers. The missionary society representatives also came from Sierra Leone. One was J. F. Schön, a German missionary who had striven with languages of the Niger, learning from liberated Africans in Sierra Leone. The other was Crowther.

Crowther's services to the disaster-stricken expedition were invaluable. Schön cited them as evidence for his thesis that the key to the evangelization of inland Africa lay in Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone had Christians such as Crowther to form the task force; it had among the liberated Africans brought there from the slave ships a vast language laboratory for the study of all the languages of West Africa, as well as a source of native speakers as missionaries; and in the institution at Fourah Bay it had a base for study and training.

The Niger Expedition had shown Crowther's qualities, and he was brought to England for study and ordination. The latter was of exceptional significance. Anglican ordination could be received only from a bishop, and there was no bishop nearer than London. Here then, in 1843, began Sierra Leone's indigenous ministry.

Here, too, began Crowther's literary career, with the publication of Yoruba Vocabulary, including an account of grammatical structure, surely the first such work by a native speaker of an African language.

The Yoruba Mission

Meanwhile, the new connection between Sierra Leone and Yorubaland had convinced the CMS of the timeliness of a mission to the Yoruba. There had been no opportunity to train that African mission force foreseen by Schön and Crowther in their report on the Niger Expedition, but at least in Crowther there was one ordained Yoruba missionary available. Thus, after an initial reconnaissance by Henry Townsend, an English missionary from
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Sierra Leone, a mission party went to Abeokuta, the state of the Egba section of the Yoruba people. It was headed by Townsend, Crowther, and a German missionary C. A. Gollmer, with a large group of Sierra Leoneans from the liberated Yoruba community. These included carpenters and builders who were also teachers and catechists. The mission intended to demonstrate a whole new way of life, of which the church and the school and the well-built house were all a part. They were establishing Sierra Leone in Yorubaland. The Sierra Leone trader-immigrants, the people who had first brought Abeokuta to the attention of the mission, became the nucleus of the new Christian community.

The CMS Yoruba mission is a story in itself. How the mission, working on Buxton's principles, introduced the growing and processing of cotton and arranged for its export, thereby keeping Abeokuta out of the slave economy; how the missionaries identified with Abeokuta under invasion and reaped their reward afterwards; how the CMS mobilized Christian opinion to influence the British government on behalf of Abeokuta; the toils into which the mission fell amid inter-Yoruba and colonial conflicts, have been well told elsewhere. Crowther came to London in 1851 to present the cause of Abeokuta. He saw government ministers; he had an interview with the Queen and Prince Albert; he spoke at meetings all over the country, invariably to great effect. This grave, eloquent, well-informed black clergymen was the most impressive tribute to the mission that most British had seen.

But the missionaries' day-to-day activities lay in commending the Gospel and nourishing the infant church. There was a particularly moving incident for Crowther, when he was reunited with the mother and sister from whom he had been separated when the raiders took them more than twenty years earlier. They were among the first in Abeokuta to be baptized.

In Sierra Leone the church had used English in its worship. The new mission worked in Yoruba, with the advantage of native speakers in Crowther and his family and in most of the auxiliaries, and with Crowther's book to assist the Europeans. Townsend, an excellent practical linguist, even edited a Yoruba newspaper. But the most demanding activity was Bible translation.

A Landmark in Translation

The significance of the Yoruba version has not always been observed. It was not the first translation into an African language; but, insofar as Crowther was the leading influence in its production, it was the first by a native speaker. Early missionary translations naturally relied heavily on native speakers as informants and guides; but in no earlier case was a native speaker able to judge and act on an equal footing with the European.

Crowther insisted that the translation should indicate tone—a new departure. In vocabulary and style he sought to get behind colloquial speech by listening to the elders, by noting significant words that emerged in his discussions with Muslims or specialists in the old religion. Over the years, wherever he was, he noted words, proverbs, forms of speech. One of his hardest blows was the loss of the notes of eleven years of such observations, and some manuscript translations, when his house burned down in 1862.

Written Yoruba was the product of missionary committee work, Crowther interacting with his European colleagues on matters of orthography. Henry Venn engaged the best linguistic expertise available in Europe; not only Schön and the society's regular linguistic adviser, Professor Samuel Lee of Cambridge, but the great German philologist Lepsius. The outcome may be seen in the durability of the Yoruba version of the Scriptures to which Crowther was the chief contributor and in the vigorous vernacular literature in Yoruba that has grown up.

New Niger Expeditions and a Mission to the Niger

In 1854 the merchant McGregor Laird sponsored a new Niger expedition, on principles similar to the first, but with a happier outcome. The CMS sent Crowther on this expedition. It revived the vision he had seen in 1841—a chain of missionary operations hundreds of miles along the Niger, into the heart of the continent. He urged a beginning at Onitsha, in Igboland.

The opportunity was not long coming. In 1857, he and J. C. Taylor, a Sierra Leonean clergymen of liberated Igbo parenthood, joined Laird's next expedition to the Niger. Taylor opened the Igbo mission at Onitsha; Crowther went up river. Shipwrecked, and stranded for months, he began to study the Nupe language and surveyed openings to the Nupe and Hausa peoples. The Niger Mission had begun.

Henry Venn soon made a formal structure for it. But it was a mission on a new principle. Crowther led a mission force consisting entirely of Africans. Sierra Leone, as he and Schön had foreseen so long ago, was now evangelizing inland Africa.

For nearly half a century that tiny country sent a stream of missionaries, ordained and lay, to the Niger territories. The area was vast and diverse: Muslim emirates in the north, ocean trading city-states in the Delta, the vast Igbo populations in-between. It is cruel that the missionary contribution of Sierra Leone has been persistently overlooked, and even denied.

It is possible here to consider only three aspects of a remarkable story. Two have been somewhat neglected.

More Legacy in Language

One of these is the continued contribution to language study and translation. Crowther himself wrote the first book on Igbo. He begged Schön, now serving an English parish, to complete his Hausa dictionary. He sent one of his missionaries to study Hausa with Schön. Most of his Sierra Leone staff, unlike people of his own generation, were not native speakers of the languages of the areas they served. The great Sierra Leone language laboratory was closing down; English and the common language, Krio, took over from the languages of the liberated. Add to this the limited education of many Niger missionaries, and their record of translation and publication is remarkable.
The Engagement with Islam

Crowther’s Niger Mission also represents the first sustained missionary engagement with African Islam in modern times. In the Upper Niger areas in Crowther’s time Islam, largely accepted by the chiefs, was working slowly through the population in coexistence with the old religion. From his early experiences in Sierra Leone, Crowther understood how Islamic practice could merge Bibles, but was cautious about supplying them unless he could be sure they would not be used for charms. His insight was justified later, when the young European missionaries who succeeded him wrote out passages of Scripture on request, pleased at such a means of Scripture distribution. They stirred up the anger of Muslim clerics—not because they were circulating Christian Scriptures, but because they were giving them free, thus undercutting the trade in Qur’anic charms. In discussion with Muslims, Crowther sought common ground and found it at the nexus of Qur’an and Bible: Christ as the great prophet, his miraculous birth, Gabriel as the messenger of God. He enjoyed courteous and friendly relations with Muslim rulers, and his writings trace various discussions with rulers, courts, and clerics, recording the questions raised by Muslims, and his own answers, the latter as far as possible in the words of Scripture: “After many years’ experience, I have found that the Bible, the sword of the Spirit, must fight its own battle, by the guidance of the Holy Spirit.”

Christians should of course defend Trinitarian doctrine, but let them do so mindful of the horror-stricken cry of the Qur’an, “Is it possible that Thou dost teach that Thou and Thy Mother are two Gods?” In other words, Christians must show that the things that the Muslims fear as seditious are no part of Christian doctrine.

Crowther, though no great scholar or Arabist, developed an approach to Islam in its African setting, which reflected the patience and the readiness to listen that marked his entire missionary method. Avoiding denunciation and allegations of false prophecy, it worked by acceptance of what the Qur’an says of Christ, and an effective knowledge of the Bible. Crowther looked to the future with hope; the average African Christian knew the Qur’an. And he pondered the fact that the Muslim rule of faith was expressed in Arabic, the Christian in Hausa, or Nupe or Yoruba. The result was different understandings of how the faith was to be applied in life.

The Indigenization of the Episcopate

The best-known aspect of Crowther’s later career is also the most controversial, his representation of the indigenous church principle. We have seen that he was the first ordained minister of his church in his place. It was the policy of Henry Venn, then newly at the helm of the CMS, to strengthen the indigenous ministry. More and more Africans were ordained, some for the Yoruba mission. And Venn wanted well-educated, well-trained African clergy; such people as Crowther’s son Dandeson (who became archdeacon) and his son-in-law T. B. Macaulay (who became principal of Lagos Grammar School) were better educated than many of the homespun English missionaries.

Venn sought self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating churches with a fully indigenous pastorate. In Anglican terms, this meant indigenous bishops. The missionary role was a temporary one; once a church was established, the missionary should move on. The birth of the church brought the euthanasia of the mission. With the growth of the Yoruba church, Venn sought to get these principles applied in Yorubaland. Even the best European missionaries thought this impractical, the hobbyhorse of a doctrinaire home-based administrator.

As we have seen, Venn made a new sphere of leadership for Crowther, the outstanding indigenous minister in West Africa. But he went further, and in 1864 secured the consecration of Crowther as bishop of “the countries of Western Africa beyond the limits of the Queen’s dominions,” a title reflecting some constraints imposed by Crowther’s European colleagues, and others by the peculiarities of the relationship of the Church of England to the Crown. Crowther, a genuinely humble man, resisted; Venn would take no refusal.

In one sense, the new diocese represented the triumph of the three-self principle and the indigenization of the episcopate. But it reflected a compromise, rather than the full expression of those principles. It was, after all, essentially a mission, drawing most of its clergy not from natives of the soil, but from Sierra Leone. Its ministry was “native” only in the sense of not being European. Three-self principles required it to be self-supporting; this meant meager resources, missionaries who got no home leave, and the need to present education as a salable product.

The story of the later years of the Niger mission has often been told and variously interpreted. It still raises passions and causes bitterness. There is no need here to recount more than the essentials: that questions arose about the lives of some of the missionaries; that European missionaries were brought into the mission, and then took it over, brushing aside the old bishop (he was over eighty) and suspending or dismissing his staff. In 1891...
vicultural and more otherworldly. A young English missionary was distressed that the old bishop who preached so splendidly on the blood of Christ could urge on a chief the advantages of having a school and make no reference to the future life.\(^2\) This story illustrates in brief the two evangelical itineraries: the short
days. One section of the Niger mission, that in the Niger Delta, was financially self-supporting. Declining the European takeover, it long maintained a separate existence under Crowther's son, the Niger Expedition and the courts of Muslim rulers of the north.

