Mission and the Limits of Idealism

In June of 1900, in Beijing, two prominent Westerners sought safety in the British legation as the Boxer Rebellion swept through China. "As we looked each other in the face," one later reported, "we could not help blushing for shame at the thought that our life-long services had been so little valued."

Thus W. A. P. Martin confronted the collapse of his missionary idealism. In the "Legacy of W. A. P. Martin," author Ralph Covell goes so far as to say that Martin's goals for his contribution to China were "hopeless fantasies," though the optimism that fueled them was typical of his nineteenth century peers.

The same spirit of idealism provided a major element in the founding and development of the Student Volunteer Movement. In this issue Nathan D. Showalter analyzes the confounding of that idealism within the SVM, brought about by the First World War. Some of the older generation, such as Robert E. Speer, managed to see in the tragedy of the war a furthering by other means of the ideals of the Christian missionary movement. But many of the younger generation found their idealism shattered in the bloody trenches.

Dana Robert is another in this issue who touches on the role of idealism in missionary motivation and service. Robert's examination of the service of missionary wives in the early 1800s reveals that, while high ideals were realized by Baptist wives in Burma, in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) the missionary idealism of the Congregationalist wives met a rude awakening. Robert quotes Sybil Bingham: "I could never have conceived when thinking of going to the heathen to tell them of a Saviour, of the miscellany of labor that has actually fallen to my portion .... A feeble woman in such circumstances must be content to realize but little of the picture her youthful mind has formed of sitting down quietly day by day, to teach heathen women and children."

Heterodox theologians have occasionally ventured to see in the cross of Jesus the collapse of messianic idealism. But missionaries who remain faithful in the face of idealism destroyed will find a new foundation in following the Savior's path of suffering. In the meditation that opens this issue of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN, Bishop Kenneth Cragg speaks of the "self-expenditure of a God ... who seeks and finds and saves." We are invited to "read the world as the arena of the love that suffers and to join ourselves with the forgivingness of Christ in every place."

Western idealism, and the youthful idealism of every generation, must come to terms with the reality of seeming failure, of real suffering and loss, sustained only by the cross and resurrection of Christ.
Prepositions and Salvation

Kenneth Cragg

The following article is in response to the article in our July 1992 issue by Richard J. Jones, "Wilfred Cantwell Smith and Kenneth Cragg on Islam as a Way of Salvation."

There is an old, well-worn story of a stranger in Ireland asking a local worthy for direction concerning "the way to Roscommon." He got the laconic reply: "If I were going to Roscommon, I would not be starting from here."

Christian converse about "interfaith," as in Richard J. Jones's article in the July 1992 issue, "Islam as a Way of Salvation," frequently assumes that "salvation" is the right, the agreed, and the proper denominator from which to start. Yet it begs many questions. For "salvation" is such an elusive term, and even if the parties accept it (probably in deference to our starting point), it connotes quite contrasted things. Nor does it greatly help to distinguish "cosmic" from "mundane," especially so if the former entails the further decision about "damnation" and whether and by whom it is incurred. Encounters have for too long been too much preoccupied with "Are there few that be saved?" and which "few" may they be?

Salvation in, for, by, of, from—the implications bewildered when we begin to think about the prepositions without which the word is vacant. Richard Jones reports Wilfred Cantwell Smith as holding that "to have faith is to be saved," and that "saving faith" is present in the very recognition of the "ought," even if the sense of obligation remains unfulfilled in concrete acts.

The rugged Epistle of James has a different view. To be sure, Wilfred Smith sees "faith" always a singular noun quite distinct from "traditional beliefs" through which its essential quality of "human transcendent awareness" may be diversely expressed. In that way we could use "faith" as a verb and speak of "faithing" just as we speak of "hoping." Then "faithing" is the name of a universal human experience of ultimacy and obligation, in the sense that we should never speak of "other faiths" but only of "other folk." We could then perhaps coin "salvationed" and use it comparably of all participants in "faith."

Wilfred Smith's instinct to focus issues into terms is always salutary. Yet are the prescripts too sanguine, too intellectual? Is everything that is "religious" thereby either admirable or desirable? If ugly manifestations are seen as emanating sinfully from a set of beliefs, and if "faith" is the language of which these are the grammars, what ought we to conclude about "salvation"? Do some believers stultify their faith by the very means in which they give it form?

It would seem that there has to be some transforming, revolutionary dimension to "salvation," a crisis element by which the self-question that is at the heart of it may be resolved. And let us not simply pose that self-question in terms of eternal destiny. There is more than enough to occupy it here and now. All that may be subsequent to time must be in the hands of the Eternal.

For the Theravadin in Theravada Buddhism, the jailer's question at the Philippian prison, "What must I do to be saved?" is setting individuality at the heart of yearning, when the true wisdom is that salvation comes only in seeing through the illusion of both individuality and yearning. To imagine a persona that might be "saved," and to think of this as "eternal life" for some immortal "me," is to start from where one can never arrive. "Salvation" from this perspective is not some remade "self" but an unmade "self" in the quest not for "extinction" (since there is essentially no -thing to extinguish) but for the attainment of "not-being" through dukkha to anatta through a register of inclusive transience into the bliss, at length, of the "desired undesiring."

If we want to use the odd word "salvific," it is clear that "salvifics" do not tally: indeed, they are totally at odds.

Not all moods of Buddhism, nor the diversities of Hinduism, are so decisive about "undesiring." Some struggle heroically, as does Raimundo Panikkar in his many writings, somehow to reconcile bhakti devotion to a personal "Lord" from a significant selfhood with the "oceanic feeling" of totally abated being, where "Thou" and "I" no longer have meaning. It would seem impossible to comprehend under the single term "salvation" such different readings of what can be saved and how and whence and whither. We can grasp the anatta, "nonself," concept by analogy with what Paul writes about idol meats and the "weaker brother." Truly the idol is a nonentity, and therefore all meats are clean. The free mind has no need to defer to notions that have no reality. Yet, for the weaker brother in his illusion idols are all too real and—given their reality—he must assume that the apostle is party to their acknowledgment. Therefore Paul will abstain from idol meats in deference to the deluded brethren until they can be undeluded. In respect of imagined selfhood, we are the "weaker ones" who proceed upon illusion. When we have become undeluded, we will cease to ask for a salvation, or rather we will be finding it only in surrender of our search.

The Semitic monotheisms are not caught in this situation, since they all proceed upon the essential clue of the "me-ness" of us all—its creaturehood, authenticity, responsibility, vocation, and destiny. "O God, thou art my God!"; "The Lord is my shepherd"; "When you said to me: Seek ye my face, my heart said to you: Your face, Lord, will I seek."

Yet that divine/human situation is diversely comprehended by synagogue, church, and mosque. Judaism and Islam dispense with Christology-within-theology. Leo Baeck used to insist that "in Judaism there are no retailers of salvation." Ismail al-Faruqi

Is everything that is "religious" thereby either admirable or desirable?
coined the terms "peccatism" and "saviorism" to decry a theology of redemption. Both Judaism and Islam are text-oriented faiths assuming a human adequacy and competence to achieve a due order of life independent of divine intervention and "grace." Where their experiences seem to belie their assurance, the appeal must be to await a future when a true Sabbath will be truly kept and when Islam will be truly Islam.

There are, of course, vast questions here for the Christian measure of "salvation," necessitated by the radical Christian realism about our human capacity for wrong and our perversity over against law, and necessitated also as larger demands upon the resources of divine sovereignty and magnanimity. At the heart of Christian "salvation" is a divine kenosis, a redemptive self-expenditure of a God "who does not economize himself" but in shepherd character seeks and finds and saves. What is more unstinted in the divine responds to what is more necessitous in the human. Christian "salvation" locates itself in a representative encounter between what we can identify as "the sin of the world" and a suffering love that we can duly relate to the eternal mind. The place is the cross, where we come to God through and because of Jesus—this teacher, this master, this Christ—only because, as the event constrains us to believe, God is "come to" in him.

The "neither is there salvation in any other," however, is not some rigorous cornering of the means of grace, some perquisite of sole proprietors. It is eminently reproducible in "Christ-bearers" (not "anonymous Christians") who are ready to read the world as the arena of the love that suffers and join themselves with the forgiveness of Christ in every place. Yet that quality of "savingness" will always need the paradigm of the event to which the church witnesses, where warrant may be found for the risk in such a saving faith. That "God is Christ" cannot be proved, it can be trusted. At a bitter point in her often bitter quest, Virginia Woolf asked: "Why is there not a discovery in life: something one can lay hands on and say: 'This is it'?

One way of identifying "salvation" is just such a discovery, a "This is it!" Faith can say this about this someone and this somehow meeting us, like food to hunger and love to its welcome. Only by the way it includes us might it be thought to be exclusive.

That "God is Christ" cannot be proved; it can be trusted.
Evangelist or Homemaker? Mission Strategies of Early Nineteenth-Century Missionary Wives in Burma and Hawaii

Dana Robert

One of the hallmarks of American Protestant mission work abroad has been its inclusion of women from the beginning. When the first five men commissioned by the American Board departed for India in 1812, three were accompanied by their wives. The inclusion of women in the mission force, albeit as “assistant missionaries,” was a startling departure from the usual American idea that a missionary was a loner like David Brainerd, bereft of family for the efficiency of the mission work. Despite the public outcry against the horrible dangers that presumably awaited them, Ann Judson, Roxana Nott, and Harriet Newell took their places in the pioneer group of foreign missionaries from the United States.

Not only was opinion divided over whether women should be permitted to go to the mission field, but arguments continued for forty years over the proper role of the missionary wife. Granting that the “Go” of the Great Commission applied to women did not solve the disputes over their role. The missionary charge given before departure to Harriet Newell and Ann Judson by Pastor Jonathan Allen commanded them to evangelize women to whom their husbands could get little access. He encouraged the missionary wives to teach women that they “stand upon a par with men.” One of the goals of the missionary wives would be to “raise” the women’s “character to the dignity of rational beings.” Pastor Allen expected the missionary wives to be educators, evangelists of women, and crusaders for New England-style women’s equality.

Allen’s ambitions for the missionary wife were soon tempered by the hard realities of missionary life in a foreign culture. By 1840, missionary pioneer William Goodell of Turkey was arguing that the typical missionary wife found raising a family in an alien culture so difficult that only the exceptional wife should be expected to engage in teaching or other active mission work. Devotion to her family was the best way a missionary wife could witness to Christ. Whether the missionary wife “looketh well to the ways of her household” indicated whether the missionary family was a successful example of Christian living for the surrounding culture. Goodell spoke for many when he argued that the test of the missionary wife was the missionary family.

American historians have argued that with the development of industrialization in the early nineteenth century, married middle-class women increasingly were confined to domestic roles. An ideology of domesticity emerged from the interaction of evangelical religion and industrial capitalism. Although women in the mission field kept in touch with the changing roles of women at home, I contend here that disputes over the proper role of the missionary wife did not emerge solely from changing roles of women in the United States. The character of the mission field itself affected the role of the missionary wife. Life on the mission field and the structure of the missions deeply influenced how American wives participated in mission and how they interpreted what they did. The internal debate within the missionary movement over the role of the missionary wife was the product of the experiences of missionaries in specific contexts, not merely a reflection of stateside arguments over domesticity and women’s spheres.

In order to demonstrate how context and mission structure impacted the emerging theories and practice of American missionary wives, a comparison will be made of antebellum women missionaries in Burma (Myanmar) and the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). Burma and the Sandwich Islands were the most successful mission fields respectively of the American Baptists and the American Board (Congregationalists and Presbyterians) in the early nineteenth century. Both fields experienced mass conversions of tribal jungle peoples. The roles played by the Baptist and Congregational women, however, differed in the two contexts.

Baptist Women in Burma

American Baptists acquired their first foreign missionaries by chance. Adoniram and Ann Judson, now revered as Baptist saints, began their missionary careers as Congregationalists sent with the first group of American Board missionaries in 1812. Bible study on board convinced Adoniram Judson of the necessity of believer’s baptism. After arriving in India, the Judsons were immersed by William Carey. Consequently, in 1814 American Baptists held a missionary convention and adopted the Judsons as their first missionaries. Already, in June of 1813, the Judsons had obtained passage to Burma, thus opening the mission field for American Baptists, even before American Baptists agreed to support them in 1814.

Once settled in Burma, the Judsons began to study the Burmese language with the goal of communicating the Gospel to the Burmese, both in oral form and through translating the Bible. In view of his perceived central role as translator of the Bible into Burmese, Adoniram spent all day in language study. Ann Judson’s goal for her own ministry in Burma was to open a school for children where she could both educate children and guide them toward conversion. After the Judsons moved to Ava in February of 1824, Ann began a school for three small girls.