There were some unexpected legacies even from the last sad days. One section of the Niger mission, that in the Niger Delta, was financially self-supporting. Declining the European takeover, it long maintained a separate existence under Crowther's son, the Niger Expedition and the courts of Muslim rulers of the north.

In the Yoruba mission, blessed with many strong and prickly personalities, Crowther's influence had been irenic.

route via Keswick, and the long one via the White Man's Grave, the Niger Expedition and the courts of Muslim rulers of the north.

Notes

1. Crowther himself spelled his Yoruba name (which he employed as a second name) thus. The modern spelling is Ajayi, and this spelling is commonly used today, especially by Nigerian writers.


3. The story is representative of hundreds which show the God of the Bible active in the African past through such prophecies of the Christian future of Africa.


6. Crowther was not the first African to receive Anglican ordination. As early as 1765, Philip Quaque, from Cape Coast in what is now Ghana, who had been brought to England as a boy, was appointed chaplain to the British trading settlement at Cape Coast. He died in 1816. Crowther had never heard of him until he went ashore at Cape Coast en route to the Niger in 1841 and saw a memorial tablet. See Jesse Page, The Black Bishop (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), p. 53.


8. Repeated, for instance, by Stephen Neill, Christian Missions (Pelican History of the Church; Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 306, who said, “It is only to be regretted that its Christianity has not proved expansive.” In fact, few countries can claim so much expansion in proportion to the numbers of the Christian population.

9. See E. E. H. Hair, The Early Study of Nigerian Languages (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967), p. 82, for an assessment. See Stephen Neill, Christian Missions (pp. 377f) for the common impression of the linguistic incompetence of Crowther and the Niger missionaries. Hair’s careful catalogue of their translations in the languages of the Lower Niger, as well as his descriptions of Crowther’s linguistic surveys in the Upper Niger, show how misleading this is.


13. For the story, see Tasié, Christian Missionary Enterprise in the Niger Delta.


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Archdeacon Dandeson Crowther, within the Anglican communion but outside the CMS. It grew at a phenomenal rate, becoming so self-propagating that it ceased to be self-supporting.\(^3\) Other voices called for direct schism; the refusal to appoint an African successor to Crowther, despite the manifest availability of outstanding African clergy, marks an important point in the history of African Independent churches.\(^4\) The treatment of Crowther, and still more the question of his successor, gave a focus for the incipient nationalist movement of which E. W. Blyden was the most eloquent spokesman.\(^5\) Crowther thus has his own modest place in the martyrology of African nationalism.

But the majority of Christians, including those natural successors of Crowther who were passed over or, worse, suffered denigration or abuse, took no such course. They simply waited. Crowther was the outstanding representative of a whole body of West African church leaders who came to the fore in the pre-Imperial age and were superseded in the Imperial. But the Imperial age itself was to be only an episode. The legacy of Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the humble, devout exponent of a Christian faith that was essentially African and essentially missionary, has passed to the whole vast church of Africa and thus to the whole vast church of Christ.
Riding the Third Wave

Douglas J. Elwood

We are fast approaching the end of the Second Millennium of Christian history and about to enter the Third Millennium. This becomes even more challenging when we anticipate the Third Millennium in relation to the Third Wave of civilization and the emerging Third Church.

Each of these becomes more meaningful when seen in relation to the other two: Third Church, Third Wave, Third Millennium. The three concepts coalesce in my mind, so that I have a vision of the Third Church riding the crest of the Third Wave into the Third Millennium. The most obvious characteristic of all three is that they are time concepts—futuristic metaphors rooted in historical process. As we look ahead to the year 2000 we are challenged to respond to these complex events—complex because all three converge at the same time and in our own lifetime.

Third Wave

“Third Wave” is Alvin Toffler’s creative metaphor for the new era of human civilization that is already forming somewhere out in the “ocean,” so to speak. The central image of his provocative book, published in 1980, is that of colliding waves of change. Try to imagine two or three giant waves colliding! The first wave of change came with the AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION, which broke upon nomadic fishing and hunting societies around 8000 B.C. This form of civilization dominated the earth unchallenged until sometime around A.D. 1650 when it was disrupted by the second wave of change that came with the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, characterized by an often violent clash between the farmers and the industrializers.

The industrial civilization is now in crisis because a vast new cluster of forces has arisen to undermine it. The third wave of change began in the 1950s, when, for the first time, white-collar and service workers began to outnumber blue-collar workers in industrially developed countries. Toffler does not name the revolutionary change that constitutes the Third Wave, but others have called it the INFORMATION REVOLUTION. For instance, in the 1950s we witnessed the widespread introduction of the computer and commercial jet travel, and more recently color TV, the microchip, the FAX machine, the laser disc, and numerous other high-impact innovations. This is clearly the information era.

Although the Third Wave began to gather momentum during the 1950s in industrially developed countries, it has arrived more recently in other countries like South Korea and Taiwan. “Today,” says Toffler, “all the high-tech nations are reeling from the collision between the Third Wave and the obsolete . . . econ-

Many developing countries are feeling the impact of three different waves of change, all at the same time.

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"we are the final generation of an old civilization and the first generation of a new one, and that much of our personal confusion, anguish, and disorientation can be traced directly to the conflict within us, and within our political institutions, between the dying Second Wave civilization and the emergent Third Wave civilization that is thundering in to take its place."

Whether the wave hypothesis proves correct in detail or not, it deserves a response. Clearly, Toffler is neither a romantic idealist nor a stubborn traditionalist. Instead he advocates a positive, revolutionary alternative that he believes to be realistically attainable. The values he sees evolving in Third Wave society are democratic and pluralistic. These values include decentralized planning, shared decision-making, collegial leadership style, and matrix organization (organization with self-coordinating units). In short, the new civilization is anticipated to be generally non-authoritarian (with democracy coming into its own) and basically nonviolent (war no longer regarded as a civilized way of settling disputes).

As the first generation of a new civilization we are challenged to create new forms and not just maintain the old ones. "Some generations are born to create," writes Toffler, "others to maintain a civilization. . . . Today in every sphere of social life, in our families, our schools, our businesses, and churches, in our energy systems and communications, we face the need to create new Third Wave forms." One problem is that in every society there is a fringe of pseudo-revolutionaries, steepled in obsolete Second Wave assumptions, for whom no proposed change is radical enough. Among these are what he calls "archaeo-Marxists, anarcho-romantics, right-wing fanatics, armchair guerrillas, and honest-to-God terrorists, dreaming of totalitarian technocracies or medieval utopias." Even as we move into a new historical era, these pseudo-revolutionaries nurse dreams of revolution drawn from the yellowed pages of yesterday’s political tracts. What lies ahead, however, is not a replay of any previous revolutionary drama—"no centrally directed overthrow of the ruling elites by some ‘vanguard party’ with the masses in tow; no spontaneous, supposedly cathartic, mass uprising triggered by terrorism," as Joma Sison on the extreme left and Gringo Honason on the extreme right continue to imagine for the Philippines, for example. No, the creation of new political structures for a Third Wave civilization will not come in a single climactic upheaval but instead as a result of a thousand innovations and collisions at many levels and in many places over a period of decades.6

Third Church

Toffler believes that the Third Wave is cresting as we enter the Third Millennium. The First Millennium was mainly the history of the Eastern church, the church of the Eastern Mediterranean world, ending with the Great Schism in 1054. The Second Millennium is largely the history of the church of the Western world.

Third Millennium

The Third Millennium in the history of Christianity is expected to be predominantly the history of the church of the Southern hemisphere, that is, the newer churches which are the end product of global mission.

As we approach the year 2000 there is the sense that we are living in a time of gigantic change. Like the ancient biblical drama, the modern millennium ignites our vision for a better world—alongside our nightmares of the world’s end. The tension between the two is ever-present: a better world or apocalypse, vision or nightmare. Much depends on whether we view the turn of the millennium as the end of human history or as the beginning of a new era.

We do well to remind ourselves that the three waves of human civilization and the three millennia of Christian history, as implied earlier in this paper, do not necessarily follow each other in sequence, but exist in varied proportions alongside each other in every culture as giant waves of change. The same is true of the First, Second, and Third Church. Wherever global mission has spread, they exist side-by-side in Christianity’s increasing inter-cultural context.

In the mid-1970s a book appeared under the title The Coming of the Third Church by the Swiss Roman Catholic missiologist, Walpert Bühlmann. He did not discuss the Third Millennium, and the Third Wave metaphor had not yet been introduced. But he expressed a vision of the significance of a “Third Church” which he saw emerging in our time. In fact, he considered the coming of the Third Church to be an epoch-making event, and an unprecedented opportunity for world Christianity.

The First Church is geographically the Eastern church (historically, the church of the First Millennium), known to us today as the Eastern Orthodox and Eastern Catholic churches whose origins antedate the Great Schism of 1054. Bühlmann recognizes that the First Church still exists today, but is now a sleeping church—"the Church of silence." With the changes in Eastern Europe, that may be less true in the 1990s than it was in the 1970s, but some would say that it remains largely a priestly church that seems to have lost sight of its prophetic mission.

The Second Church is the church of the Western world which, for roughly a thousand years, the Second Millennium, has been the “center” of world Christianity, but now experiences decline in both numerical growth and social influence.

The Third Church is “third” in being the newer branch of world Christianity—the end product of global mission. “Thirdness” has nothing to do with rank. As I said earlier, it is a historical term, like Third Millennium and Third Wave. In fact, the main thrust of Bühlmann’s book is to show that the Third Church is destined to become the “first” as far as vitality and influence are concerned. He sees the Third Church coming into its own in the twenty-first century. In his words, “Third Church” simply expresses the fact that, "alongside the Western and the Eastern Church there has arisen a new entity which, by its special characteristics and future expectations, deserves to be denoted and appreciated by its own special name." He believes that the coming of the Third Church is envisioned by Luke in chapter 13, verse 29: “People will come from the east and the west, from the north and the south, and sit down at the feast in the Kingdom of God” (TEV).