In their fourth year in Burma, the Judsons began to receive inquiries about the Christian religion. Ann gathered together a group of female inquirers into a Sabbath Society where she read to them the Bible and tried to tell them about God. In 1819 the Judsons erected a zayat, a native-style preaching house where people could drop in for religious conversation. While Adoniram

Ann Judson was an evangelist, schoolteacher, pioneer Bible translator, and savior of her husband, Adoniram.

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discussed religion with the men, Ann met with the women, visiting, praying, and talking with them. She held a regular Wednesday evening prayer meeting with interested women.  

Ann assisted Adoniram in his translation work by translating several tracts into Burmese and by translating the Books of Daniel and Jonah. She also wrote a catechism in Burmese. But in 1817 she became interested in the many Siamese (Thai) in Rangoon and began to study their language. Her translation of the Gospel of Matthew in 1819 was the first translation of the Scriptures into Siamese. She also put the Burmese catechism and a tract into Siamese. In translating a Siamese sacred book into English in 1819, she endeavored to introduce Westerners to Siamese religious writings.  

Unrestricted by precedent and unhampered by the expectations of other missionaries, Ann Judson’s early accomplishments as a missionary wife cannot be stereotyped. In addition to childbirth and child care and running a household in a foreign country, she did evangelistic work, ran a small school, and was a pioneer Bible translator into two languages. It was not her missiological contributions, however, that made Ann Judson’s name a household word in the United States after war broke out between the British government and Burma in May of 1824: it was her status as heroine and savior of her husband. As an English speaker, Adoniram Judson was imprisoned and tortured. Ann, with her children, followed her husband from prison to prison and preserved his and several others’ lives by bribing officials and providing him food. In February of 1826 the British won the war and released the European prisoners. Ann Judson died soon after at age thirty-eight, worn out from her hardships.  

The life of Ann Judson provided a powerful model for the succeeding Baptist missionary wives. Although Ann’s own mission theory made teaching women and girls a personal priority, the reality was that she and her husband were not with other missionaries most of the time and found themselves functioning as a team. Ann’s accomplishments in education were overshadowed by the evangelistic and Bible translation work she shared with her husband. Her role as savior of her husband also validated a public role for the missionary wife that lifted her above the connotations of mere “assistant missionary.”  

The combination of translation and evangelistic work exemplified by Ann Judson became a hallmark of the outstanding Baptist missionary wives in Burma. The urgency to do itinerant evangelistic work grew once the non-Buddhist Karen peoples of the Burmese jungles began to respond to the Gospel in the 1830s. The missionary pioneer among the Karens was George Boardman. After his death in 1831, his wife Sarah Hall Boardman took his place by itinerating for three years among the jungle Karens, preaching in Burmese, her little boy George in tow. According to her biographer, she several times “conducted the worship of two or three hundred Karens, through the medium of her Burmese interpreter; and such was her modest manner of accomplishing the unusual task, that even the most fastidious were pleased.”  

She also established a system of village and station schools that became a model. Boardman gave up her role as itinerant evangelist and preacher when, after the death of Ann Judson, she married Adoniram Judson. As the second Mrs. Judson, she concentrated on bearing and raising their children. But because nobody was working in the Peguan language, she translated into it a number of tracts, a life of Christ, and parts of the New Testament. Before her final illness of “wasting disease,” her daily routine consisted of sitting at a table with her language helpers, doing translations while her children played in the adjoining room.  

Eliza Grew Jones was first appointed to Burma with her husband in 1830, and she carried on the Siamese translation work pioneered by Ann Judson. Her first large work was a Siamese-English dictionary that she completed in December of 1833 after she was transferred to Siam. A few years later, she devised a plan for writing Siamese in a Romanized script. Before she died, she had translated two large portions of the Pentateuch and had written an important schoolbook for the Siamese. She also visited jungle villages, reading the Bible to groups of men, women, and children and answering their questions about doctrine. To her, itinerant evangelism was “the most delightful employment in which I have ever been engaged.” Eliza found herself struggling with the expectation that she, as a woman, should also teach small children, an occupation she felt was “small business.”  

Two of the most outstanding jungle evangelists among the Baptist wives were Deborah Wade and Calista Vinton. The Wades were among the first recruits to assist the Judsons. After the death of Ann Judson, Deborah Wade took over her school work and the care of her daughter. But she soon learned that “there was a more urgent work than that of the school.” As a few Burmese began to come to Christ, Deborah threw herself into public evangelistic work with the women.  

Once members of the Karen tribes grew interested in Christianity, Mr. and Mrs. Wade became evangelists to their jungle villages. Scaling mountains, walking by foot on narrow mountain paths, and riding bamboo rafts, the Wades went deeper and deeper into the jungles. While Mr. Wade itinerated further, Mrs. Wade remained alone in the small villages for weeks at a time, reading and teaching men, women, and children from the Bible. After he returned from weeks of itinerating, Mr. Wade examined and baptized the candidates that she had trained. For many years, the Wades continued their pattern of jungle itineration during the dry seasons and more settled educational work during the rainy seasons. Although they preferred to work as a team, they were such valuable jungle evangelists that they were forced to itinerate separately, each taking a younger missionary of the opposite sex as an assistant.  

After twenty-seven years of pioneer mission work, the Wades settled down into stationary work among the Burmese, and Deborah Wade resumed mission work primarily among women while her husband concentrated on the training of Burmese pastors. Her Wednesday evening prayer meeting was so well attended that the mission had to change the day because the Burmese were beginning to call Wednesday the “female Sabbath.” Deborah Wade was a successful missionary partly because of her close relationships with the common people established over forty-five years. Her language skills were excellent, and she and her husband spent 1833 at the Baptist seminary in Hamilton, New York, training future Baptist missionaries in
both Burmese and Karen. She also lived with the people rather than above them. “Renouncing all luxuries, wearing only the plainest clothing, and reducing the furniture of her room even below things necessary, she felt better qualified to be an advocate of and an example to the poor.”

Calista Vinton was one of the missionaries-in-training who studied Karen with the Wades in 1833. In 1834 she and her husband sailed to Burma and were able to go straight to the jungle for itineration because they already knew the language. Because of the great need for evangelists, the Vintons soon separated. Each taking native assistants, they preached from Karen village to village. Unlike Deborah Wade, who insisted that what she was doing was not “preaching,” Calista Vinton felt that her vocation to preach the Gospel was as strong as her husband’s. Deborah Wade and Calista Vinton spent time teaching the Karens to read, both because the Karens were very eager to read and because the missionaries demanded that young people who desired baptism be literate. But Calista Vinton’s primary call was to itinerant evangelism, a work she continued alone even after the death of her husband.

Despite tensions over the appropriate role for women in ministry, the Baptist missionary women in Burma did everything the male missionaries did except administer the sacraments and preside as a permanent pastor of a church. Converting people to salvation in Christ was the top priority for both male and female missionaries, and the eagerness of the Karens for the Gospel meant that women missionaries had to give direct evangelistic work their full attention. Although Ann Judson believed that schools were the key to the elevation of women in Burma, school work was not the only mission strategy for the Baptist women. Some women with families who were stationed in large towns concentrated not on direct evangelism but on running small schools, holding mothers’ meetings, and doing “female work.” Sarah Comstock, for example, ran a school, gave medicine to the sick, conversed with women about their souls, did a little translation work, and educated her own children. But in the pioneer phase of Baptist work, particularly of the Karen mission, the need of the mission was for itinerant evangelists—either male or female.

**American Board Women in the Sandwich Islands**

In 1819 the first colony of American Board missionaries departed for Hawaii. The leaders of the mission were Asa Thurston and Hiram Bingham, both accompanied by wives whose personal calling to mission work was so strong that they had married their husbands in order to become missionaries themselves. Lucy Thurston married her husband within three weeks of meeting him, and Sybil Bingham within one week. Both teachers before their marriages, Lucy and Sybil resembled Ann Judson in their educational attainments and commitment to teaching as the preferred public role for missionary wives.

Years in the Hawaiian context, however, transformed the women’s idea of the proper missionary role for women. Upon reading the biography of the recently deceased Ann Judson, Lucy Thurston disagreed with Judson’s remarks that the purpose of the missionary wife was to be a teacher. Rather, Lucy confided to her journal, “In our situation, I approve the motto, that ‘The missionary best serves his generation who serves the public, and his wife best serves her generation who serves her family.’” By 1834, burdened by her need to protect her children from “heathenism,” Lucy Thurston had given up her early ideals of imitating the women who accompanied Jesus on his mission, substituting in their place a mission theory that centered on the Christian home.

Whereas the Baptist wives in Burma felt encouraged by their context and the shortage of male personnel to engage in mission activities generally considered the responsibility of men, the Congregationalist wives in the Sandwich Islands gradually relinquished their early goals. Because the favorable climate of Hawaii permitted the survival of large numbers of children, the missionary wives were preoccupied by family needs. Shocked by the customs of the Hawaiians, missionary women felt they needed to protect their children from contact with the indigenous population. Another factor that helped to shape the mission theory of the women was the presence of so many missionaries—by 1858, a total of 162 missionary men and women had arrived from America. With so many missionaries, women had to leave itinerant evangelism to the men and focus instead on “home visitation.” The relatively large number of missionary wives also meant that a critical mass of women could develop a uniquely female mission identity in a way that was probably not possible for the wives in Burma.

The overall strategy of the Hawaii mission was to translate the Scriptures into the native language and to begin schools in which to teach people how to read the Bible. Through the means of translation, Christian education, and the preaching of the Gospel, the missionaries hoped to convert the Hawaiians to Christianity. In the words of Sarah Lyman, who arrived as a missionary wife in 1832, “Believing as we did, that the way to convert a nation was to give them the Bible in their own language . . . the easiest way of getting it into circulation, was to introduce it into schools.” The women of the mission expected that their part in the strategy would be to provide support services for the missionary men and to instruct women and children in the schools.

The journals of the wives during the early years tell a story of increasing fatigue in dealing with primitive conditions and growing families. A great part of the fatigue and discouragement resulted not from the failure of the mission but from the fact that the indigenous Hawaiians were interested in every aspect of the missionaries’ lives. Instead of having to beg for access to the indigenous people, the missionary women found themselves surrounded at all hours of the day by friendly and curious Hawaiians. Female chiefs made lengthy visits several times a day, just to watch the missionary women and to demand sewing.

For the first few years of mission work, most of the missionaries lived together in Honolulu. Thirteen persons ate and slept and stored all their provisions in a room twenty feet square. As the wives began to have babies, the crowding grew more acute. The unrelenting lack of privacy took its toll on missionary morale, especially on that of the women, who were expected to mind the hearth.

In 1823 Sybil Bingham wrote in her journal, “My exhausted nature droops . . . . I sometimes grieve that I can no more devote myself to the language, & the study of my bible. But I do not indulge myself in it. I believe God appoints my work; and it is enough for me to see that I do it all with an eye to his glory. Perhaps my life may be spared to labor yet more directly for the heathen.” Throughout her twenty-one-year career as a missionary, Sybil Bingham supervised and taught school to the extent she was able, but when from her post in Honolulu she described her missionary life, it was one of disappointment:

> My spirit is often oppressed as a day closes, busy and bustling as it may have been, to see so little accomplished. I could never have
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Missionary wives became “weary and desponding” in the effort to raise their children with one hand and to labor for the people with the other.

with worry. Finally, as an alternative to sending their children to America, the Thurston constructed a house with separate compartments for the children and for native visitors. Throughout their childhood, the Thurston children were virtual prisoners in the children’s quarters, closely supervised and educated by their mother, kept separate from the indigenous people, and forbidden to learn the Hawaiian language.21

Although it was to be expected that Lucy Thurston and Sybil Bingham, the first generation of missionary wives, would have had the hardest time in balancing their family responsibilities and vocations, later missionary wives seem to have fared little better. They followed the time-consuming pattern set by the first wives of limiting their children’s access to the natives. Lucy Wilcox was one of fifteen brides who arrived on the Mary Frazier from Boston in 1837. In 1838 she wrote home describing the accepted missionary wisdom regarding child rearing:

It is necessary to have a constant watch over our children here as soon as they begin to walk and talk and to speak the native language, tho the children do understand more or less of it there can be no reason why they do not speak it first but, because they are not allowed to by their parents, for it is much easier for children than our language. . . . Native influence is very bad for children.26

Within ten years of their arrival, one-third of the families who arrived on the Mary Frazier had four or more children. If the figures from the Mary Frazier are typical for the other missionary companies, then it is clear that raising large families, keeping house, and supporting one’s husband severely limited the time missionary wives could spend in actual mission work. In the words of Laura Judd, who arrived in 1828, “Mothers were often weary and desponding in the effort to teach and train their children with one hand, and to labor for the people with the other, but they toiled on with patience, and watched and prayed.”27

All missionary wives tried their hand at teaching because it was expected of them by both the mission and the Hawaiian chiefs, who demanded education for their people. In addition to the conflict between family and school responsibilities, however, a number of the wives gradually gave up teaching because they found the work too discouraging. Hawaiian children, accustomed to running free, resented being confined for school work. Lucy Wilcox wrote to another missionary wife that “we do the best we can with our Scholars, they are very irregular, so much so that we are most discouraged at times.”28 Soon after her arrival, Sarah Lyman began to teach writing to native instructors. Eventually she taught a large children’s school but nevertheless felt that “it needs a large share of faith and patience to keep school on the islands. I often return home with a desponding heart.”29 A few months later she wrote in despair, “My school is like a weight pressing me down constantly. When will the churches send out laymen, so that most of the teaching shall not devolve on the wives of the missionaries, to the great neglect of our dear children?”30

Sybil Bingham, a trained schoolteacher and the pioneer of the Hawaiian mission schools, genuinely enjoyed the time she was able to spend in teaching Hawaiian women and girls. With the ready access of the missionaries to the indigenous people, however, she realized that one of the chief reasons for mission schools, namely, to get access to the people, was not a factor in Hawaii.