Although the Third Church is largely the church of the “Third World,” it is by no means coextensive with the Third
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World. The church in Japan is an obvious example of an expression of the Third Church, historically speaking, but clearly not a part of the Third World, economically speaking. Also, a number of formerly Third World countries are rapidly becoming First World countries, notably the newly industrialized countries of Asia, or what the Chinese call the “Four Tigers”: South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong. In any case, the concept “Third World,” though useful in the 1970s and ’80s, is bound soon to fall into disuse for the simple reason that there is no longer a “Second World” of Communist-bloc nations. If there is no Second World, how can we any longer speak meaningfully of a “Third World”? Obviously we need a new term to refer to the still-developing parts of the world. Regarding population statistics, it is no longer the “Two-Thirds World” but the “Three-Quarters World,” with precisely 77 percent of the world’s population. The important point here is that the Third Church is not synonymous with the church of the so-called Third World, but is called “third” in a purely historical sense as the newer branch of world Christianity.

There is, however, a geographical dimension to the “Third Church” concept. The emergence of a Third Church is partly the result of what Bühmann calls “a shift in the world’s center of gravity.” The fact is that the Western world is no longer the center of modernization by the year 2000, the assertiveness of the rim-all are signs that yesterday’s Western-dominated world is shifting on its axis.

This geographical shift profoundly affects “the Church’s center of gravity,” says Bühmann. The axis of Christendom is also now shifting, even as we speak, from the northern to the Southern hemisphere. Given present growth trends, by the year 2000 there will be more Christians in the Third Church than in the First and the Second Church combined. This trend is due mainly to the fact that there will be more Christians in Africa than in North America by the end of this century, and more in Latin America than in Europe. Growth factors include the high birth rate in developing countries, the decline of organized Christianity in Europe, and the increase of new conversions in Africa. Asia, while still the major non-Christian continent, is now showing signs of remarkable receptivity to Christianity in countries once thought to be hostile to the Christian faith. All of this means that the centers of the church’s influence in the future may no longer be Rome, Geneva, or Canterbury, but more likely Nairobi, Buenos Aires, and Seoul. One African theologian already has suggested that it is time for the election of an African pope and for the World Council of Churches to transfer its central headquarters from Geneva to Nairobi!

Earlier I said that I saw a kind of vision of the Third Church riding the crest of the Third Wave. This can be illustrated by the fact that since 1980 the Christian world has purchased and is using some 45 million computers, with a capital value of no less than $295 billion. According to David Barrett, Christians are buying new computers at the rate of 16,800 every day. In his words, “These systems owned and operated by Christians are backed up by a new kind of Christian army—200 million Christian computer specialists.” This development was completely unanticipated ten years ago. It has resulted in fifty-six “Great Commission global networks,” which can be further grouped into nine “global meganetworks” embracing all the major Christian denominations and spanning 210 countries and eight continents.

As we look ahead to the dawn of the Third Millennium, only a few short years away, we are asked to respond positively, creatively, and with measured optimism to the challenge of the emerging Third Church. Working as mission partners, we are part of the Third Church, which, like it or not, is riding the Third Wave of civilization and coming into its own with the dawning of the Third Millennium. To say the very least, it is an exciting time to be alive and to be engaged in partnership in Christ’s global mission. I personally believe it is highly unlikely that the year 2000 will mark the end of time, unless the end comes through a man-made apocalypse. If we believe Providence has had a hand in raising up the Third Church, we can expect God to guide the church through the Third Millennium as she rides out the uncertainties of the Third Wave of civilization.

Among the crucial questions we are moved to ask are the following: Is the Third Wave fraught with peril as well as promise for the Third Church? Who will shape the new civilization now rapidly rising to replace the old? How much influence will Christian thought and action have in the shaping of the new era? How do we know that deeply entrenched “second wave” proponents will not simply exploit the “new wave” values to reinforce their own vested interests? Granted that a whole new set of values is expected, should the Third Church merely “ride” the wave or should it not also be “making waves”—that is, shaping those new values? Finally, are Third Church leaders prepared to assume the historic role now assigned to them?

Lesslie Newbigin, in discussing churches of the Third World that belong to societies that are struggling to prove their truly national character, expresses the insight that “churches in the old colonial powers, ridden by feelings of guilt, . . . applaud in the younger churches a synthesis of nationalism and Christianity which they deplore in their missionary grandparents.” In other words, to put it pointedly, are we ready to accept uncritically any and every expression of Christianity in the Third Church as long as it is authentically Asian, African, or Latin American?

I share with Bühmann the conviction that only in genuine partnership and mutuality can the “three churches” effectively shape the new future. They need one another: The Third Church needs the Second for support, and the First and the Second Church need the Third for renewal. Each has something to contribute and to teach; each has something to receive and to learn. We need to strike all three notes as a single chord. The Third Church, writes Bühmann, must not remain a “kindergarten for mother church” nor a “poor house for the exercise of her charity.” The Second Church must find a large part of her true purpose in life in enabling the Third Church to be truly Christ’s church in the full sense, that is, “a sign of hope and salvation,” especially in the southern regions of the globe—a hemisphere full of poverty and sickness, of non-Christian religions and seekers for truth. We conclude with Bühmann that, contrary to much pessimism in the mainline churches, “we are not at the end” of global Christian mission, “but rather at the beginning of a new and extraordinary missionary era.” It is only the end of the beginning! Christian faith assures us that God is involved in these

It is an exciting time to be alive and to be engaged in partnership in Christ’s global mission.

for modernization by the year 2000, the assertiveness of the Islamic world, the recent rise of newly industrialized countries in Asia (the Four Tigers), the economic expansion on the Pacific Rim—all are signs that yesterday’s Western-dominated world is shifting on its axis.

This geographical shift profoundly affects “the Church’s center of gravity,” says Bühmann. The axis of Christendom also is now shifting, even as we speak, from the northern to the Southern hemisphere. Given present growth trends, by the year 2000 there will be more Christians in the Third Church than in the First and the Second Church combined. This trend is due mainly to the fact that there will be more Christians in Africa than in North America by the end of this century, and more in Latin America than in Europe. Growth factors include the high birth rate in developing countries, the decline of organized Christianity in Europe, and the increase of new conversions in Africa. Asia, while still the major non-Christian continent, is now showing signs of remarkable receptivity to Christianity in countries once thought to be hostile to the Christian faith. All of this means that the centers of the church’s influence in the future may no longer be Rome, Geneva, or Canterbury, but more likely Nairobi, Buenos Aires, and Seoul. One African theologian already has suggested that it is time for the election of an African pope and for the World Council of Churches to transfer its central headquarters from Geneva to Nairobi!

Earlier I said that I saw a kind of vision of the Third Church riding the crest of the Third Wave. This can be illustrated by the fact that since 1980 the Christian world has purchased and is using some 45 million computers, with a capital value of no less than $295 billion. According to David Barrett, Christians are buying new computers at the rate of 16,800 every day. In his words, “These systems owned and operated by Christians are backed up by a new kind of Christian army—200 million Christian computer specialists.” This development was completely unanticipated ten years ago. It has resulted in fifty-six “Great Commission global networks,” which can be further grouped into nine “global meganetworks” embracing all the major Christian denominations and spanning 210 countries and eight continents. As we look ahead to the dawn of the Third Millennium, only a few short years away, we are asked to respond positively, creatively, and with measured optimism to the challenge of the emerging Third Church. Working as mission partners, we are part of the Third Church, which, like it or not, is riding the Third Wave of civilization and coming into its own with the dawning of the Third Millennium. To say the very least, it is an exciting time to be alive and to be engaged in partnership in Christ’s global mission. I personally believe it is highly unlikely that the year 2000 will mark the end of time, unless the end comes through a man-made apocalypse. If we believe Providence has had a hand in raising up the Third Church, we can expect God to guide the church through the Third Millennium as she rides out the uncertainties of the Third Wave of civilization.

Among the crucial questions we are moved to ask are the following: Is the Third Wave fraught with peril as well as promise for the Third Church? Who will shape the new civilization now rapidly rising to replace the old? How much influence will Christian thought and action have in the shaping of the new era? How do we know that deeply entrenched “second wave” proponents will not simply exploit the “new wave” values to reinforce their own vested interests? Granted that a whole new set of values is expected, should the Third Church merely “ride” the wave or should it not also be “making waves”—that is, shaping those new values? Finally, are Third Church leaders prepared to assume the historic role now assigned to them?

Lesslie Newbigin, in discussing churches of the Third World that belong to societies that are struggling to prove their truly national character, expresses the insight that “churches in the old colonial powers, ridden by feelings of guilt, . . . applaud in the younger churches a synthesis of nationalism and Christianity which they deplore in their missionary grandparents.” In other words, to put it pointedly, are we ready to accept uncritically any and every expression of Christianity in the Third Church as long as it is authentically Asian, African, or Latin American?

I share with Bühmann the conviction that only in genuine partnership and mutuality can the “three churches” effectively shape the new future. They need one another: The Third Church needs the Second for support, and the First and the Second Church need the Third for renewal. Each has something to contribute and to teach; each has something to receive and to learn. We need to strike all three notes as a single chord. The Third Church, writes Bühmann, must not remain a “kindergarten for mother church” nor a “poor house for the exercise of her charity.” The Second Church must find a large part of her true purpose in life in enabling the Third Church to be truly Christ’s church in the full sense, that is, “a sign of hope and salvation,” especially in the southern regions of the globe—a hemisphere full of poverty and sickness, of non-Christian religions and seekers for truth. We conclude with Bühmann that, contrary to much pessimism in the mainline churches, “we are not at the end” of global Christian mission, “but rather at the beginning of a new and extraordinary missionary era.” It is only the end of the beginning! Christian faith assures us that God is involved in these
happenings—judging the idolatries and inequities of Second Wave, Second Millennium society, and creating new forms for the future. The colliding waves of change, when one era is coming to an end and a new one is about to begin, can be seen as the hidden activity of God.

There is little doubt that the Third Church and the Third Millennium are part of God’s future plan. The Third Wave of human civilization is more ambiguous, of course, because we are all too aware of what “man’s inhumanity to man” has made of the First and the Second Wave. Yet, who knows but that the Third Wave, with all its promise and peril, may also be part of God’s creative and purposive action? One indicator may be the remarkable convergence in our own lifetime of the three events: Third Wave, Third Millennium, Third Church. If we could know with certainty that the Third Wave is indeed God’s doing, we would want at once to mount the surfboard and ride the crest of the wave into the Third Millennium. It will be necessarily a partnership between God and us. Are we willing to take the risk? Are we ready to question many of the old values and adopt new ones? Are we willing to accept the necessary disciplines? As mentioned earlier, much depends on whether we view the new millennium as the end of time or as the beginning of a new era. We need to steer a middle course between faithless pessimism and facile optimism. The first is illusory and the second is paralyzing. To quote a recent document emerging from the struggle in Northern Ireland: “On the one hand the Christian message is starkly realistic, recognizing . . . humanity’s terrifying potential for inhumanity. On the other hand, it proclaims with joy and hope the advent of a new reality. If offers a compelling vision of the world that could be [and] summons all of us to a greater sensitivity to the cries of the suffering. . . .”

One thing is sure, to paraphrase the words of that wise old Pharisee Gamaliel: “If this undertaking is merely of men, it will fail; but if it is of God, you will not be able to stop it. You may even find yourself fighting against God” (Acts 5:38f.).

Much depends on whether we view the new millennium as the end of time or the beginning of a new era.

Notes

2. Ibid. pp. 11f.
3. Ibid. p. 12.
4. Ibid. p. 440.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
11. Ibid. p. 166.
Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1992

David B. Barrett

The table opposite is the eighth in an annual series describing statistics and trends. This year we go back to first principles and ask: Why are we presenting statistics like lines 1–74 opposite? What is the purpose of numbers? Does anyone need figures of this complexity?

Why Bother with Statistics of Mission at All?

There are many reasons. Here are seven of them:

1. It's biblical. Counting is a major concern in the Bible ("count" is used 126 times in the New International Version). The fourth book in Jesus' Bible was named in its Greek translation "Arithmoi." Today we call it Numbers.

2. It's strategic. Planning, strategies, tactics, and logistics concerning any subject all depend on proper counting. This is the main reason why the Old Testament is a storehouse of census data of every type.

3. It's stewardship. Strict accounting and careful auditing can reveal profit or loss, waste, or even massive fraud (see lines 48–54).

4. It's indispensable. Handling numbers sensibly is as essential to the daily activities of the churches as in all walks of civilized life.

5. It's ground-breaking. Statistics tell us the big picture, the overall status. (Lines 1–74 are all of this type).


7. It's churchwide. Every year 23,000 denominations and 4,000 foreign mission agencies instruct 10 million Chinese Christian leaders—pastors, clergy, bishops, evangelists, missionaries, lay leaders—to fill out and return complex statistical questionnaires. Their labor finds their way into lines 20–65 opposite. At the very least we owe it to these enumerators colleagues to analyze their statistics carefully.

Let's now use some of this year's numbers to investigate a couple of fundamental questions basic to success or failure in the Christian world mission.

What Countries Need Foreign Missionaries?

With only the relatively small number of 295,000 foreign missionaries to go round (line 46), we must rephrase the question to be comparative: Which countries need them more than others?

From the standpoint of Christ's Great Commission, we can answer: Those with the weakest home ministries. This must certainly include strongly non-Christian countries, those with no organized churches, those with no existing missions, no missionaries, no Scriptures, no evangelists, no clergy. After studying the data on the current strength of the church in every country, we can propose a numerical criterion. Let N be the number of full-time citizen Christian workers of all kinds in a country, per million of the population. (For a country, this would be line 44 divided by line 1, multiplied by 1 million). The level N = 1000 indicates a very strong ministry. So does N = 500, even as low as N = 150. But below N = 150—one worker for every 7,000 people—the church is too weak to implement the ministry of Christ adequately without outside help.

So here at least is one firm answer: Every country where N is less than 150 (N<150) deserves priority attention from mission-sending agencies.

What Countries Do NOT Need Missionaries?

Let's sharpen this question somewhat. What countries are sufficiently well off in Christian resources that they should not be allowed to syphon off the meager resources of the foreign mission enterprise?

To start with, countries with massive or strong home ministries, defined above as N>500, do not really need outside help. Healthy people don't need blood transfusions.

Next, let's introduce a second variable and call it M, standing for the number of foreign missionaries (of all Christian traditions) at work in a country, per million inhabitants. (For a country, this would be line 46 divided by line 1, multiplied by 1 million). In the nineteenth century, several statistically-minded missionary statesmen, especially John R. Mott in 1900, proposed that a country or territory should be regarded as "occupied" by missions when foreign missionaries had increased there to one per 10,000 inhabitants. This is still widely regarded as a sensible level. We can restate it as 100 missionaries per million (M = 100). This is just about the maximum foreign missionary presence that one can justify anywhere nowadays. It would be equivalent to fielding 1,700 missionaries in Iraq, or 12,000 in Pakistan, or 17,000 in Indonesia, or 80,000 in India, or 100,000 in China. What non-Christian governments today would tolerate such armies of foreign missionaries? Yet 106 mostly Christian countries today have values of M over 100, 87 over 350, 38 over 1000, and even 16 over 2000 per million.

Even more startling, the data show that some 37 heavily Christian countries in World C have very strong home ministries (N>1000) but in addition are looting the foreign mission enterprise at sky-high rates of M>350 to bolster those ministries.

So here at least is another firm answer: Every country where M>100 does not really need further foreign personnel. Over that level it would make sense to redeploy personnel to other countries whose comparative need is markedly greater.

What is true of foreign missionary personnel is true of the whole range of Christian resources (lines 41–62 in the table opposite). Until they are redeployed according to statistically justifiable need, their total impact on the non-Christian world will continue to be stunted.

Notes


The author assures readers that he possesses full documentation and justification for all statistics presented here. Readers wanting evidence and authentication are referred to the 85 articles, reports, pamphlets, and books that he has published on this subject since 1985. Severe limitations of space prevent further documentation here.

Methodological Notes on Table (referring to numbered lines on opposite page). Indented categories form part of, and are included in, unindented categories above them. Definitions of categories are as given and explained in World Christian Encyclopedia (1982), with additional data and explanations as below. The analytical trichotomy of Worlds A,B,C is expounded, through 33 global diagrams, in a handbook of global statistics: Our Globe and How to Reach It: Seeing the World Evangelized by AD 2000 and Beyond (D. B. Barrett and T. M. Johnson, Birmingham, Ala.: New Hope, 1990).

9. Widest definition: professing Christians plus secret believers, which equals affiliated (church members) plus nominal Christians. World C is the world of all who individually are Christians.

10. Total of all non-Christians (sum of rows 10-18 above, plus in 1992 some 198,041,000 adherents of other minor religions). This is also the same as World A (the unevangelized) plus World B (evangelized non-Christians).

23. Church members involved in the Pentecostal/ Charismatic Renewal. Totals on this line overlap with those on lines 26–32.

25. World totals of current long-term trend for all confessions. (See Our Globe and How to Reach It, Global Diagram 5).

26–32, also 33–40. The total of these entries can be reconciled to line No. 9 by referring to WCE, Global Tables 4 and 26.


53. Amounts embezzled (U.S. dollar equivalents, per year). 

55. Total general-purpose computers and word processors owned by churches, agencies, groups, and individual Christians.

70–72. Defined as in WCE, parts 3,5,6, and 9.

74. Grand total of all distinct plans and proposals for accomplishing world evangelization made by Christians since A.D. 30. (See Barrett and Reasmonkey, Seven Hundred Plans to Evangelize the World: The Rise of a Global Evangelization Movement, New Hope, 1988).
### STATUS OF GLOBAL MISSION, 1992, IN CONTEXT OF 20TH CENTURY

**WORLD POPULATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>1,619,886,000</td>
<td>3,610,034,000</td>
<td>4,373,917,500</td>
<td>5,480,851,000</td>
<td>6,251,055,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban dwellers</td>
<td>232,694,000</td>
<td>1,354,237,000</td>
<td>1,797,479,000</td>
<td>2,386,947,000</td>
<td>2,916,501,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural dwellers</td>
<td>1,387,192,000</td>
<td>2,257,797,000</td>
<td>2,576,438,000</td>
<td>3,093,804,000</td>
<td>3,334,554,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult population</td>
<td>1,025,938,000</td>
<td>2,245,227,000</td>
<td>2,698,396,900</td>
<td>3,356,968,000</td>
<td>3,808,564,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literates</td>
<td>286,705,000</td>
<td>1,437,761,000</td>
<td>1,774,002,700</td>
<td>2,306,713,000</td>
<td>2,697,595,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonliterates</td>
<td>739,233,000</td>
<td>807,465,400</td>
<td>924,394,200</td>
<td>1,050,255,000</td>
<td>1,110,969,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### WORLDWIDE EXPANSION OF CITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan (over 100,000 population)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megacities (over 1 million population)</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### WORLD POPULATION BY RELIGION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>657,159,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New-religionists</td>
<td>14,432,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atheists</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>649,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>2,960,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Christians as Practising Christians</td>
<td>40,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Christians as Foreign-mission sending agencies</td>
<td>250,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonwhite indigenous Christians</td>
<td>5,452,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal Protestants</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Christian martyrs per year</td>
<td>19,289,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Christians (= Worlds A and B)</td>
<td>1,061,830,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MEMBERSHIP BY ECCLESIASTICAL BLOC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>8,756,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>17,063,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>273,788,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>60,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Africa</td>
<td>59,569,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>4,311,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>16,347,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>97,002,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MEMBERSHIP BY CONTINENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>8,756,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>17,063,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>273,788,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>60,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Africa</td>
<td>59,569,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>4,311,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>16,347,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>97,002,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Service agencies</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-mission sending agencies</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>9,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHRISTIAN WORKERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National (all denominations)</td>
<td>1,050,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal/Charismatic national workers</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign missionaries</td>
<td>62,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal/Charismatic foreign missionaries</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal income of church members</td>
<td>270 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal income of Pentecostals/Charismatics</td>
<td>250 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving to Christian causes</td>
<td>8 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church's income</td>
<td>7 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parachurch and institutional income</td>
<td>1 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastical crime</td>
<td>300 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income of global foreign missions</td>
<td>200 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income of local Christian causes</td>
<td>100 billion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New book/articles on evangelization per year</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SCRIPTURE DISTRIBUTION (all sources)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bibles per year</td>
<td>5,452,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Testaments per year</td>
<td>7,300,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHRISTIAN BROADCASTING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian radio/TV stations</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total monthly listeners/viewers</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Christian stations</td>
<td>520,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For secular stations</td>
<td>650,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHRISTIAN URBAN MISSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New non-Christian urban dwellers per day</td>
<td>5,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Christians</td>
<td>159,600,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Urban Christians as % of urban dwellers | 65.0%
| Evangelized urban dwellers, % | 72.0 |

### WORLD EVANGELIZATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unreached peoples (with no churches)</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World evangelization plans since AD 30</td>
<td>7,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### JANUARY 1992

27
My Pilgrimage in Mission

Mortimer Arias

My pilgrimage in mission began with my being the recipient of mission. The Gospel invitation came to me through the Methodist Church in Uruguay, a weird presence in a country of dominant Roman Catholic tradition and pervasive secularism. My conversion to Christ and my decision to enter the ministry came together. "Mission" in the local context meant to be of dominant Roman Catholic tradition and pervasive secularism. But mission for me had a romantic halo, as I dreamed asking for suggestions on how to learn an African language, starting with a word a day . . . and he answered it!