I have come to the conclusion to do little with a regular school. The state of things, now, is such that, with the language, one may do good upon a much larger scale. A little school was the beginning of public labors—now there is such access to the rulers of the nation, and such means of multiplying schools as to make that comparatively small.31

Ready access to the people meant that missionary women could teach informally and by example rather than having to devote themselves to building up schools as institutions. The wives did not need schools in order to have contact with the people or to provide religious instruction. If anything, the schools were an extra burden on women who already felt swallowed up and imposed upon by an alien people and culture. For the Hawaiian missionary wives, keeping school often felt like a distraction from home responsibilities and from more “spiritual” mission work.

Unfulfilled by school work, not needed or wanted for itinerant evangelism and Bible translation, burdened by family cares, and surrounded by all-too-friendly Hawaiians, many of the missionary wives developed a mission theory based on the Christian home.32 Everywhere they looked they seemed to see neglected children, poor sanitation, and an eagerness on the part of the Hawaiian women to learn Western ways. The context seemed to demand most of all that the missionary women be examples to the indigenous women, showing them how to raise their children and to create a “Christian” home. A mission theory based on the Christian home not only seemed to meet the needs of Hawaiian women and children, but it met the needs of the missionary women, who wished to concentrate on caring for
their own families while simultaneously contributing to the mission.

A unique woman’s mission theory based on exemplifying the Christian home emerged naturally and gradually in the life of the mission. The beginnings of it occurred when Kalakua, the queen dowager, boarded the first missionary ship and demanded Western clothing. The missionary wives held a sewing circle on shipboard: while they sewed Kalakua’s dress, they set her four attendants to practicing stitches on calico. The constant presence of crowds of Hawaiian women, observing the minutiae of the missionary wives’ activities, made it seem natural for the wives to turn their domestic activities into object lessons for the native women. After the birth of Lucy Thurston’s first child, the people crowded around to see the first white infant in their area. Their interest was not lost on Lucy, who realized the teaching potential of the moment: “There was their white teacher under new circumstances. And there was the white infant, neatly dressed in white. A child dressed! Wonderful, most wonderful!! To witness home scenes and the manner in which we cherished our children seemed, in a child-like way, to draw fore their warmest affectations.”

Precedent existed for the Christian home as a mission agency in the work of British missions in the South Seas. In 1822 William Ellis of the London Missionary Society traveled from the Society Islands to Hawaii. With his knowledge of the South Pacific, he helped achieve a breakthrough in learning the Hawaiian language. The wives of the Hawaiian missionaries sent letters back to Mrs. Ellis inviting her to Oahu to work with them. Mary Ellis reached Oahu in February of 1823 and began to help the discouraged wives redefine their mission.

In Mary Ellis, the young missionary wives of the American Board had as mentor an experienced missionary wife who had seen her mission as one of training people, especially women, “in the ordinary transactions of life,—more especially in their treatment of children, and their training them up for the Lord.” According to William Ellis, the British missionary wives in the South Seas “felt as if the whole station or island were one vast school, in which they were called to inculcate and exemplify whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are of good report.” Mary Ellis thus took with her to Hawaii the idea that missionary wives in that context should be role models, especially in family matters.

In 1836 Secretary Rufus Anderson of the American Board wrote an introduction to the American edition of Mary Ellis’s biography, entitled “On the Marriage of Missionaries.” By the time he was writing, the American foreign mission was nearly a quarter of a century old, and the difficulties of missionary life for women had become apparent and subject to wide criticism. Using Mary Ellis as a model, and by implication the missionary wives in Hawaii, Anderson justified the existence of the missionary wife on the basis of the Christian home.

The heathen should have an opportunity of seeing Christian families. The domestic constitution among them is dreadfully disordered, and yet it is as true there as everywhere else, that the character of society is formed in the family. To rectify it requires example as well as precept.

He argued that the downtrodden “heathen” wife must be taught to be a virtuous wife and mother: “She must have female teachers, living illustrations . . . . And the christian wife, mother, husband, father, family, must all be found in all our missions to pagan and Mohammedan countries.” To Rufus Anderson, the missionary wife had proven her worth in the South Pacific not only by acting as a helpmate and support to her husband but by modeling the Christian home, the building block of Christian society.

It is clear from the words of Secretary Anderson and from the letters and journals of the Hawaiian mission wives that their model of the Christian family was in fact that of the New England evangelical nuclear family. The early missionaries to Hawaii lacked cross-cultural training and were products of the Yankee culture. They were saddened at what they perceived to be lax

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**United States Catholic Missioners**

**U.S. Catholic Mission Association**

There were 5,441 Catholic missioners from the United States serving abroad in 1992, according to the “Annual Report on U.S. Catholic Overseas Mission 1992-1993,” published by the United States Catholic Mission Association. Counted in the survey are those who are, or have been, United States citizens by birth or naturalization, serving for at least one year outside the 48 contiguous states. Not included are overseas workers of Catholic Relief Services. Religious sisters represented the largest category of U.S. Catholic missioners overseas (41%), compared with religious priests (40%), brothers (8%), lay missioners (8%), and diocesan priests (3%).

The major sending groups are the Jesuits with 477, the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers with 412, and the Maryknoll Sisters with 331 members serving abroad.

There are 1,286 serving in South America, 1,163 in Asia, 949 in Africa, 810 in Mexico and Central America, 512 in Oceania, 431 in the Caribbean, and 59 in the Middle East. The individual countries where the largest numbers are serving are Peru (387), Brazil (369), Mexico (296), the Philippines (276), Japan (247), and Kenya (233). Copies of the report may be ordered from USCMA, 3029 Fourth Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20017. Cost: $6.00 postpaid.

Trends over the last thirty-two years may be seen from the following statistics on U.S. Catholic missioners:

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child-rearing methods among the South Sea islanders—letting children run free with minimal parental discipline, exposing children to adult sexual activity, minimally washing and cloth­ing children. All these things were considered to be pagan or heathen. In contrast, the missionaries felt that the Christian home was exemplified by clean, neatly dressed and well-disciplined children under the care of a loving mother. To Lucy Thurston, "an enlightened, pious devoted mother" seemed to be "one of the finest specimens of female piety which this world exhibits." 37 The missionary contribution of the missionary wife was not merely to teach doctrine but to model a particular lifestyle and piety. Lucy Wilcox wrote a letter to her parents defending her focus on the home as a form of mission service: "Perhaps you will inquire, What can you do besides taking care of your children? Why, I can do but little at present; yet the example of rearing a family as it should be, is just what this people need." 38

The mission theory of the Christian family was adopted in Hawaii because it was effective and because it made a virtue out of necessity. By interpreting family life as a mission agency, the mission wives sacralized the myriad activities that ate up their strength and their days. The theory brought order out of the unceasing round of home visitation, sewing lessons, childcare, and prayer meetings. The apparent eagerness of the indigenous women to learn from the missionary wives validated for the missionaries the idea that home life was an effective agency of evangelization and civilization.

The missionary wives of Hawaii exemplified both negative and positive aspects of a mission theory of the Christian home. Put upon by the indigenous people, some of the wives happily retreated into the work of their large families. Ironically, they talked about the Christian family as a living model for the people at the same time that they were carefully limiting the people’s access to their children. Their obvious concern for the well-being of the Hawaiian mothers and children, however, meant that some wives exhausted themselves in trying to improve all aspects of Hawaiian life through a holistic approach to mission that refused to separate mind from body, or public from private.

Conclusions

As the excitement of the pioneer years of American foreign missions passed, and the difficulties of missionary life for families became clear, it seems that Americans came to expect less public mission work from the missionary wife. By the 1830s, New Englanders were developing ideas about children that saw them as innocents needing protection and nurture rather than as miniature adults needing discipline. The perceived need of innocent children for protection and nurture meant that the home task of the missionary mother was so great as to leave little time for other mission work. Given the overwhelming nature of the maternal responsibilities, critics began to question again whether women should be missionaries. In response to these criticisms, Rufus Anderson and others used the mission theory of the "Christian home" as developed in the South Pacific to legitimate the presence of mothers on the mission field.

Yet even as American public opinion sought to restrict the average woman to the home, leading Baptist wives in Burma continued to preach, to itinerate, and to translate the Bible, doing tasks that Congregationalists in Hawaii confined to men. Perhaps the differences in the American Board and Baptist mission reflected the different relationship of the two denominations to American society. The American Board self-consciously continued the learned tradition of the Puritans and made a distinction between the ordained men of the mission and the unordained, men and women alike. 39 The class-conscious traditions of the American Board confined the "important" mission work of itinerant evangelism and Bible translation to the highly educated ordained men. In contrast, the egalitarian tendencies of the early nineteenth-century Baptists, combined with their lower social status and lack of education relative to Congregationalists, may have worked together to permit a larger role for women missionaries.

A major source of the differences between the mission of American Board and Baptist women in the early nineteenth century lay in the different contexts. Although both Hawaii and Burma experienced rapid church growth among tribal peoples during the 1830s and 1840s, the high missionary mortality rate and poverty of the Baptist effort compared with that of the American Board meant that there was always a shortage of missionaries in Burma. By 1843 there were nearly thirty Karen churches with 1,500 members and thousands waiting for churches to be founded, but there were only five missionaries available for work among the Karens. 40 It is no wonder that missionary women and indigenous workers were called upon to do the primary evangelistic work of the Baptist mission.

American Board women in Hawaii, however, came out in groups and by the 1840s were incorporated into a large, stable missionary community. The favorable climate of the mission guaranteed the survival not only of ordained men, who maintained control over the mission, but of children, who needed care. The structure and size of the Hawaiian missionary community encouraged a differentiation of sex roles among the missionaries: the Hawaiian missionary families held an extended annual gathering where the wives met and exchanged advice on child rearing, homemaking, and mission strategies. The Hawaii wives thus gradually and corporately developed a mission theory of the Christian home that seemed to integrate their dual roles as missionary women and mothers, and at the same time justified their existence to critics back home.

Notes


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1-800-652-4652
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10. Ibid., p. 184.


12. Ibid., p. 122.


15. Ibid., p. 165.

16. Ibid., p. 163.

17. Calista V. Luther, The Vintons and the Karens: Memorials of Rev. Justus H. Vinton and Calista H. Vinton (Boston: W. G. Corbeth, 1880), p. 25. Vinton’s biographer felt it necessary to add that her preaching was done in modesty and did not contradict Paul’s rule that woman not “usurp authority over the man.”

18. Daniel C. Eddy, Heroines of the Missionary Enterprise; or, Sketches of Prominent Female Missionaries (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1850), esp. pp. 184-86. See also Mrs. A. M. Edmond, Memoir of Mrs. Sarah D. Comstock, Missionary to Arracan (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1854).

19. Lucy G. Thurston, Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years, 2d ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: S. C. Andrews, 1882), p. 120.


23. Quoted from a letter from Sybil Bingham to Lydia Huntley Sigourney, in Mrs. Titus Coan, “A Brief Sketch of the Missionary Life of Mrs. Sybil Moseley Bingham” (1895), p. 15, Special Collections, Sterling Library.


28. Quoted in Damon, Letters, p. 163.

29. Quoted in Martin, Lyman, p. 74.

30. Ibid., p. 76.


32. For an excellent study of the struggles and stresses faced by the missionary wives in Hawaii, see Patricia Grimshaw, Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1989). Although mission theory is not Grimshaw’s interest, her analysis is especially helpful in showing how the missionary wives were trapped in particular gender roles. She notes one instance where a missionary wife pushed beyond “woman’s place” to lead a revival in the absence of the regular male missionary. For her evangelistic activities, Clarissa Armstrong was reproached by the missionary community and forced out of the work by the male missionaries (pp. 125-26).