From Romantic Halo to Specifics in Mission

When I received my first appointment as a pastor in the Methodist Church in Uruguay in 1947, mission became very specific. In a minority situation, inside a counter-culture church, to be missionary or evangelistic was a fact of life. To be a pastor was to be evangelistic—both inside and outside the church. To preach on the streets or plazas, to speak over the radio, to distribute tracts, to invite neighbors to evangelistic campaigns, or to become the national secretary of evangelism, was destiny. There was no other way, considering that the laborers were so few in the struggle not only for growth but for visibility.

The great challenge was the secularistic mood of the Uruguayan society, a sort of European transplant, shaped by the best intellectuals and politicians under the influence of French rationalism and positivism. For instance, one of those whom I invited to an evangelistic meeting in my church in the city of Mercedes, reacted by saying, "Oh . . . religion? I have no more religion than Batlle and Penarol." (The first was the most influential statesman, creator of the democratic Welfare State in Uruguay; the second was the most popular soccer team!)

When I transferred to Bolivia in 1962 the context was totally different: two-thirds of the population Indian, and one-third mestizos, with those of direct European descent relatively few in number. The problem was not how to speak of God to the "religionless adult" (Bonhoeffer), but how to communicate the full good news of Jesus Christ to a people nurtured in folk-religion—a syncretistic blend of Roman Catholic Hispanic tradition and indigenous animism. However, in the early 1960s, the challenge to make room for the Protestant ("evangelico") witness, which had been resisted for one century by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the struggle for visibility, were not so different from other Latin American countries. This was before the phenomenal growth of evangelical Protestant churches and before Vatican II and Medellin 1968. So, evangelization had to be contextual.

The Challenge of the Human Situation

The great missionary challenge was the human situation. The vast majority of the population in Bolivia was living at the mere level of subsistence, with rampant needs in the areas of education, public health, and community development. The Methodist Church had responded to the challenge with a clear missionary philosophy and strategy: "To meet the people at the point of their greatest needs, and let the church grow in the process."

When I arrived in Bolivia, the church was already engaged in a visionary and enthusiastic movement from the cities to rural towns of the High Plateau (Altiplano, Titicaca Lake) and to the new areas of colonization in subtropical lowlands, while continuing with the older work in the cities, mainly with schools and medical work. With the support of the Methodist Board of Missions in the U.S.A. and other boards and agencies from other countries, the church threw herself into the task of starting believers’ communities, schools, public health programs, cooperatives and agriculture projects, student dorms in strategic places, campesino organizations, and so on. This church effort was not the work of a foreign intruder but of a pioneer, participating with all the resources available, personal and material, for a new life and a new day. I had the privilege of being part of that creative missiological experience as a pastor, district superintendent, editor, teacher, radio speaker, and national secretary of evangelism (this last responsibility precisely during the two years of the great interdenominational experiment of Evangelism in Depth).

The Search for Holistic Mission

When the Methodist Church in Bolivia became autonomous in 1969, and I was elected as the first national bishop. I and my colleagues had the unique opportunity to think again from scratch, looking for a church with a national face, rooted in the Bolivian cultural soil. One of our first tasks was to introduce ourselves anew to the Bolivian society and to articulate our mission in relation to the Bolivian reality. I had the privilege of drafting and signing the “Manifiesto a la Nación,” approved by the general board of the church, and reading it to the President of the country in his own office in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Subsequently the Manifesto appeared in the press. Therein we affirmed that our identity and mission was in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, a Gospel that had to do with the whole of life, a liberating and humanizing Gospel, and we committed...
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ourselves—the newly autonomous church—to work together with all, Christians and non-Christians, for “a new man and a new Bolivia.” We were clear that we wanted to incarnate a holistic Gospel and a holistic mission: “the whole Gospel, for the whole person, for the whole society, for the whole world.” Mission, then, was to be contextual, holistic, and liberating.

Then one day we discovered that we were a schizophrenic church. Engaged in social services and all sorts of development projects, we were clear about our holistic approach. But when we tried to be intentional about evangelism, we found that those who were most eager to evangelize had a very reductionist view: spiritualistic, individualistic, otherworldly. Influenced by other more traditionally conservative groups, they were not interested in the “total ministry of the church.” At the same time, those engaged in social work were not interested in “evangelism” in the old way! The general assembly of the church decided to face the issue and appointed a national task force to work on an inclusive theology and strategy of evangelism, requesting that it should be chaired by the bishop himself.

As my contribution to this concerted effort, while I was in a language school trying to learn the Aymara Indian language, I spent the evenings writing what was called the “Bolivian Theses on Evangelization in Latin America Today.” These were blunt affirmations, with biblical references as support, about evangelization being biblical, evangelical, holistic, incarnated, contextual, liberating, conscientizing and humanizing, and pointing to some “signs of the time” in Latin America. We had just begun the process of devising strategies and programs along the lines of the theses when it was presented to a Latin American Methodist Congress on Evangelization in 1974. Meanwhile, it was taken up by the ecumenical network on mission and evangelism of the World Council of Churches and translated into English, French, German, and Chinese. The Archbishop of Canterbury’s committee used it as a guideline for “Evangelization in Great Britain Today!” Today, it still remains as a point of reference for the Evangelical Methodist Church in Bolivia.

The Cost of Incarnational Mission

Then came an unexpected challenge to all our missiological and ecclesiological theories and declarations. A movement started among the grassroots leaders in the Aymara Indian congregations, claiming that as the majority of the membership of the church in the country, they were not properly represented in the general board and central structures of the church. They challenged the church to deliver inside its own structures the liberation she was proclaiming toward the outside. In addition, the democratic and representative patterns of the church, handled by white and mestizo urban leadership, were not a reflection of the consensus style of decision-making in the indigenous communities.

I realized then that the challenge was no longer for an “autonomous” (self-governing) church but for an “autonomous” one (rooted in the indigenous culture). It was time to carry out to its last consequences the contextualization of the Gospel and mission, in terms of a radical indigenization. As a

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Readers’ Response

To the Editor:

I am sure that Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth Century Hawaii, by Patricia Grimshaw, is an excellent book. But either the author or the reviewer in your July 1991 issue (p. 130) has, I fear, misinterpreted the American Board attitude toward missionary wives, allegedly viewing them “as little more than sex objects” to be mated with “missionary candidates in order to insure sexual morality.”

The initial view of Samuel Mills, leader of the original group of Brethren (of Haysstack Prayer Meeting fame) whose candidacy launched the American Board, was somewhat like that of St. Paul, that missionary work required the sole and undivided attention and dedication which only celibacy could enable: “that man is not fit for a missionary who sighs for the delights of a lady’s lap.” Rufus Anderson, the preeminent secretary of the Board, agreed that at first the general opinion was that to send married women into the conditions of missionary life was “inconsistent with prudence and delicacy.” In the Sandwich Islands in particular, it was predicted that women would “receive brutal treatment from the islanders” and “detract from the efficiency of the mission.”

But, says Anderson, all this was quickly disproved by experience. From the first the men being sent out, in almost every case, insisted on their right to and need for a helpmeet. The accounts of the engagements and marriage of many of the first missionaries make clear that the decision to marry was their own and that all the normal human feelings and motivations were involved. Experience with such married couples then led Anderson to report the many advantages of the married state: churches at home were more interested in families than bachelors; the heroic and pathetic stories of some of the wives provided some of the most powerful missionary propaganda; women’s courage is as great and their endurance greater. Indeed, in situations of danger women and children often provide a defense. Missionaries surely needed such helpmeets at least as much as pastors at home, who were expected to marry. (See Anderson, Missions of the American Board in India, 53–55; Memorial Volume, 272.)

In all this I find no suggestion that missionary marriages were required or arranged primarily as a defense against immorality. Puritan New England was, of course, fully aware of human passions and weaknesses, but I find no evidence that concern about missionary lust played a leading role in Board policy. To characterize these women in mission as “sex objects” seems to me utterly uncalled for.

DAVID M. STOWE
Tenafly, New Jersey

The writer is Executive Vice President, Emeritus, United Church Board for World Ministries.

30 INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH
non-native and non-Indian, I felt that my contribution to that process was to resign my episcopal position before the end of the second term, and let a new constitutive assembly decide about the new structures and the new leadership.

Since that historic constitutive assembly, in 1976, the church has been largely indigenized, under the leadership of its Aymara majority, over the Quechua Indian, mestizo, and white minorities. It now has its third Aymara Indian bishop. Whatever the self-evaluation of my involvement in those events, I feel that it was my greatest privilege and opportunity to accompany the church in those creative and challenging years. Furthermore, I am as clear as ever that to engage in liberating mission demands not only engaging in liberating action but also in responding to the challenge of “relinquishing and letting go” as well. It is part of the cost of incarnation.

**Mission is Risky and Vulnerable**

Engagement in mission is always risky. This was particularly true in Latin America during two decades of repressive military regimes. It was a time for Christian martyrs as never before in this century. When we were asked to write the study book for the churches in the U.S.A. for 1980, that was the situation that we described under the title *The Cry of My People: Out of Captivity in Latin America* (Friendship Press, 1980). In that year, there was a military coup in Bolivia (headed by those now known as the “cocaine generals”), and even though I had no political affiliation or participation, I ended up in prison. The authorities never made a formal charge, but during the interrogations it was clear that they were angry over the Methodist Church’s participation in the Assembly of Human Rights, and they wanted to know about any connections I might have with the organization Church and Society in Latin America (ISAL) and with liberation theology. Another point of the interrogations was about “The Manifesto to the Nation” that I had drafted and signed ten years earlier! Was I responsible for the affirmation that “there is always the risk of falling into military fascism or messianism”? Prophetic denunciation is accountable—and vulnerable.

But I had the chance to test and to discover that there is power in powerlessness, both for personal spiritual life and for mission itself. At the human and spiritual level, imprisonment was one of the most significant experiences in my life. By sharing the total powerlessness of incommunicado prisoners of conscience, and by accepting—by the grace of God—all the implications of being powerless and uncertain about the future, I became truly liberated from inside. My imprisonment also became a very meaningful evangelistic and pastoral experience. (See my “Evangelization from the Inside: Reflections from a Prison Cell,” INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH, July 1981, pp. 98–101.)