33. Thurston, Life and Times, p. 63.

34. William Ellis, Memoir of Mrs. Mary Mercy Ellis, Wife of Rev. William Ellis, Missionary in the South Seas, and Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, with an introduction by Rufus Anderson (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1836), p. 97.


36. Ibid.

37. Thurston, Life and Times, p. 111.

38. Quoted in Damon, Letters, p. 115.


40. Torbet, Venture, p. 66.
Crusade or Catastrophe? The Student Missions Movement and the First World War

Nathan D. Showalter

For the vast majority of students," wrote student missions leader and historian Ruth Rouse, "the outbreak of war was a thunderclap out of a clear sky." Though there had been signs of an impending catastrophe before the summer of 1914, the students and the leaders of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM) were blind to the portents. Students had believed firmly that war could never be again, least of all a war that would explode from the very heart of Christendom. After a century of peace in Europe, and the birth in 1895 of a World’s Student Christian Federation, whose purpose was the salvation of a pagan world beyond the West, a bitter unthinkable.

Though caught off guard, most students and their mentors did not stand on the sidelines. This war, it soon became clear, was unlike any other. It was total war. No previous European conflict had demanded such complete participation by the nation. The young—students included—were remanded to the front to fill the ranks of armies that soon numbered in the millions. Civilians at home were drawn into the scramble to support those vast armies with food, supplies, and the weapons of war. Every person, every institution was expected to play a part. These were not just "nations at war," but "nations in arms." And the Europeans called for help from their African and Asian colonies. This total war became the first truly world war.

World War I posed a dilemma for Christians involved in the crusade for world evangelization. They were working to unite the world under the cross. Protestant missionaries had, in recent times, made much of the "gospel of the kingdom." The missionary enterprise would usher in a new era in human history as God’s kingdom was established on earth. Swords would be exchanged for plowshares in a world without war. How could the church at this critical moment in history justify a war among Christian nations? And how could Christians participate in a total war that increasingly blurred the line between soldier and civilian, both at home and at the front?

During the war the response to these questions seemed conditioned by age and by proximity to the front. For the elders, the war quickly became a crusade—the war to end war, a war to make the world safe for democracy. The young saw it from a different angle—from where earth and fire and blood mingled—and their response to the Great War brought dramatic changes to the Student Volunteer Movement in the decade after Versailles.

War as Mission?

Presbyterian mission executive and longtime SVM leader Robert E. Speer, in a wartime address to student leaders, saw in the war itself an expression of missionary values. The ethical aims of the war, Speer said, were simply political expressions of the impulses that had started the missionary enterprise and that continued to give it momentum. The missionary movement existed, he said, as an instrument of peace and international good will, as an agency of righteousness and of human service, and as a spiritual and moral force building toward some form of international organization that would someday help bring the nations together. The Protestant missionary movement had been doing for a hundred years exactly what the war was now declared to accomplish.

Though Speer saw the war as a necessary business, it was essentially negative and destructive—this "thunder of guns, the massing of bodies of men." It was only the missionary enterprise that could release the "creative and constructive spiritual powers" needed to build a new world. Unselfish missionary outreach was needed more than ever before, Speer believed. Whatever was subtracted from the spiritual outreach of the church would be a diminishing of the nation’s struggle to win the war. Thousands of young Americans were going on a foreign mission to northern France, and thousands of these should be ready when the war was over, Speer said, to go forth on foreign missions of peace to Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

There were, to be sure, voices of caution. Walter Rauschenbusch, whose social gospel was becoming increasingly influential in the Student Volunteer Movement during the war, did not see the conflict as a Christian crusade. Rather it was a great calamity—a "catastrophic stage in the coming of the kingdom of God." But his voice was in the minority. While at war, most Protestants saw America’s cause as a divinely sanctioned crusade. For those committed to the missionary cause, the war might even be interpreted as an expression of obedience to the Great Commission—"the greatest proclamation of foreign missions" ever heard.

The young were not so sure. The British student movement and Volunteer Missionary Union, one of the first to be directly affected by the war, responded by an immediate call to the movement’s ideals. Never, the British student movement leaders said in a statement issued in September 1914 to all Christian Unions in Great Britain and Ireland, were these ideals “more needed by the world than in this hour when the falseness of the ideals which the nominally Christian nations have pursued stand revealed through this awful horror of a fratricidal war.” This statement was issued when it appeared that the war might
be largely an affair for professional soldiers. Then came the German invasion of Belgium. Within days, thousands of students were called into action on behalf of king and country.

Immediately the meaning of war became more personal. Most British Christian students chose to fight, believing that Germany’s violation of its treaty with Belgium gave Britain no choice but to honor its commitment to the people of Belgium. A small minority of students held that under no circumstances should a follower of Christ go to war. Beyond the question of personal response to war, but growing out of these divergent responses, there was the question of the role of the movement with regard to the war. The Student Christian Movement in Britain "was urged to become a recruiting agency by some, and begged to turn itself into a pacifist society by others."

In the first editorial to appear in the periodical of the British movement after the declaration of war by Great Britain, students were reminded that there was a bond between British and German, Austrian, and Hungarian students that transcended those even of an international association like the federation. The bond of "fellowship in Christ" transcends all others and must remain unbroken. When conscription came in Britain, Christian students chose divergent responses to the national claim. "At the headquarters of the movement," Tatlow recalled, "men bid good-bye to one another with affection as one went to the front and the other went to prison, each knowing that the other was honestly trying to do what he believed was right for him."

Some British students were keenly disappointed that the forces of Christianity seemed powerless to stop the outbreak of war, or to bring it to an early end. Tatlow reported in 1915 that when the war broke out there was a conviction that the Christian church ought to have had something clear and commanding to say about the subject of war, and should at least have made her influence felt as a powerful factor at this time among the nations, and it was with growing disappointment that our student class realized that the church’s voice was an unimportant one among all the voices raised after the outbreak of war, and that everywhere the church seemed to have found nothing further to do than to second the demands of the state in all the countries at war. This disappointment has been shown quite as markedly among students who do not profess to be Christians as among Christians.

Students in Great Britain declared that “it is the business of the Church, at all costs, to uphold the ideal of the kingdom of God, and they consider that the Church has put the major part of her strength into upholding national ideals.”

A few Christian students, especially at the beginning of the war, were able to see something good in soldiering. One German student wrote that the war was "a special God-given opportunity to become purified and strengthened. Our call is easy to define. The first element in it is to do our duty wherever we are; for soldiers in the field it means that to be true in strife and suffering is also to serve God. Then, however, one must also keep in mind the highest aim of battle, namely that we should in the end combat sin and not the sinner. Then we must also earnestly strike down the sin in ourselves in order that we shall be able to recognize on which side have stood right and truth in this world war."

Other Christian soldiers found it impossible to maintain such spiritual detachment from the brutal facts of a war in which battle losses were often numbered in the tens of thousands. The loss of life among French students was high, and the Protestant student movement was badly battered by the war, both physically and psychologically. Even though an enemy had invaded their homeland and their duty to fight seemed clear, Christian students were plagued by the moral ambiguities of this war.

Many of them felt to the depths of their soul the conflict between the stern duty of the moment and their Christian calling. The cleavage between the soldiers in the front line and ceux de l’arrière became more acute as years went by; a certain kind of patriotic and pious talk was unbearable to the former. Some became more and more silent; they knew that so much of what they would say could not be understood by those who had not gone through the same ghastly experience.

The Dutch had a name for the soldiers at the front—frontzwijnen, "the swine at the front." From many who lived through the indescribable horrors of the trenches came the despairing cry, "Never again!"

As the war dragged on with small gains on either side and staggering losses of life for both, it became increasingly difficult for Christian soldiers to see the glory of the war or to maintain the vision of the spiritual mission attributed to the war in sermons and newspaper editorials at home. In a letter to movement leaders written midway through the war, a German Christian student reflected a spirit of disillusionment that was becoming increasingly common:

When I recall all the experiences and impressions of the past year, I come to this certainty: There is no such thing as a “holy war”; every war is fiendish. Evil has many manifestations. One of the worst of these is war, every war .... In truth, war has not produced a single atom of positive religious value. It has only annihilated these values. War is a triumph of the Devil and not a means of grace.

In the call sent out to the colleges from the American SVM missionary conference in 1918, the war was said to be “a summons to penitent recognition that there has been something amiss with Christian civilization.” This was Christendom’s war. Christian nations were partners “in the sins that so sharply antagonized us one against the other and that at last ran their shears through the fabric of international society.” Christians were at fault that war was even allowed to survive, and were also culpable for the spirit of hate in which the war was being carried out.

At the 1918 Northfield student missionary conference, held in place of the usual quadrennial, there were still some of the old appeals for renewed missionary action in response to the need “out there.” But there was also a new challenge. Social gospel advocate Harry F. Ward declared that the first need confronting religion in the United States was for “applied Christianity” to be extended among intellectual and business leaders at home, and among men and women working in American and European factories, mills, and mines. Few of these workers had heard the Gospel, and even if they had, the conditions in which most of them worked denied its reality. They needed a new Gospel, one

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Shortly after the SVM Conference at Northfield, Channing H. Tobias, a black YMCA worker from New York, challenged North American students to consider not only German atrocities in Belgium but white atrocities against blacks in America. A play on wartime rhetoric, Tobias's article “Shall America Be Made Safe for Black Men?” was a sobering account of official violence against blacks as well as of the more familiar lynchings. He quoted congressional testimony on the recent East St. Louis massacre, alleging that more than five hundred blacks had been murdered by a rioting mob, who had been watched—or even aided—by city policemen and members of the Illinois militia. It was facts such as these that had caused W. D. Weatherford, the veteran YMCA worker with black associations, to tell students and volunteers that it would be “useless to look on the far fields unless we have in our hearts and in our own colleges the spirit of Jesus Christ, so we shall have the right attitude toward the man who stands by our side.”

For many British students the war had demonstrated that Europe needed Christian faith as badly as India or China. Although a similar argument was heard among some American students, the Europeans pushed the point to a place of devastating clarity. If human society is really one and not many, if all people are, at least in creation, God’s children, then it follows that every society is equally in need of evangelization in every generation. A second point followed on from this, one related to the evangelistic process itself. Christianity, the European students reasoned, is spread not by talking but by “contagion,” by the influence of a living Christian culture. If this is true, then “only a Christian society can conduct a Christian mission.” It was only too clear to the European students who fought in the trenches of the World War just how thin was the religious veneer on their society, and how serious the implications of this reality were for the missionary enterprise.

The war aggravated for British students a second, even more fundamental objection to the missionary enterprise. Many students began to doubt whether Christianity was “the one true religion.” The war had brought increased contact between European youth and other cultures of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. That exposure sometimes resulted in increased racial prejudice, but among many young people it was the occasion for a thoughtful reflection on the relationship of culture and religion. Especially in the context of a war that was started and largely carried out by Christians, it was only natural that the other religions encountered by the young soldiers would seem more attractive than what they had read in the partisan pages of missionary literature. If the integrity of Christian civilization was in question, and if other religions deserved a more sympathetic hearing, then it followed that a reappraisal of the missionary enterprise was in order. If Christianity was not the only true religion, then certainly the missionary proclamation must be made—if it would continue to be made at all—with far greater humility and sensitivity.

The older SVM leaders found it easy to recognize in the war familiar metaphors of the battle for world evangelization to which they had given their lives. Although a tragic interruption of the evangelistic crusade, the war would set the stage for greater achievements in the future. The young—those who survived—watched their comrades being sacrificed in the indelible strategies of generals who were learning the science of modern war. After the first few weeks of dramatic troop movements, the war settled into an entrenched, four-year clash of men, metal, and poison gas across a constantly exploding wasteland. In this war there was more gore than glory. For the elders at home it was a crusade; for the young soldiers in the trenches, a catastrophe.

Retreat from Idealism

In the Great War, the hero was crushed. The Student Volunteer Movement fell victim to a wariness of idealism and a weariness of crusades that followed. The war had been won, but the crusade abandoned. The SVM was a casualty in this abandonment. The account of the volunteer movement after World War I is a story that anticipates many of the themes of the following decades—the decline of religious liberalism and the social gospel, religious depression and the later revival of the social gospel by the generation that fought the war, the rethinking of foreign missions and the move from evangelism to ecumenism in mainline Protestant missions, the shift of missionary enthusiasm from the mainline to the evangelicals, and the move of the Christian center of gravity from Europe to North America and finally to the non-Western world. The story of this decade anticipates many of the changes in missionary thinking that would dominate the decades to follow. Here also, in the reaction of the young to the Great War, is a parallel to student response to a very different American war half a century later. While the context was different, much of the emotion and rhetoric would be the same.