**Rethinking Mission and Evangelism**

In the course of this praxis in mission throughout my life and
ministry, I was more and more engaged in the rethinking of mission that was going on at the level of the world church. As a member of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism in the World Council of Churches, I had the privilege of attending regional and world conferences on mission and evangelization for a full decade. In 1973 I participated in the Bangkok Conference on “Salvation Today” and was asked to write the book reflecting on the conference for Latin America (Saluacion es Liberacion, Buenos Aires: La Aurora; Salvação Hoje, Sao Paulo: CEDI). In 1974, I was present at the eventful Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization, and in 1975 I was asked by the CWME to address the plenary of the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches on the missiological theme “That the World May Believe.” Here I reaffirmed that everything the churches and the WCC were doing around the world had missionary implications and that my participation in the conference itself, it became clear to me that the kingdom of God was the biblical and theological foundation and framework I had been looking for throughout my mission pilgrimage. This led me to write Announcing the Reign of God: Evangelism and the Subversive Memory of Jesus (Fortress Press, 1984).

Mission and Theological Education

By then I was thrown into seminary teaching by my exile from Bolivia and the timely invitation of the Claremont School of Theology to occupy the E. Stanley Jones Chair on Mission and Evangelism.

In 1986 I left Claremont to become the Rector (President) of the Latin American Biblical Seminary in San José, Costa Rica. For three and one-half years I was engaged in one of the most crucial missionary instruments of the church in the world today: the formation of pastors and leaders for the mushrooming evangelical Protestant church in Latin America. The future of Latin American Protestantism—with the option to be incarnational or escapist, evangelical or sectarian, ecumenical or divisive—will be determined by the theological formation of the Latin American leadership.

Life is Mission

I find myself now, in the process of retirement, teaching mission and evangelism at Iliff School of Theology in Denver, Colorado. In spite of my condition with a cancer in remission, after surgery and chemotherapy, I feel as if I were just beginning my ministry. Teaching in a seminary and engaging with the lives of future ministers is one of the most fascinating ways of being in mission!

Part of this ministry is reflected in a new book, The Great Commission: Four Versions and Four Agendas, forthcoming from Abingdon Press. I am also engaged in an ongoing research project on “Biblical Paradigms for Mission: Global and Contextual.”

By 1992, I expect to be in active retirement in Uruguay, my native country. So I have come full circle—returning to the country and the church where I received the Gospel and the call to mission and ministry. At this point of my pilgrimage, I know that to live as a Christian is to be in mission. Life is mission!
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_A New Song in the Andes: The Chimborazo Story_, by John Maust, 1991

The incredible story of the breakthrough of the gospel among the Quichuas of Chimborazo Province, Ecuador. From a bare handful of believers the church grew to over 100,000 members in just a few years. But it is also the story of the lives of both missionaries and Quichua believers who gave their lives in service and suffering as seed for the amazing harvest. Church growth principles are found here, and they are the work and innovation of the Spirit.

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Dr. Palmer addresses this vital subject with a practical, Bible-centered approach. He first introduces the dynamics of conflict and the styles of conflict management and, with a solid Biblical background, identifies types of conflict and how to develop conflict management skills and then applies these principles to cross-cultural situations. This manual is intended to serve as a teaching and study guide for a series of five seminar sessions.

Retail $6.95x - Special price $6.50


Baptist missionary-scholar Dr. Edward E. Bollinger has once again provided a rich interpretation of pioneering missionary endeavor in the Ryukyus. Based on translated writings of French Catholic missionaries Fr. Forcade, Marnas and Leturdu, and the journals of Protestant pioneer Bettelheim, the struggle of the church to gain a foothold prior to the opening of Japan to the West is refreshingly told. Large sections of primary source material detail those mid-19th century efforts and their results.

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Theological Education by Extension (TEE) is often portrayed as a vision and a movement for the renewal of ministry in the church and in the world. The task of evaluation is to translate that vision into concepts and criteria that can be applied to the various components of TEE programs. This handbook is concerned primarily with self-evaluation in relation to planning, i.e. ways in which people who are engaged in TEE can clarify their goals, and assess results in order to pursue their goals more effectively.

Retail $10.95x - Special Price $7.00


Sharing the Christian life and truth is far more than using words and forms congenial to us, but strange and perhaps threatening in another culture. This book not only points the way to true communication but is foundational in this field. This revised edition is a reorganization of the contents of the previous edition, highlighting various themes, making their interrelations more meaningful and relevant to students of missiology.

Retail $10.95x - Special price $10.00

_The Satnami Story: A Thrilling Drama of Religious Change_, by Donald McGavran, 1990

The Satnami, or “True Namers,” of central India believed in one who would come and preach to them the true way. God led Donald McGavran to minister to the Satnami and he proclaimed to them the message of the “one, true God,” Jesus Christ. A remarkable “People Movement” followed and out of these experiences McGavran developed his philosophy of church growth. A wild, hilarious, powerful story. It is real and alive!

Retail $8.95 - Special price $5.75


Dealing with the issue of syncretism, this book addresses the problem that, while the number of African independent churches has increased, many of them are not founded on biblical principles but more on African traditions. This book enables the reader to understand African traditional religion in the light of Biblical revelation. Highly regarded by African theologians and missiologists.

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Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement.


In many ways the Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement is a monumental achievement, providing a vast treasury of documentation and data for convenient reference and research. More than six hundred signed articles from a broad spectrum of scholars in many nations and confessions deal with important events, historical developments, organizations and institutions, issues, themes, terms, personalities, and concerns of the ecumenical movement. Most articles include a short bibliography, and the text is illustrated with 130 photographs. The range of articles includes both concise definitions of technical terms and long survey articles on major doctrinal themes, areas of activity, continents, subregions, and world confession families. Entries are cross-referenced to related articles, and there are detailed indexes of subjects and names.

Articles of special interest to readers of this journal include evangelism, interfaith dialogue, International Missionary Council, Jesus Christ, Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, missio Dei, missions, mission, moratorium, salvation, syncretism, uniqueness of Christ, universalism, and World Evangelical Fellowship, along with splendid biographical articles on Brent, Cragg, Devandan, Goodall, Gatu, Billy Graham, Kraemer, Laubach, Mackay, Mott, Neill, Newbiggin, Niles, Oldham, Patton, Ranson, and Visser 't Hooft.

Given the comprehensive scope and scholarly standards of the dictionary there are some surprises and disappointments. First, the whole stream represented by the International Missionary Council in the ecumenical movement is underrepresented. For instance, there are no biographical articles on such important figures as Freytag, Hartenstein, Hoekendijk, Latourette, Margull, Orchard, Speer, Rouse, Van Dusen, and Warren. Also missing are articles on other individuals who had formative influence on the founding and leadership of the WCC, including several presidents: Baillie, Barbieri, Berggrav, Chao, Cho, Eide, lakovos, Moses, Oxnard, Parlin, Sherill, John Coventry Smith, Gardiner, Leiper, William Adams Brown, and Samuel McCrea Cavert (who first suggested the name "World Council of Churches").

Generally there is a high level of scholarly balance and objectivity in treatment of controversial issues. This is not maintained consistently, however, in dealing with the church and the Jewish people. In the article on "Jewish-Christian Dialogue" it is implied that only Christian "agents such as the Church's Ministry among the Jews and the Jews for Jesus movement" (p. 546) still hold the view expressed by the WCC at Amsterdam in 1948 that Jews need the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as does everyone else. This is quite inaccurate and misleading. The Roman Catholic Church, the major Orthodox churches, the Lausanne Movement, and the World Evangelical Fellowship all affirm that everyone—Jews and Gentiles alike—need faith in Jesus Christ. Another example: In the long survey article on "Faith," the writer says, 'The Jewish-Christian dialogue within the ecumenical movement has changed our understanding of faith through a serious re-reading of the scriptures ... and through a new view on the origins of the church in the ministry of Jesus, as a son of Israel and as a prophet to his people" (p. 410). Whatever happened to Jesus as the Messiah of Israel? Such instances of ideological imposition are unfortunate and unworthy in a truly ecumenical work of theological scholarship.

There is so much of value here otherwise, that the World Council of Churches—with all its problems—is to be commended for the vision and commitment to produce this immensely useful reference volume that summarizes much of what has transpired in the ecumenical movement.

—Gerald H. Anderson


This is the second volume of an impressive scholarly work on mission and oikoumene in the twentieth century. The first volume (1984) covered the period from Edinburgh 1910 to Evanston 1954. This volume continues the study for the period that included the Ghana Assembly (1957/58) of the International Missionary Council (IMC), the third assembly (1961) of the World Council of Churches (WCC) at New Delhi, the first conference of the Division (later

Ax Joachim van der Bent, now retired, was the librarian and ecumenical research officer of the World Council of Churches.
Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach.


This book is the inaugural volume of a new series entitled “Currents of Encounter: Studies on the Contact between Christianity and Other Religions, Beliefs, and Cultures.” The volume consists of seventeen essays originally presented as papers at a symposium held in May 1988 at the Free University of Amsterdam.

The majority of Christians the term “syncretism” has a strongly negative connotation. It is understood to refer to an indiscriminate intermixing of disparate religious elements. However, the contributors to this volume question the validity of this judgment. Syncretism is seen as a dynamic process of reconfiguration that results from the encounter and interaction of diverse religious traditions. The essays in this volume explore the complexities and nuances of syncretism, examining its historical, cultural, and theological dimensions. The contributors argue that syncretism is not merely a problem to be avoided but a dynamic force that can enrich religious understanding and practice.

—David J. Hesselgrave
Trinity Evangelical Divinity School
Toward A Theology of Inculturation.


This book covers changes in political understandings of human nature and culture, ranging from Old Testament times to the present; changes in theological understandings of culture; changes in theological understandings of revelation and of salvation; and changes in mission practices of inculturation. The data is mostly Roman Catholic. Although a considerable literature on culture and Christian mission exists already, this historical dimension adds something new. While the data is selective, the reader will find gems.

Sixty pages explore "The Teaching of the Catholic Church on Inculturation Today"—Vatican II, and the teachings of Paul VI, and John Paul II.

Our twentieth-century awareness of culture forces a rereading of theology, Bible, and church history; a recognition that faith must be expressed in culture; welcoming a multicultural church, and a shifting of the center of gravity; balancing unified Christian expression with particular expressions; and learning how inculturation can aid socioeconomic liberation and development. These key points are explored.

We miss any reference to H. Richard Niebuhr's Christ and Culture, a work so classic that any later book on this complex subject makes more sense if it ranges itself against Niebuhr's categories and arguments. Also it would be helpful to hear from more non-Western theologians.

Troubling to this reviewer is Shorter's move toward universalism, reacting understandably enough against a heritage that followed Origen in teaching "no salvation outside of [baptism into] the [Roman Catholic] Church." Finally, Shorter's implication that missionary insight and practice are evolving upward is an oversimplification. While we may understand culture (and ecology, emotions, race, and colonialism) better than previous missionaries, today's missionaries often lack perseverance in suffering, immersion in the local language, a simple lifestyle, practical skills, and even the devotional disciplines that were characteristic of many of our forebears. Every age has a log in its eye.

—Miriam Adeney


This book is a compelling argument for an expanded understanding of rationality that steers clear of total relativism on the one hand and various modern forms of absolutism on the other. William C. Placher opens a variety of doors for interreligious dialogue, as well as conversations between religion and science. The author teaches philosophy and religion at Wabash College and is self-avowedly Christian.

Placher criticizes modern scientific theorists like Karl Popper for claiming an objective rationality that is denied to other forms of inquiry. Observation and experimentation are far from objective or final, though we would be foolish to do without them.

Likewise, in assessing modern social theorists and philosophers, Placher criticizes thinkers like Jurgen Habermas and John Rawls for a subtle totalitarianism of Enlightenment values in the name of pluralism.

Though Placher criticizes those who claim too much for their form of rationality, he is no more sympathetic to those who disavow any rationality about the "true" or "good," such as Michel Foucault and Richard Rorty.
They, too, employ universal standards in their disavowal of the same. Placher extends this criticism to Christian theologians like John Cobb and John Hick, who, while rejecting traditional forms of absolutism, replace it with a more subtle "Enlightened" form. Placher calls for a genuine pluralism that respects the embeddedness of all knowable truth in traditions and narratives. Embeddedness, however, does not mean that some stories or models are not more adequate than others. Different faiths can thus be mutually enhancing without losing their specificity on the one hand or their need for maturation on the other.

This book is an excellent primer on modern philosophy, and it lays some fine groundwork for genuinely pluralistic conversations.

—J. Stephen Rhodes

The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia.


Ten years after its original appearance with a slightly different title, Lamin Sanneh's important study of the Muslim clerical caste called the Jakhanke in Senegal and the Gambia has been re-issued with additional material of great interest to the scholarly reader. Sanneh, a Gambian and a professor at Yale University (formally at Harvard, Aberdeen, and the University of Ghana), has contributed a great deal in this book to correct the dominant trend of studying Islam in Africa primarily in economic and political terms with little attention to the religious motivations of the subjects of such historical investigation.

Most studies of Islam in Africa over the past three decades have concentrated on the literary remains of the great movements of jihad (religious struggle), militant campaigns against Muslims who compromised with traditional forms of faith or who allied themselves with non-Muslims against the imperial expansion of various Islamized monarchies. A distorted view of such "mixers" (mukhallitun, in Arabic) emerges from a study of such jihad literature in isolation. Sanneh has traced in his history of the Jakhanke clerics a more irascible strain in African Islam, one previously thought to have left little or no literary legacy.

The Jakhanke, specialists in the Islamic sciences of a mystical bent, arose as a clerical caste of the Serakhulle or Soninke ethnic group as early as the thirteen century C.E. They follow their sainted founder, al-Hajj Salim Suware, in renouncing jihad as a religious imperative and promoting the Islamization of traditionalist African populations by pacifistic means. At a time of heightened religious tensions between Muslims and Christians in Africa, to say nothing of the conflicts between Muslim and African traditionalists, Sanneh's work might well serve as a counterbalance to the literature of hate on either side of the religious conflicts that afflict Africa in the late twentieth century.

—Patrick J. Ryan, S.J.
Robert Aldrich, Senior Lecturer in Economic History at the University of Sydney, has authored two books on economic and social history. His new work presents highly interesting information on all phases of French contact with the South Pacific, 1842-1940.


The book has five maps and a vast bibliography of fifteen pages. The organization is thematic. It reads well, but its poor index of five pages reduces its value as a working tool. Secular priest de Solages is incorrectly called a bishop (p. 35), as also the leader of the Valparaiso group, who was Picpus priest Chrysostome Liausu, Prefect Apostolic of Southern Oceania. His group reached Valparaiso on May 13, 1834, not in 1833 (p. 19). Six, not seven, Picpus missionaries left France for Hawaii on November 20, 1826, not in 1827 (pp. 34f.). Apparently these and other errors derive from secondary sources.

—Ralph M. Wiltgen, S.V.D.

The Overseas Ministries Study Center announces the Doane Missionary Scholarships for 1992-93. Two $2,000 scholarships will be awarded to missionaries who apply for residence for eight months to a year and who wish to earn the OMSC “Certificate in Mission Studies.” The Certificate is based on participation in fourteen or more Mission Seminars at OMSC and writing a paper reflecting on the scholarship recipient’s missionary experience in light of the studies undertaken at OMSC.

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Gerald H. Anderson, Director
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The Spring of Nations: Churches in the Rebirth of Central and Eastern Europe.


J. Martin Bailey’s The Spring of Nations is a well-written, inspiring account of the under-reported but crucial role played by the churches and key Christians in the dramatic end of communist rule in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 and 1990. While this is not a de-
in documenting, country by country, what happened not only in those few months but in the years leading up to the collapse of totalitarianism. Bailey, as a journalist, an executive of the National Council of Churches, and a frequent visitor to Europe, is highly qualified for telling this story that is not well-known in the world Christian community.

Bailey shows how the churches of Central and Eastern Europe, more than other institutions, were able to retain some independence from the state, keep in touch with other lands, speak out at least in some instances for human rights, and maintain their faith under the most trying circumstances. This varied greatly from country to country, with the churches in Poland and East Germany having the strongest witness, and Romania the weakest. Bailey stresses the remarkable nonviolent character of what the Czechs called “the velvet revolution.” In conclusion he looks at the future and the extraordinarily difficult task facing these nations after decades of totalitarian rule that has left the people ill-prepared for building social, economic, and political well-being within a democratic framework.

It is unfortunate that the author did not explore the long-term significance of this overthrow of totalitarianism by nonviolent means. Many Christians have insisted that Gandhi’s nonviolence worked against the “civilized” British but would never work against communists. Perhaps the experience of the churches in Central and Eastern Europe has set the stage for a fresh look at the revolutionary and transforming power of the nonviolent Jesus.

The Spring of Nations deserves to be widely read and pondered.

—Richard L. Deats

Black Theology USA and South Africa: Politics, Culture, and Liberation.


Intellectuals of African descent in the Americas and those of Africa have generally affirmed the existence of a common bond linking them. They have

Fifteen Outstanding Books of 1991 for Mission Studies

The editors of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH have selected the following books for special recognition of their contribution to mission studies in 1991. We have limited our selection to books in English, since it would be impossible to consider fairly the books in many other languages that are not readily available to us. We commend the authors, editors, and publishers represented here for their contribution to advance the cause of missionary research with scholarly literature.

Ariarajah, S. Wesley.


Barker, John, ed.

Christianity in Oceania: Ethnographic Perspectives. Lanham, Maryland: Univ. Press of America. $46.75; paperback $29.75.

Bonk, Jonathan J.


Bosch, David J.


Burridge, Kenelm.


Dupuis, Jacques.

Jesus Christ at the Encounter of World Religions. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books. $39.95; paperback $18.95.

Fujita, Neil S.


Jenkinson, William, and Helene O’Sullivan, eds.

Kumazawa Yoshinobu and David L. Swain, eds.


Lossky, Nicholas, José Miguez Bonino, John Pobee, Tom Stransky, Geoffrey Wainwright, Pauline Webb, eds.


Pope-Levison, Priscilla.


Samartza, Stanley J.


Schreiter, Robert J., ed.


Smalley, William.

Translation as Mission: Bible Translation in the Modern Missionary Movement. Macon, Georgia: Mercer Univ. Press. $22.95.

Taber, Charles R.

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The Church in the Midst of Creation


Bringing together a critique of contemporary church life with his longstanding interest in inculturation, Vincent Donovan issues a call to refound the church of Christ as a world church deriving its meaning from outside itself, from the world "in the midst of creation." Donovan is known to many for Christianity Rediscovered (1978), the compelling account of his contextualized evangelization as a Catholic priest among the Masai in Tanzania. Now Donovan reflects on a popular audience on his more recent experience of pastoral work in the United States.

In reading the signs of the times, Donovan draws heavily on Pitirim Sorokin's premonition of an "ideal age" replacing a presently waning "sensate age." He combines this
with Karl Rahner’s analysis of Vatican II as the catalyst for a truly global church. Catholicism is unprepared for the challenges of the new situation on account of the ways it has bound Christianity to norms of Western culture dominant since the Industrial Revolution. Donovan’s New Testament analysis is simplistic, but he expounds effectively the familiar notion that as Christianity moved beyond the Jewish to the Gentile context, it must now be contextualized beyond the Euro-American to the global context.

Inculcation is Donovan’s guiding concern: “If Christ comes to a culture in the process of evangelization, something will live and something will die. Christ comes to fulfill every culture and to prophesy against every culture” (p. 126). He struggles for a supracultural Gospel proclamation that will challenge the individualism, materialism, and environmental destruction in Western culture. His solution, which resembles the Apostles’ Creed augmented by liberation theology, confirms the fact that our supracultural attempts are culturally conditioned. Along the way are interesting reflections on sacraments, the environment, and world religions. Donovan’s scope is wide rather than deep, for his purpose is not analysis but transformation.

—Titus Presler

Death or Dialogue? From the Age of Monologue to the Age of Dialogue.


The well-known authors of this volume seek not only to talk about dialogue but also to illustrate how it takes place. There is an initial essay by each: “Dialogue” (Cobb); “Interreligious Dialogue: What? Why? How?” (Knitter); “The Thrust and Tenor of our Conversations” (Hettwig); “A Dialogue on Dialogue” (Swidler). There follow, then, two sets of responses in which each author enters into conver-

James H. Burtz is Professor of Systematic Theology and Ethics at Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota. He served for eight years on the Board for World Mission and Inter-Church Cooperation of the former American Lutheran Church, and for seven years as a member of the Commission on Church Cooperation of the Lutheran World Federation.