Notes


2. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions was born in 1886 at a Young Men’s Christian Association conference at Dwight L. Moody’s New England convention center and for several decades after popularized the watchword “the evangelization of the world in this generation.” Thousands of North American students were recruited for missionary service, and by 1900 the volunteer movement had forged links with students in Europe, Asia, Australia, and Africa in a world federation designed to build enthusiasm for the evangelization crusade among students everywhere. The SVM was organized, from the beginning, as a complementary part of the larger Protestant Christian student movement. That movement had different national expressions, and varied markedly from country to country. In the United States, the SVM—with its national office on Madison Avenue in New York City—functioned as the missionary department of the college YMCAs and YWCAs. In Great Britain, the Student Volunteer Missionary Union became the missionary arm of the Student Christian Movement, to which it had earlier given birth. In countries like France and Italy, in contrast, where the Protestant student Christian movement was not strong, the student volunteer concept remained weak or nonexistent. The student volunteer concept never became widely popular in Germany, where the crusade for world evangelization often carried overtones of Anglo-Saxon imperialism.
The Student Foreign Missions Fellowship over Fifty-five Years

H. Wilbert Norton, Sr.

Students have been in the vanguard of the North American church’s missionary outreach, spearheading each of three eras of missionary advance. Students, huddled in prayer in a haystack on Williams College campus in 1806, inaugurated the foreign missions history of the American church. Eighty years later, in 1886, the Mount Hermon Conference of college students led to the organization of the Student Volunteer Movement. The American Protestantism of the nineteenth century began to rally their peers in a renewed missionary thrust to evangelize the world as they met, 575 strong, in a post-Christmas service with the Evangelical Free Church of America in 1940 as founding director of the Reformed Theological Seminary, Jackson, Mississippi. He began his missionary service with the Evangelical Free Church of America in 1940 as founding director of the Bible Institute of the Ubangi (now Goyongo Seminary in Zaire). He subsequently founded the missions program at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School and at the Graduate School of Wheaton College, serving these institutions as president and dean, respectively. After retirement in 1980 he was founding principal of the EcWA Theological Seminary (SIM, International) in Nigeria and also director of CAMEO (Committee to Assist Ministry Education Overseas).

H. Wilbert Norton, Sr., is Director of the Doctor of Missiology Program at the Reformed Theological Seminary, Jackson, Mississippi. He began his missionary service with the Evangelical Free Church of America in 1940 as founding director of the Bible Institute of the Ubangi (now Goyongo Seminary in Zaire). He subsequently founded the missions program at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School and at the Graduate School of Wheaton College, serving these institutions as president and dean, respectively. After retirement in 1980 he was founding principal of the EcWA Theological Seminary (SIM, International) in Nigeria and also director of CAMEO (Committee to Assist Ministry Education Overseas).

7. Ibid., p. 515.
8. Ibid., pp. 515-16.
11. CAMEO (Committee to Assist Ministry Education Overseas).
18. Ibid., pp. 515-16.
student missionary movement relate to the two previous student movements of 1806 and 1886? These questions bring us to the Student Foreign Missions Fellowship.

Roots of a New Evangelical Student Movement

The beginning of the Student Foreign Missions Fellowship (SFMLF) parallels remarkably the dynamics of the student revivals of the earlier nineteenth-century student missionary movements. In 1936, the year of the founding of SFMF, Kenneth Scott Latourette observed in *Missions Tomorrow*, "Christian missions have ever been a minority movement ... breaking out in unexpected places" (emphasis added). It was indeed a "minority" of fifty-three students who agreed in 1936 that it was God’s timing to initiate a new student missionary movement. They came to this conviction in the course of two student summer conferences, one at Ben Lippen Conference Center, Asheville, North Carolina, and the other at American Keswick, Toms River, New Jersey.

Latourette himself observed the trends in 1936:

> In many circles in which Evangelical conviction was once strong, an easy going liberalism now prevails with a kind of tolerance that is sprung up of skepticism as to the validity of its own inherited belief. Many among the clergy are seeking a social revolution as a substitute for the religious conviction for which their communions officially stand, but to which they as individuals can no longer ascribe. Unless new revivals reinvigorate it, it is doomed even in its own strongholds.

The first sign of a resurgent evangelical fervor for evangelism and missions occurred in February 1936, during a special series of chapel services at Wheaton College, Illinois. Walter Wilson, medical doctor and founder of the Kansas City Bible College, substituted for a chapel speaker who was ill with the flu. As he concluded his message, Don Hillis, a missionary volunteer to India, raised a question from the audience: What should a student who loves Christ do to receive the fullness of the Spirit's ministry overseas?

Latourette observed in 1936 that unless new revivals reinvigorated it, Protestant liberalism was doomed even in its own strongholds.

Not unlike the optimism of Latourette and John R. Mott, they affirmed the teaching of the apostle John: ‘This is the
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The Great Commission demands a vivid world perspective. If you’re out to sharpen your global vision, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School provides an exciting vantage point. At our School of World Mission and Evangelism, you’ll learn from internationally renowned leaders in evangelical missiology. You’ll choose from the most comprehensive offering of degrees available in world missions today. You’ll take your place among students from thirty nations who share a common commitment to Biblical inerrancy. And you’ll come away with a well-rounded global perspective that transcends cultural boundaries. If you’re serious about expanding your world vision, take in the view from Trinity.

Our Faculty: Dr. Robert Coleman, Dr. David Hesselgrave, Professor John Nyquist, Dr. Edward Rommen, Dr. Ruth Tucker, Dr. Ted Ward and Dr. Timothy Warner. Our two newest faculty members are Dr. Paul Hiebert and Dr. Lois McKinney.

List of Degrees: Doctor of Missiology (resident research degree), Doctor of Ministry/Missions emphasis (professional project degree), Master of Divinity, Master of Arts, Master of Arts in Religion, Master of Theology.

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victory that has overcome the world, our faith” (1 John 5:4b). Faith was the key. But how to stir the church? To reach the greatest number of church members, it appeared that SFMF representatives would need to confront them at the numerous summer Bible conferences of that era. Thus, a student missionary team of five students was assembled from Columbia Bible College, Wheaton College, and Hampden-Sydney College to visit popular Bible conferences on the eastern seaboard, in Canada, and in the Midwest during the summer of 1938.

Student supporters and friends contributed $125 for one of the team members to purchase a four-door, 1930 Model A Ford for the trip. When the team started out in mid-June, only six meetings had been confirmed during a six-week period. However, when the trip concluded after covering three thousand miles, from Asheville, North Carolina, through New England to Toronto and Canadian Keswick, down to Winona Lake, Indiana, and west to Chicago, there had been only one night without a meeting! In addition, all expenses were paid from offerings received, including the cost for each team member to return home. Prayer and faith were basic principles in the founding of SVM fifty years earlier.

With such an outflow of leaders going overseas, continuity of leadership was frequently at risk. At the same period of time, InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF), another fledgling evangelical student movement, felt a need for a missions department to help achieve its stated goals for world evangelization.

### Urbana Themes and Attendance Records

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Cumulative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Complete Christ's Commission</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>From Every Campus to Every Country</td>
<td>1,294</td>
<td>1,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>By All Means—Proclaiming Christ</td>
<td>1,646</td>
<td>3,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Changing World—Unchanging Christ</td>
<td>2,141</td>
<td>5,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>One Lord/One Church/One World</td>
<td>3,486</td>
<td>9,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Commission/Conflict/Commitment</td>
<td>5,027</td>
<td>14,169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Change/Witness/Triumph</td>
<td>6,264</td>
<td>20,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>God's Men—From All Nations to All Nations</td>
<td>9,200</td>
<td>29,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Jesus Christ: Lord of the Universe, Hope of the World</td>
<td>14,158</td>
<td>56,095</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Declare His Glory Among the Nations</td>
<td>17,112</td>
<td>73,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>That All Nations Might Believe and Obey Jesus Christ</td>
<td>16,625</td>
<td>89,832</td>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>Let Every Tongue Confess That Jesus Christ Is Lord</td>
<td>13,714</td>
<td>103,546</td>
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<td>1984</td>
<td>Faithful in Christ Jesus</td>
<td>18,144</td>
<td>121,690</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Should I Not Be Concerned?</td>
<td>18,702</td>
<td>140,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Jesus Christ: Lord of the Universe, Hope of the World</td>
<td>19,510</td>
<td>159,902</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### InterVarsity Christian Fellowship

In 1934 Australian-born C. Stacey Woods assumed his duties as general secretary of IVCF in Toronto. Charles Troutman, who participated in the Wheaton College revival in 1936, had become Woods’s assistant in Canada after he was graduated and later assisted with the oversight of the U.S. outreach of IVCF.

The Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU), founded in 1877, was the progenitor of IVCF. Since the early nineteenth-century and the forty-five year ministry of Charles Simeon at Holy Trinity, there had been a strong Bible-centered ministry to students at Cambridge. D. L. Moody ministered at Cambridge and Oxford in November 1882, resulting in the attraction of university athletes whose personal decisions to serve Christ overseas impacted the British student world.

At the invitation of D. L. Moody, Kynaston Studd, one of the Cambridge Seven, visited twenty American colleges and Moody’s Mount Hermon Conference just before the founding of the Student Volunteer Movement. Clearly, a direct historic relationship exists through the Cambridge evangelistic ministry of D. L. Moody, the response of the Cambridge students, the Mount Hermon Conference, the founding of the Student Volunteer Movement, and subsequent establishment of Inter Varsity Christian Fellowship.

The merger of the SFMF and IVCF occurred in November 1945. Will Norton had just returned from his first term in the Ubangi District of the Belgian Congo and accepted the invitation to serve as interim director of the new missions department until J. Christy Wilson, Jr., director-elect, arrived from Princeton Theological Seminary in January 1946.

Christy Wilson was the son of missionaries to Persia (Iran) who had actively participated in the SVM in their student days. Wilson’s immediate priority was to plan a student missionary convention similar to the quadrennials of the SVM. With incredible vision and indomitable zeal, Wilson engineered the “first Urbana” at the University of Toronto, with Norton’s assistance, December 27, 1946-January 1, 1947. Samuel M. Zwemer, “Apostle to Islam” and pioneer missionary to Arabia, provided continuity with the nineteenth-century SVM era as senior speaker at Toronto. Harold John Ockenga, minister of historic Park Street Church,
Boston, represented the renewed evangelical voice of historic missions. Bakht Singh, a converted Sikh of India; Wilbur Smith, Presbyterian minister and head of the Pastors’ Course at Moody Bible Institute; L. E. Maxwell, founding president of Prairie Bible Institute in Alberta; and President McQuilkin of Columbia Bible College addressed the 575 delegates from 151 colleges, universities, seminaries, and Bible institutes. The delegates related to fifty-two different denominations; representatives of fifty-six mission agencies were present to interact with students. Observers from the SVM and the Christian Student Movement (CSM) were greatly perturbed by the conservative theological expression of the convention. Afterward they met with Woods, warning him that they would oppose the movement in every possible way. Their critical report was circulated widely.

After eighteen months of leadership, Christy Wilson resigned to pursue his doctoral studies at the University of Edinburgh en route to the Middle East in the service of Christ. His successor, T. Norton Sterrett, whose parents also had been missionaries to Persia, had completed his first term in India with the Union of Evangelical Students of India (UESI/IVCF). Sterrett directed the 1948 IVCF missionary convention, the first to be held at the University of Illinois in Urbana. Almost 1,300 students traveled that year to Urbana. When Sterrett later returned to India, Charles Troutman gave interim leadership to IVCF’s missions department until Wesley Gustason, one-time Evangelical Free Church missionary to China, arrived.

Subsequent mission department directors were David Adeney of China Inland Mission, Erik Fife of North Africa Mission, David Howard of Latin America Mission, Reuben Brooks of Michigan State University, John Kyle of Wycliffe Bible Translators/Philippines, and Dan Harrison, also a Wycliffe missionary.

The process of working out positive relationships between the SFMF and IVCF was arduous. It took a positive turn when John Alexander, chair of the department of geography at the University of Wisconsin, resigned his academic post to become the new president of IVCF, and David Howard, the first SFMF staff member in 1951 and missionary to Colombia, became the missionary director of InterVarsity in 1968.

The Alexander /Howard team infused a new dynamic into both movements. Some of the members of the former SFMF missions committee were integrated into the InterVarsity Corporation and Board of Directors. Overall, the SFMF helped to return the Bible to center stage in student world missions.

When David Howard later assumed the duties of the executive director of the World Evangelical Fellowship, John Kyle of Wycliffe Bible Translators/Philippines, succeeded him. By 1981 InterVarsity staff member Bob Fryling, as director of campus ministries, began the process of integrating missions more effectively into the total IVCF movement. A stronger ministry to international students under Terry Morrison’s leadership linked international student groups in the United States to the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students.

As the dynamic missionary leadership of John R. Mott throughout the decades made him a natural leader among mainline denominations in the development of the ecumenical movement, so also David Howard’s leadership as IVCF missions director enabled him to revitalize the dynamics of evangelical groups worldwide.

The majority of the missionary volunteers of the Urbana conventions have served with mission agencies relating to the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association (IFMA) and the Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, formerly the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association (EFMA). Follow-up materials from IVCF have been regularly sent to those who make decisions at Urbana to assist them in understanding God’s will for their lives and world service with Christ.

In cadence with the historic march following the 1806 Haystack Prayer Meeting, the 1886 Mount Hermon Student Conference and the SVM, the SFMF/IVCF and the Urbana conventions have continued to stir the church to press forward in its missionary outreach during the last half of the twentieth century.

The SFMF helped to return the Bible to center stage in student world missions.

Notes

5. Harrison, in Urbana Update, p. 3.
6. Ibid., p. 4.
7. Ibid., p. 3
10. Ibid., p. 128.
11. Norton, To Stir the Church, pp. 7-8.
12. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
13. Ibid., p. 15.
17. Norton, To Stir the Church, p. 32.
19. Norton, To Stir the Church, p. 35.
20. Ibid.
22. Norton, To Stir the Church, pp. 43-49.
Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1993

David B. Barrett

The table opposite is the ninth in an annual series describing statistics and trends. This year we introduce a greatly expanded world view and offer seven new statistical variables included in the table for the first time (lines 9, 10, 26, 45, 61, 69, 70).

Looking Ahead to Century 21 (see end column opposite)

This year our overview of the status of global mission pushes its horizon a further twenty-five years into the future. The last column in the table, up to last year headed "A.D. 2000," now deals with the year 2025. This is as far as the United Nations' Demographic Database on all 280 countries of the world goes at present, although for continents it goes as far as A.D. 2200.

With A.D. 2000 now only seven years ahead, it is almost too late for planners to start thinking about new plans for that millennial year. The new tone is being set by the World Future Society, whose seventh General Assembly and Exposition will open in Washington, D.C., on June 27, 1993, with three thousand futurists registered from across the globe. Their theme is "Creating the Twenty-first Century: Rights, Responsibilities, and Actions." The program will cover the entire human agenda, including the rights of all peoples to hear the good news of Jesus Christ.

Our end column is intended to assist everyone see the way in which global mission in the twenty-first century has already begun to take shape. Many figures there are startling, if you read down the column slowly, thinking about each figure. Do lines 9 and 10 shock you?

Great Commission Christians (line 26)

This new measure has been carefully worked out for every country, every people, every language, and every city in the world. It is defined as follows. Great Commission Christians are all active church members who know about, and who take seriously, Christ's commission to his church: "Go into all the world and make disciples of all nations." This is not the same as practicing Christians (line 24)—it's smaller. Neither is it precisely synonymous with any previous grouping such as Charismatics (line 25) or Evangelicals or committed Christians or born-again Christians or Bible-believing Christians or your confession or mine, although no doubt it includes sizeable parts of all these.

Another new variable illustrates a major achievement on the part of Great Commission Christians (line 61): each year they disseminate 1.6 billion scriptures (Bibles, New Testaments, gospels, selections).

Notes

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


9-10. See Our Globe and How to Reach It, Global Diagrams 6 and 9; also Global Diagram 45 in A.D. 2000 Global Monitor, no. 12 (October 1991).

11. 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.

12. Total of all non-Christians (sum of rows 12-20 above, plus adherents of other major religions). This is also the same as World A (the unevangelized) plus World B (evangelized non-Christians).

13. Church members involved in the Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal. Totals on lines 24-26 overlap with those on lines 28-34.

27. World totals of current long-term trend for all confessions. (See Our Globe and How to Reach It, Global Diagram 51. The 1993 figure reflects the collapse of Communism.)


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

73. Grand total of all distinct plans and proposals for accomplishing world evangelization made by Christians since A.D. 30. (See Seven Hundred Plans to Evangelize the World: The Rise of a Global Evangelization Movement [Birmingham, Ala.: New Hope, 1988]).

Christian Evangelism (lines 69, 70)

Many of the forty-seven factors shown from line 22 to line 68 measure the impact of evangelism as mediated by organizations, workers, finance, literature, scriptures, broadcasting, and urban mission (with 1,200 citywide campaigns every year across the world). Most of these activities publish precise statistics, which our table has reported on for the last nine years. What is new in lines 69-70 is that we now are able to measure and add up, for the first time, the total overall evangelistic coverage resulting from all varieties of evangelism.

Line 69 gives the picture from the standpoint of evangelists and evangelizers: each year they are preaching or evangelizing across the globe for a grand total of 375 billion person-hours. Second, from the standpoint of those being evangelized, this means that every year some 95 discipleship opportunities—which are offers or invitations to become Christ's disciples—are made per global inhabitant. This appears to be a massive achievement until we realize that distribution of these offers is as bad as the world distribution of food, water, medicine, shelter, and other human rights. Some 91.6 percent of all offers are made to persons in World C; 8.1 percent to persons in World B; but only 0.3 percent ever reach World A.

The value of these two new analytic variables is that they do at least give us a measurable handle through which we can monitor these significant activities.

World Evangelization: Are We Winning or Losing? (lines 71, 72)

Christians thinking of or planning for A.D. 2000 or 2025 must be supplied with accurate, objective data indicating whether or not the whole Christian enterprise is progressing toward its stated goals. This has nothing to do with optimism or pessimism but rather with the need to be accurately informed. After undertaking a detailed religio-demographic analysis over the last year, we have come up with statistics that indicate both progress and setbacks. Here is a summary. Each day some 234,200 hitherto unevangelized persons become evangelized. However, unevangelized individuals are increasing every day through birth by 257,800 persons. So, overall, we are losing the battle to evangelize World A at the rate of 23,600 persons every day.

Why is progress so slow, even negative, given the enormous resources of the Christian world? A clue may be found in line 45. Global Christianity today has become controlled by a vast number of freestanding, standalone organizational monoliths—12 global megamissions, 80 global monoliths, 4,000 monoliths, 150,000 minimonoliths. Almost every one is trying, in practice, to evangelize the world by itself.

Study of the facts and figures supporting these statements should now lead the reader to ask the basic theological question: How biblical is this control by monoliths?

#### WORLD POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>mid-1993</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Total population</td>
<td>1,619,886,800</td>
<td>3,697,849,000</td>
<td>5,575,954,000</td>
<td>6,260,800,000</td>
<td>8,504,223,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Urban dwellers (urbanites)</td>
<td>232,644,900</td>
<td>1,352,449,000</td>
<td>2,617,233,000</td>
<td>3,197,679,000</td>
<td>5,492,741,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Rural dwellers</td>
<td>1,387,191,900</td>
<td>2,345,400,000</td>
<td>2,958,601,000</td>
<td>3,063,121,000</td>
<td>3,011,349,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Adult population (over 15)</td>
<td>1,025,938,000</td>
<td>2,311,156,000</td>
<td>3,786,073,000</td>
<td>4,294,908,000</td>
<td>6,420,688,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Literates</td>
<td>286,705,000</td>
<td>1,479,980,000</td>
<td>2,355,573,000</td>
<td>3,042,072,000</td>
<td>5,250,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Nonliterates</td>
<td>739,233,000</td>
<td>831,176,000</td>
<td>1,430,500,000</td>
<td>1,252,836,000</td>
<td>1,170,688,000</td>
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#### WORLD EXPANSION OF CITIES

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Metropolises (over 100,000 population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Megacities (over 1 million population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Urban poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Urban slum dwellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Christians (total all kinds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Nonreligious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Hindus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Buddhists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Atheists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. New-Religionians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Tribal religionians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Sikhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Jews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Non-Christians (= Worlds A and B)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### GLOBAL POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. Total Christians as % of world (World C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Affiliated church members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Practicing Christians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Pentecostals/Charismatics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Great Commission Christians (active)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Average Christian martyrs per year</td>
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#### MEMBERSHIP BY ECCLESIASTICAL BLOC

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29. Anglicans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Catholics (non-Roman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Marginal Protestants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Nonwhite indigenous Christians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Orthodox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Protestants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Roman Catholics</td>
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#### CHRISTIAN FINANCE (in U.S. $, mid-1993)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48. Personal income of church members, $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Personal income of Pentecostals/Charismatics, $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Giving to Christian causes, $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Church's income, $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Parachurch and institutional income, $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Ecclesiastical crime, $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Income of global missions, $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Computers in Christian use (total numbers)</td>
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#### CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56. New commercial book titles per year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Christian periodicals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. New books/articles on evangelization per year</td>
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#### SCRIPTURE DISTRIBUTION (all sources)

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<tr>
<td>59. Bibles per year</td>
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<tr>
<td>60. New Testaments per year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Scriptures including gospels, selections, per year</td>
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#### CHRISTIAN RADIO/TV

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62. Christian radio/TV stations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Total monthly listeners/viewers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. of Christian stations</td>
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<tr>
<td>65. of secular stations</td>
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#### CHRISTIAN URBAN MISSION

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66. Non-Christian megacities</td>
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<tr>
<td>67. New non-Christian urban dwellers per day</td>
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<td>68. Urban Christians</td>
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#### CHRISTIAN EVANGELISM

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69. Evangelization-hours per year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. Disciple-opportunities per capita per year</td>
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#### WORLD EVANGELIZATION

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My Pilgrimage in Mission

H. D. Beeby

In writing about my pilgrimage, I begin with a problem and end with a question. First the problem. Pilgrims usually know where they are going. The whole point is to go somewhere, to a destination that determines the journey to be taken. But I have not known where I was going. And not to know was more a boast than carelessness. With Cardinal Newman, I have almost rejoiced in my unknowing, and with him I have said, “I have my mission—I may never know it in this life, but I shall be told it in the next. I am a link in a chain, a bond of connection between persons. He has not created me for naught. I shall do was more a boast than carelessness. With Cardinal Newman, I have almost rejoiced in my unknowing, and with him I have said,” “I have my mission—I may never know it in this life, but I shall be told it in the next. I am a link in a chain, a bond of connection between persons. He has not created me for naught. I shall do. But I have not known where I was going. And not to know was more a boast than carelessness. With Cardinal Newman, I have almost rejoiced in my unknowing, and with him I have said, “I have my mission—I may never know it in this life, but I shall be told it in the next. I am a link in a chain, a bond of connection between persons. He has not created me for naught. I shall do.”

The question, of course, is about the destination. Where have I been heading? Before too long I shall be told, but already I can glimpse patterns in the ramble, and the mists around the goal seem increasingly to have a revealing shape.

The Ramble in Outline

In 1946, newly ordained, very English, and very Presbyterian, I slowly made my way as a new missionary by aircraft carrier to Hong Kong and then to Amoy in China. Every port of call between Southampton and Hong Kong was either British or British controlled; in Amoy the commissioner of customs was British, and the French ran the post office. My wife and newborn son arrived in 1947, and in 1948 our daughter arrived in a mission hospital. There in Amoy I cut my missionary teeth, made my first mistakes, learned more than I taught, and lost some of my Englishness and much of my heart to the quite impossible but irresistible Chinese.

In 1949 we were literally shot out of the port by Communist guns and limped, carrying numerous dead, into Hong Kong. After a few months in England we went to Taiwan, where my children learned better Taiwanese than their parents, where I helped start a university, fell in love with Taiwan, taught Old Testament for twenty years, lost more Englishness, found a little of myself, and prepared to live happily ever after in Taiwan. In 1971 I even made tentative funeral arrangements, just in case.

Final rest in Taiwan was apparently not to be. Rudely ejected from mainland China by the People’s Republic in 1949, in 1972 I was declared persona non grata by the Nationalists and expelled from Taiwan—so-called Free China. Prohibited from teaching Old Testament to ministers in Taiwan, I was offered the only job I was capable of doing in England, namely, teaching Old Testament to missionaries of all nationalities in the Selly Oak Colleges. While learning to become English once more, I made an annual application, with the help of the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, for an entry visa to Taiwan. This was finally granted after twenty years. Retirement in 1986 from lecturing led, miraculously, to six years’ colleagueship with Lesslie Newbigin promoting mission to Western culture.