The title and tone of this volume are nothing if not ambitious. Leonard Swidler writes in the introduction: “The future offers two alternatives: death or dialogue. . . . [U]ntil the edge of the present era, humans lived in the Age of Monologue. . . . We are now poised at the entrance to the Age of Dialogue” (p. vii). The authors see this volume as “a contribution to moving humankind along this journey with as little stumbling and as rapid progress as possible” (p. viii). There seems to be no ambiguity about the word “death” in the title. The authors are not saying that a given religion will die if it does not enter into dialogue with other religions. They are talking about people killing one another. Monologue “leads to hostility and eventually to war and death” (p. vii).

The authors write from remarkably similar points of view. The book will be most interesting and helpful to


This is the third volume in a formidable series of studies by Daneel on the Southern Shona Independent Churches (SSIC). The present volume focuses on leadership and what Daneel calls fission dynamics.

A book by Daneel on the independent churches is always an event. The volume under discussion is extensive, valuable and refreshing. Although some of the material dates back to the middle of the 1960s, the issues under discussion are as relevant today as they were then. The leadership of these churches, to which Daneel gives a central place in this study, is indeed a major issue.

The significance of the ministry of the leaders lies in their calling, through which they represent “the presence of God” assisting and healing them and giving them divine protection. Natural leadership traits often take precedence over educational qualifications. Much attention is given to succession issues, to the elevation of some principal leaders to messianic status.

Fission dynamics receives close attention. Secession in many cases does not imply “disruption of the Body of Christ” but is in-group secession, a natural traditional process. This church movement is the African-initiated version of the reformation of the church in Africa. This largely church-building movement, with its emphasis on house congregations or church families, is fast becoming the church of Africa. Not only fission but also fusion takes place, and this has “decidedly positive features.” Daneel initiated with SSIC leaders Fambidzano, the Shona independent churches ecumenical movement that gives serious attention to theological training but also awareness of the church’s role in the environment.

The extensive appendices, with sermons, index of churches, church leaders, maps, add to the value of this book. One can only admire the deep devotion of the author to research on these churches. It is by far one of the most intensive analyses of leadership and schismatic issues in the independent churches in Africa.

Gerhardus C. Oosthuizen, in Durban, South Africa, has served as Professor in the Department of Science of Religion at the University of Durban-Westville and was formerly head of the Department of Theology at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa.

Cross and Sword: An Eyewitness History of Christianity in Latin America.


Christianity has appeared in many forms in Latin America: Spanish Catholicism, popular folk Catholicism, black syncretism, and mainline, evangelical, and pentecostal Protestantism. The outstanding merit of Goodpasture’s history is the balanced and panoramic view that he offers of the great variety of different religious experiences within Latin American Christianity. Cross and Sword is basically a selection of primary documents—letters, reports, sermons—that capture different facets of that vast and variegated experience. The author, a professor of church history and mission studies at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, introduces each section with an explanatory note that provides the historical framework necessary for understanding the selections. The sections range from initial evangelization, which includes an excerpt from Las Casas’s writings in which he describes the impact that Montesinos’s sermon of 1511 had on him, to the Catholic and Protestant renewal in the 1960s. These latter sections include a dialogue held within a Base Christian Community in Nicaragua, a eulogy by Pedro Casaldaliga for a slain Jesuit priest, and the eyewitness comments of a World Council of Churches visitor on tensions among Protestants, as well as their progress in assuming a Latin America identity.

Both Catholics and Protestants evangelized Latin America, but, as the testimonies show, both also used the sword (cultural imposition). The author’s comments, as well as his sensitive selection of materials, help the reader gain an intimate and nearly personal encounter with the many Christians who have been a part of the Latin American Christian experience. This is an excellent complement to introductory courses on Latin America and a valuable tool for mission and church history scholars.

Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J.

Jeffrey Klaiber is an American Jesuit priest who teaches history at the Catholic University of Peru, Lima. He has been in Peru since 1963.


Kenneth Scott Latourette called the nineteenth century the “great century” of Christian missions. The story of missions and the growth of Christianity in the twentieth century is even more astonishing. Earthen Vessels fills a critical gap in our assessment of this emerging story.

Missions historians have given much attention to the “mainline establishment” that came to dominate Protestant missions by the end of the last century, and to its declining role in foreign missions in the present century. The evangelical agencies that have emerged as the most influential players on the twentieth-century missionary stage have suffered from a comparative neglect.

By the end of the nineteenth century, North American Protestants were supporting some 5,000 missionaries abroad. Today that number stands at more than 40,000. Already by the mid-1930s, 40 percent of the North American missionaries were working with conservative evangelical agencies. By the mid-1980s, nine out of ten were evangelicals not affiliated with the old mainline Protestant boards.

This book is an outstanding first step in atoning for the relative disregard by missions historians of fundamentalists and evangelicals. Growing out of a conference at Wheaton College sponsored by the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, these essays bring together a wealth of fascinating material valuable in its own right and are supported with bibliographic references that make this book indispensable for future research.

In a forward-looking penultimate chapter, Lamin Sanneh proposes that the future study of missions history focus more on field context and changes rather than primarily on sending church and its culture or the missionary institutions and their ideologies. This “vernacular focus” could create a unique place for missions in the curriculum, distinct from anthropology and the social sciences on the one hand, and from the history of religions on the other.

—Nathan D. Showalter


The Social Gospel and martyrdom are fused in this compelling account of contemporary witness. Seldom are they so starkly limned. Companions of Jesus commemorates the assassination of six Jesuits and two women co-workers on
The Arab Christian
A History in the Middle East
Kenneth Cragg

"Cragg's book comes as a thoughtful, perceptive and much-needed guide...I commend this book to those who strive to make sense out of the tangled and traumatic dynamics of the Middle East and who want to believe that Christians and Muslims can find a common destiny..." —Benjamin M. Weir, Professor of Evangelism and Mission, San Francisco Theological Seminary, former hostage in Beirut (and coauthor of "Hostage Bound, Hostage Free")

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The core of the book is indeed what one might expect in an anniversary volume: a short vita of each of the victims and significant excerpts from their writings. These, though, are flanked by an introductory theological reflection on the assassination and a concluding essay on "The University's Christian Inspiration," both by Jon Sobrino who survived the massacre only by being out of El Salvador at the time. The ensemble demonstrates how these Jesuits were engaged, for more than a decade, in a form of Christian witness through their institutional base, the Central American University (UCA).

The UCA and its staff form no ordinary university. All of its energies for years have focused on the "reality" of El Salvador: by raising their prophetic voices (through classes, conferences, publications, etc.) against the structured injustice pandemic in this tiny country, these men automatically became a threat to the entrenched powers of an oligarchy and a military out of control.

They had to go.

Sobrino's first essay raises this bloody event to a level of theological significance that should challenge every Christian, especially missionaries. Five of the six Jesuit victims were missionaries from Spain. Their witness was costly. They took sides with the victims of an unjust war. They put their persons and their institution squarely on the line: their struggle for justice, in solidarity with the poor, was a vigorous statement of their faith according to the Gospel.

His second essay proposes what a really Christian university might be: one that works within the horizon of the Kingdom from the perspective of the poor. The UCA and the assassinated Jesuits surely embody this ideal.

An invaluable witness in itself, this book leaves two haunting questions: Was this sacrifice worth it? Will it change El Salvador? The Jesuits feel the answer to both questions is affirmative.

—Simon E. Smith, S.J.

Simon E. Smith, S.J., is now Director of the Amman office of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine after serving for a dozen years as Executive Secretary of Jesuit Missions in the United States. His missionary experience was in Iraq (1955-58 teaching and language study) and East Africa (directing Jesuit Refugee Service in Africa, 1984-87).
Doing Theology with the Maasai.


The specific focus of this study by a member of the Christian Missionary Fellowship is the Maasai people of Kenya and Tanzania; but this study could serve as a model for persons engaged in cross-cultural ministries anywhere. One becomes fully Maasai in the course of one’s lifetime by going through a complex series of symbolic enactments or rites of passage. As parts of their culturally invented humanizing processes, all peoples have some such rites. But the Maasai seem to have more than most others, and their particular rites are invariably associated with the prayerful slaughtering of animals offered to God, who is perceived as one, personal, and universal. Must those Maasai who become Christians give up the important social functions and stages of cultural identity connected with these animal sacrifices?

Many missionaries in the past have tended uncritically to dismiss any thought of pre-Christian religious practices being at all compatible with Christianity. But not Doug Priest, Jr. He notes the similarity of Maasai culture to that of the Old Testament which, from the time of Abel, sanctioned the offering of slaughtered animals to Yahweh. Surely, this is an obvious way for pastoral peoples to offer themselves symbolically to God. This cultural practice continued even among Jewish Christians living in Jerusalem after the resurrection of Christ. After all, Jesus aimed at fulfilling, not destroying, the religious traditions of his people (cf. Mt. 5:17). Moreover, it was precisely in and through the historico-cultural terms of the ancient Jewish people, as well as in their flesh, that the divine Word became incarnate. Every human being is unavoidably formed in some particular historico-cultural matrix. Jesus was completely a Jew of his own time and place, with his human mind, will, heart, and perceptions shaped by his circumscribed experience of culture and history. He was human, hence culturally and historically formed, in everything except sin.

In a very readable style, the author leads us gradually toward a positive reply to his initial question about the compatibility of Maasai sacrifices with Christianity. He does this by reflecting on the relevant biblical texts, aided by various scholarly works dealing with the meaning of sacrifice in the Bible. He also makes judicious use of the methodology, categories, and schemata refined by Victor Turner in his study of the symbols and rites of Africa’s Ndembo people.

Some specialists will, no doubt, find points of disagreement with the author’s reading of the relevant biblical texts. Others may fault him for not consulting more anthropological works touching on the idea of sacrifice. But missionaries in the field, wrestling these days with the meaning of inculturation, can only thank him for his very informative treatment of contextualization applied to the sacrificial practices of the Maasai. “We will make mistakes in the process of contextualization,” says Doug Priest, Jr., “but there is no mistake worse than not trying it at all” (p. 208).

—Eugene Hillman
**Dissertation Notices**

Bennett, David William.
"Perpectives of Biblical Pastoral Leadership: A Case Study of Ten Churches in Pune, India."

Goranson, Stephen.
"Joseph of the Tiberias as a Source on Jewish-Christian Relations in the Fourth Century Galilee."

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"Evangelii Nuntiandi and the Puebla Final Document."

Stemmeler, Michael.
"Theology of Liberation and Political Theology: Leonardo Boff and Gustavo Gutierrez in Conversation with Johann Baptist Metz and Juergen Moltmann."

Stockman, Robert.
"The Baha'i Faith and American Protestantism."

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(signed) Gerald H. Anderson

Gerald H. Anderson, Overseas Ministries Study Center.
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