So much for the skeleton. What of the sinews and flesh? Why this particular ramble? Whom did I meet? What was some of the turnings and why did I make them? Is there any reason, pattern, or design to be seen? Are there clues to where I have been and still am going?

Mixed Motives for Rambling

Why did I set out in the first place? The war was just over. The “mission fields” had been neglected. Men and women were needed quickly, so the first question was whether one could find a good reason for not going. I tried hard, but everything was against me. Over the year several returned missionaries had impressed me. The seeds of missionary endeavor were there waiting to sprout, and they were encouraged by the fact that I was healthy and so was my fiancée. A friend who wanted to be a missionary had been turned down on health grounds. Oughtn’t we to go in his place? My fiancée was a nurse. What a good team we would make: minister and nurse, and both as strong as oxen. While millions had died. Had I been preserved for something out of the ordinary? After years of softness, didn’t the chance of some future hardship constitute a call? So we volunteered for India (still within the empire!) and were sent to China.

That was why we went in the first place. Why we later kept going back and would have gone back when we couldn’t is another and very different story. Each time the mixture of motives was never as before.

The People on the Way

I was born in 1920 in Hull (Yorkshire), where, according to Philip Larkin, “only tradesmen and relations go,” and followed Andrew Marvel and William Wilberforce to the local ancient grammar school. Later I graduated from London University by attending the new University College in Hull, before spending three years in Westminster College, Cambridge.

When originally requested to write this account, I began making notes. The very first note was a list of names: as for Chaucer, pilgrimage for me meant other people.
To begin at the very beginning, there was the mother who doted on me but encouraged me, even though it meant leaving her for five years at a time. There was the father who never seemed to understand and provided a model for me to react against. There was the sister who stayed that I might go. There was the Anglican fiancée who resisted parental pressure and married a Presbyterian pacifist to go with him to China. There was the wild fundamentalist preacher who set fire to my even wilder liberalism; the professor of philosophy, recommended for the Victoria Cross in the First World War, who cared for, tolerated, guided, and inspired the callow but committed pacifist in the Second World War; the Chinese and Taiwanese brother and sister ministers, sacrificial and loving, who cared for us and still care; the students, many who have surpassed their teachers, who put me right, taught me the real language (including the swearwords), and loved me enough to put me and keep on putting me right. There was Jim Muilenburg, who nursed me through a doctorate at Union Theological Seminary, New York City. And then there was Shoki (alias Shoki Ko, Dr. Coe, the Rev. C. H. Hwang, Ng Chiong Hui, et al.), church leader extraordinary who was friend, mentor, boss, and pastor and without whom the journey would have been unthinkable.

There were the names I knew through countless books. Constant companions were the bridge builders: C. S. Lewis, who bridged the gap between poet and preacher; Karl Barth, who brought together the words of man and the Word of God; Jim Muilenburg, linking rhetoric and theology; and John Donne, who married the sensuous and the sacred.

Today the pilgrim party is still growing, in China, Taiwan, worldwide; and at home, as our children still try to educate me, and the grandchildren rub my nose in the exciting reality of the present.

Learning on the Way

After twenty years’ exile I was recently allowed a short visit to Taiwan. I went knowing that great changes had taken place and that I had to learn about the new Taiwan. I also knew that the Dan Beeby being welcomed by the church was not the one I knew. I had to learn who the “new me” was. So I went to learn. For someone being welcomed as an old teacher, I assumed that the learning and receiving.

In learning their language, I had learned more of my own. In learning to be Taiwanese, I understood what it was to be English. In learning their culture, I learned that I also had a culture and that in forming me, it had at the same time distorted me. I learned that there were strong links between culture and preaching and that cultures, particularly my culture, could blind one to the Christ I preached. I learned to hear the unsaid in another culture, that cultures, particularly my culture, could blind one to the Christ I preached. I learned to hear the unsaid in another culture.

I now see the worst time of my life was also the best.

The Unseen Hand

As I move from the pilgrimage problem to the final question, is it possible to see any design? Has it all been yet another ramble of yet another “rolling English drunkard,” or do some patterns emerge?

We volunteered for India but went protestingly to China. Ejected from China, we went reluctantly to Taiwan. Once, absent in the United States, I returned to Taiwan to find myself (very unwillingly) appointed a professor of Old Testament. Ten years later my plans to spend a year in Israel were frustrated by Shoki’s insistence that I should go to Union Theological Seminary, New York, to take a doctorate. Jim Muilenburg supported him, so I went. In 1972 I became an exile from Taiwan, reluctantly returned to England, and, rather ungraciously, stayed there instead of accepting offers in the Far East. At sixty-six I retired reluctantly, and I am sure that before long I shall die protestingly. A tale of reluctance and perhaps of rebellion, but that is only my contribution to the journey and it (thank God) is not the whole story. Reflecting at leisure, I have to admit (somewhat reluctantly) that every time I was overruled and pushed protesting
into what I did not want to do, I later found my feet in a large place and my path strewn with blessings. Through a glass darkly a pattern emerges; it is the pattern of resistance, gracious overruling, and a blessing only later acknowledged.

The pattern is not a new one. It is the movement from dark to light, night to day. It was this pattern in 1972 when our worst day became our best day. It is the pattern of bondage and exodus, sin and forgiveness, descent and ascent, crucifixion and resurrection. It is the language of the Bible; it is perhaps the central and ubiquitous theme of the whole of Scripture, and it is pilgrim language. Has the ramble been a pilgrimage after all?

In My End Is My Beginning

In the Old Testament, Genesis must be read in the light of Exodus. In the Gospels Christ’s birth and life are full of the resurrection, and when teaching the Testaments, whether Old or New, one should always begin with the Revelation of St. John. Creation is known through new creation. Beginnings are known in ends. Are our personal mission sagas the same? In my beginning as a foreign missionary I knew I was “foreign” and the culture around me “foreign,” and a hindrance to the Gospel. Paganism was prevalent, the idols were everywhere and openly worshiped and adored. The need to speak about the counterculture of the Gospel that judges and redeems was patently obvious. Consequently, my eyes and brain were always discerning and analyzing the world about me and wondering how it might be lifted and restored in Christ. Constantly I was aware that Christians are resident aliens in the midst of cultures that have to be confronted; aware that mission was not only to individuals and institutions but to the cultural presuppositions and worldviews that form them. Servants of the Lord of all creation are called to a total mission.

I am now retired in Europe, where churches, in their dotage, are weak, confused, and declining. We talk of doing mission and evangelism but see little in the way of results. Is our problem here a cultural one too? Is post-Enlightenment Western culture equally and even more opposed to the Gospel than those “foreign” cultures where our nineteenth-century missions were so amazingly successful? And do those of us with foreign missionary eyes and brains have a special responsibility and a unique preparation for spearheading mission in the West? I have no doubt that this is so, and it is in this recognition that I begin to see a unity to my personal pilgrimage. All my life, with its rambling, its reluctances and rebellion, seems now to be finding a focus and aim in my retirement. I can now say that we do not “retire from,” we “retire in order to.” Retirement is what the seventy-odd years have been preparation for, and in the case of a missionary there is a seamless continuity between the “from” and the “in order to.” In my case the continuity appears to depend on the two concepts of culture and conversion. A backward look shows they have been there from the start.

At one stage I grappled with “pagan” cultural elements in conflict with the Gospel, at another stage, with how to indigenize or contextualize the Gospel in a “non-Christian culture.” Later I struggled with cultural assumptions in university education, and in research I sought for biblical norms as we endeavored to contextualize in the local culture without syncretism. Always a concern with culture has been a central interest. Now and only now do I see that along with the cultural interest there has always been a parallel interest in conversion. It began, when I met my “wild fundamentalist,” with the anxiety as to whether I was converted. This anxiety has never completely left me, especially when I have tried to convert others to Christ. Forty years ago in the joy of helping establish a Christian university, I also experienced the loneliness of being the only one who saw the need to convert the assumptions and presuppositions of the textbooks. Some research I undertook examined how Israel converted her cultural borrowings, “baptizing” them so that in a transformed mode non-Israelite traditions were made to serve the God of Israel.

Somewhere along the ramble I began to see that “culture” and “conversion” were indeed twins—and Siamese twins at that. They were joined. Slowly I realized that we humans are all converting all the time, that it is not a question of a chosen few being dedicated to the task of conversion. We are all always witnessing to something, and consciously or unconsciously, we are all converting others to that something we witness to. The only question is, What is it we witness and convert to? As a “foreign” missionary in a “non-Christian” land, I had to ask myself whether I had been converting individuals, institutions, and the culture to Jesus Christ, or had I unconsciously been converting them to my own European culture, which I was hardly aware of? I now carry the burden of knowing that on the ramble, alongside the intentional converting to Christ, there has been the unintentional converting to the pseudosacreds and substitute lords that have not been part of my “visible” mental hand luggage but that had been built into the concealed heavy baggage of the culture that formed me and the education that nurtured me.

It is not too late. I can still atone, and part of the “atonement” is to help convert my own culture, the culture that is now a global culture, the culture that we once almost identified with the Gospel but that we now realize, as we look at our own churches, was the Gospel’s greatest enemy; it was not a handmaid of the church but its foe and solvent. In this task of mission to “our culture,” I am happily discovering some of the purpose of all in my life that has gone before. I am discovering how all the learning and even all the reluctancy have been built into my present mission. I am beginning to suspect that the past was more of a unity than I had thought, that the ramble had its reasons and maybe was indeed a pilgrimage with a destination, and that in the little I can do toward the conversion of my culture I may be brought a little nearer to that distant cloud that hides his face and where one day I shall hear what my mission has been. Perhaps after all it was a pilgrimage with a clear destination, and perhaps the destination has been where all pilgrims actually go, even though they plan for Jerusalem, Lourdes, Canterbury, Sant Iago, or Rome.

We are all converting others to that something we witness to.
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The Legacy of W. A. P. Martin

Ralph R. Covell

What is the most appropriate role for a missionary to take as he or she enters another culture in Christian witness? One that best fits the person’s gifts? The one understood best by the receptor culture? A role that affords the best relationships with the country’s leaders? A religious vocation? A secular position? These important questions and answers were debated long before the twentieth century. William Alexander Parsons Martin’s life and ministry in China gave them special significance.

W. A. P. Martin, born in 1827 into the family of a pioneer Presbyterian preacher on the American frontier, graduated from the University of Indiana in 1846 and from New Albany Theological Seminary (later moved to Chicago and renamed McCormick Theological Seminary) in 1849. Caring for the “last preparatory measure,” a quasi-requirement of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, he married Jan VanSant a mere ten days before sailing for China on November 23, 1849. Four sons were born to them in China: Pascal, Winfred, Newell, and Claude.

“Foremost American in China”

His first field of service was in Ningbo, one of the five treaty ports opened to foreign residence by the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842. During ten years of general missionary service in this South China port city, Martin involved himself in two major events of Chinese history. First, he went on public record to advocate to his government in four newspaper articles that it should support the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, a large-scale revolt against the reigning Manchu government. Second, he participated actively in the American delegation that produced the Treaty of Tientsin, the second of the unequal treaties between China and the Western powers, which opened up the entire country to traders, diplomats, and missionaries.

After a short transition period of one year in Shanghai, Martin moved to Beijing in 1863 and, with an interruption of only three or four years, remained there until his death in 1916 at the age of eighty-nine. His work was complex and filled with many activities, both inside and outside of the institutional missionary enterprise, that related to religion, education, law, science, government, and reform.

During this period of sixty-six years in his adopted country, Martin earned the plaudits of both Chinese and American officials. The Chinese government granted him the rank of mandarin of the third class in 1885 and of the second class in 1898. He was a personal friend to the highest-ranking Chinese government officials. Three American universities awarded him honorary doctorates for his contribution to China-American relations. John W. Foster, secretary of state under President Benjamin Harrison, stated that either Martin or the Englishman Robert Hart deserved to be ranked “the most distinguished and useful foreigner in China” in the generation preceding the Boxer Rebellion.1 Charles Denby, U.S. minister to China in the early 1900s, called him the “foremost American in China.”2 In a day of great missionaries in China, Martin stood out.

With such recognition among his contemporaries, why is Martin a “no-name missionary” in both Protestant and Catholic missionary circles today? He had hoped for exactly the opposite. In his will was a specific provision that Arthur Smith, a close friend, write his biography. Martin had amassed a large number of personal papers, published and unpublished writings, diaries, and other memorabilia to assist Smith in this task. At Martin’s death, his third son, Newell, came to Beijing to settle his father’s considerable business affairs. He picked up all of the materials that his father had prepared for Smith, and that is the last that anyone has heard about them! Apparently Smith, and later potential biographers, waited to no avail for these materials to be found. Only with these documents, they evidently reasoned, could an adequate biography be written of this significant missionary figure.3

Impact of “Origin of The Heavenly Doctrine”

Why was Martin so highly respected both by missionary and nonmissionary colleagues? They recognized his ability to communicate the Christian faith in a cogent manner in the Chinese context. At the 1907 centennial of the Protestant missionary enterprise, Martin’s Chinese book, Tiandao Suyuan (Origin of the heavenly doctrine), was recognized as the single best Christian book of the century. Written by Martin in 1854 and printed in nearly forty editions over the next sixty years, this book was organized into three sections on natural law, evidences of Christianity, and revealed theology. It was used in the language study program for new missionaries who came to China and in theological schools for the instruction of Christian preachers. No other book had as much impact for Christianity on Chinese officials, with whom Martin had such extensive contact.

The section on natural law, although indebted to the current philosophical system of “common sense” as revealed in a book like William Paley’s Natural Theology, fit well with the Chinese concept of natural law. Martin appealed constantly to the Chinese ideas of tian (heaven) and a moral universe, in which heaven’s purposes (ming) and way (dao) could be seen in the created world and in the human mind and body. Only as people lived in conformity to heaven, which he interpreted as God, would their lives be fulfilled. From this apologetic beginning, very similar to the great book The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven written by the Jesuit Matteo Ricci 250 years earlier, Martin presented the whole realm of Christian truth to lead his readers to faith in Jesus Christ.

Not all of Martin’s efforts took place within such a specific religious context. With a renaissance-type mind, he wished to claim international law, popular scientific truth, and liberal arts education as a means of clearing away the underbrush of Chinese superstition in preparation for planting the Gospel seed. All of these “might wing the arrow, but religion should be its point.”4

During a three-year period (1872-75), he served as editor of Peking Magazine, an illustrated monthly that included news,
popular scientific truth, and general observations about the progress in modernization made by China's neighbors and other more distant countries. From this platform, as a kind of "secular missionary," he stated that the goal of the magazine was:

By the introduction of modern science and liberal thought to endeavor to overthrow those ancient superstitions which constitute the most formidable barriers in the way of material and social improvement.5

He debunked the Chinese concept that Haley's comet or Venus passing by the sun in 1874 could represent evil omens for China but not for the rest of the world. He gave numerous natural phenomena, because they "wear heaven on their head and tread upon earth as their footstool," a popular Chinese proverb. Nature was predictable, he affirmed, and this meant that tiandaо, the heavenly way, punished evil, protected from danger, and rewarded good. Pompei's destruction came from tiandaо, because it was such a licentious city.6

During his early years in Beijing, Martin was convinced that Chinese officials needed some knowledge of Western law in their international relations. Otherwise, he contended, they would not know how to act as they moved into the modern world and entered the family of nations. Ready at hand as a suitable textbook for him to translate was Henry Wheaton's well-known Elements of International Law. Martin remarked of this first effort of translation:

I was led to undertake it, without the suggestion of anyone, but providentially I doubt not, as a work which might bring this atheistic government to the recognition of God and his Eternal Justice; and perhaps impart to them something of the Spirit of Christianity.7

This work, for which Martin was provided a room and translation help by the Chinese government, was distributed throughout China and to the Japanese government, where it was warmly welcomed as Japan's first introduction to this subject. The Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board was not certain that Martin's six-month's work on this project was really missionary work. He curtly replied to its inquiry that this translation "will not stand second in influence to the translation of the Bible."8 He was beginning to see his role not merely as a proclaimer of religious truth but also as a "pioneer of progress," a contributor to the development of his adopted country. Because there was some link between Christianity and civilization, the arrow of modernization would reach its religious mark.

From Missionary to "Pioneer of Modern State Education"

Because of his serving as an interpreter in the American delegation in 1858, his translating Wheaton, and his general availability as an adviser to the American legation in Beijing, his fame grew among the Chinese as well as in the diplomatic world. Consequently, government officials asked him to take part in the Tong Wen Guan, a new school they had started to train interpreters for diplomatic service. At the beginning of his work at the school, Martin only taught English for two hours a day. When the school was expanded two years later, he was asked to become principal and to serve as professor of international law and political economy. In order to fulfill these added responsibilities, he resigned from his mission society in 1869.

Why would Martin give priority to this position over that of being a "real" missionary? First, he saw this opportunity as a continuance of his missionary career—he would be able to influence the "leading minds of the nation." Second, he wished to reform China's ancient educational system, and he felt that a government-sponsored school, with an expanded curriculum of liberal arts subjects, was one of the best ways to do this. Third, he believed that to work as a teacher in a school under government auspices was one of the best roles for a foreigner who wished to help in the modernization of China. At a time right after the U.S. Civil War, when his own mission board was struggling financially, it did not hurt that Martin's salary was ten times greater than what he was receiving as a missionary.

And why did the Chinese government, very conservative at this time, wish to invite an outsider to direct its school? Like Matteo Ricci earlier, Martin was a "foreign expert," and the Chinese government has always been ready to use such people for its own purposes. Martin served at this school for nearly thirty years, and when, in the last two or three years of the nineteenth century, it led to the founding of the Imperial University of Beijing, Martin became the administrator of the foreign faculty. Many of the graduates of the Tong Wen Guan became interpreters or accepted diplomatic positions. The school also contributed to the modernization of China at a time when its leaders were just beginning to get interested in this subject.

Martin began to see his role not merely as a proclaimer of religious truth, but also as a "pioneer of progress."8

Whether it influenced many students to accept the Christian faith is more questionable. The Chinese nation and its people were glad to take science and education from the West, but they wished to preserve the Chinese cultural "essence," and this had little room for the Gospel. Martin may not have hoped for actual conversions, but only that, under his direction, it would be "less anti-Christian than it would otherwise be."9

A fulfilling task that grew directly out of his administrative position in the Tong Wen Guan was his appointment in 1880 by the Chinese government to tour several foreign countries and report back on their educational systems. This trip, taking him to Japan, the United States, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy over a two-year period (1880-82), led him to emphasize the need for nations to learn from each other and to stress the value of comparative educational statistics.10 This educational venture, his work with the Tong Wen Guan, his later relationships with the Imperial University of Beijing, and his short tenure with a school established by Zhang Zhidong, governor-general of Hunan-Hubei, in Wu Chang in central China in the post-Boxer period, make it appropriate to think of Martin as the "pioneer of modern state education in China."11

Missionary schools run by Calvin Mateer and D. Z. Sheffield were equally innovative but were unrelated to the state. John C. Ferguson and D. C. Tenney developed the "most thorough and well-equipped government colleges" in the pre-Boxer period at Nanyang University (1897) and Tientsin University (1895) respectively, but they followed a trail that Martin had blazed thirty years earlier.12

Shortly before he began his work with the Tong Wen Guan, Martin found himself pressed into duty as a mediator and/or interpreter in many political events. For example, when the Chinese government appointed Anson Burlingame, formerly
American minister to China, to be a minister plenipotentiary on their behalf as he returned to the United States, Martin defended this action in six long articles that he wrote in the New York Times under the pseudonym "Perry Plus."\(^{13}\)

All of Martin’s varied activities in science, international law, and education had one aim—to win China to the Christian faith. More than other missionaries, he made good use of his pen to relate the Gospel to all levels of Chinese people. Otherwise his missionary methodology was not unusual or particularly creative. More important to him than specific methodology was a flexible attitude toward Chinese religions and the ancestral cult.

"Confucius plus Christ"

While not tolerant of the errors of Mahayana Buddhism, he felt that its belief in the immortality of the soul and a divine being made it a better preparation for the Christian faith than the materialism of Daoism or the agnosticism of the current Confucianism. He believed that Confucianism at its best was an ethical philosophy "consonant with the spirit of Christianity."\(^{14}\) Its five basic relationships, he contended, were rooted in the very nature of human beings and lacked only the "last link with Heaven" to complete them.\(^{15}\) Therefore, the solution for new converts was "Confucius plus Christ," and never "Confucius or Christ."\(^{16}\)

His views on the Christian attitude toward the ancestral rites were more controversial. These ceremonies are a complex of four activities: burial, the ritual in the home, annual sacrifices at the grave, and annual services in the ancestral hall. Martin did not wish to advocate anything that smacked of idolatry. He rejected outright, however, both the possibility and the wisdom of abolishing a cult with such cohesive power in society.\(^{17}\) He first presented his views publicly at the General Missionary Conference in Shanghai in 1890. His views reflect many modern insights used by agents of change confronting adverse institutions. First he rejected both the form and function of patently idolatrous elements that recognize the deceased as tutelary deities. Second, he modified both the form and function of certain “announcements” so that they would not be regarded as prayers, but as mere expressions of natural affection. Third, he accepted both the form and function of kneeling and bowing, affirming that while these actions might be idolatrous in certain contexts, they definitely were not in others.\(^{18}\)

In the heated discussion following the presentation of this paper, Hudson Taylor, whom Martin once said had "erred in leading his followers to make war on ancestral worship, instead of seeking to reform it,"\(^{19}\) led nearly everyone in the assembly to stand in expression of their dissent from Martin’s views. Only Timothy Richard and Gilbert Reid publicly affirmed their support, while many, according to Martin, stated privately that they concurred with the general sentiment of his paper.\(^{20}\)

Martin’s strategy in adopting these relatively tolerant views was to work for mass conversions in China. How might this happen? First, baptism should precede inquiry and catechism, rather than following them. Second, “whole families, entire clans, villages or districts” should be admitted to baptism as soon as they “committed themselves to a better doctrine, however

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**Noteworthy**

**Personalia**

We are pleased to announce the appointment of two new contributing editors for the International Bulletin of Missionary Research. Canon Graham Kings is the Henry Martyn Lecturer in Missiology in the Cambridge Federation of Theological Colleges, England, and Director of the Henry Martyn Hall, next to Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, where Martyn was a minister under Charles Simeon. After studying theology at Oxford and Cambridge, Kings served as an Anglican minister in an inner city London parish for four years and then as a CMS missionary in Kenya for seven years as Vice Principal of St. Andrew’s Institute, Kabare, an integrated theological and development college. Gary B. McGee is Professor of Church History at the Assemblies of God Theological Seminary, Springfield, Missouri. A graduate of Central Bible College, he completed an M.A.R. at Concordia Seminary; M.A. at Southwest Missouri State University; and Ph.D. in historical theology at Saint Louis University. He is the author of the two-volume This Gospel Shall Be Preached, a history of the Assemblies of God foreign missions, co-editor of the Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, and editor of Initial Evidence: Historical and Biblical Essays on the Pentecostal Doctrine of Spirit Baptism. Short-term missionary work has taken him to Belgium, Croatia, India, Singapore, and the West Indies.

Another contributing editor, Anastasios Yannoulatos, was enthroned on August 2, 1992, as archbishop of the Orthodox Church for Tirana and All Albania.

Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry, in Ambridge, Pennsylvania, appointed Samuel Wilson Professor of Mission and Evangelism beginning September 1992. He is also Acting Director of the school's Stanway Institute for World Mission and Evangelism. Wilson previously served as Director of MARC/World Vision, and as Research Officer with the Zwemer Institute of Muslim Studies.

**Announcing**

The 1993 annual meeting of the American Society of Missiology will be held June 18-20 at Techny Towers, Techny, Illinois (near Chicago). The theme for the meeting will be “North America—Peoples and Their Cultures in Transition: Toward a Missiology for a New Era.” The Association of Professors of Mission will meet June 17-18 at the same place in conjunction with the ASM. The theme of their meeting will be “The Role of North American Seminaries in Preparing Third World Theological Educators.” H. McKennie Goodpasture of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, is president of the ASM, and John C.B. Webster of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) is president of the APM for 1992-93. For further information and registration for both meetings, contact: George R. Hunsberger, Western Theological Seminary, 86 East 12th Street, Holland, Michigan 49423.
would be the conversion of the head of the family or clan. Fourth, teaching and training, having gained a much larger audience, would follow rather than precede baptism, and this would eliminate many false motives. Fifth, the rapidly growing number of converts would “exert an irresistible influence on the community to which they belong.”

The Dashing of Great Expectations

During the Boxer Rebellion in North China, Martin and many of his colleagues were penned up in the siege in the British legation. This was the disappointment of his career. He tells of his meeting with Robert Hart, inspector-general of Chinese customs:

As we looked each other in the face, we could not help blushing for shame at the thought that our life-long services had been so little valued. The man who had nursed their Customs revenue from three to thirty millions, the Chinese were trying to butcher; while from my thirty years’ teaching of international law they had learned that the lives of Ambassadors were not to be held sacred.

John Fairbank once commented that we are often disappointed in China because we expect too much from her. Martin’s direct proclamation of the Christian faith in China had its results—notting great, but probably more than that of other missionaries in its total impact. His hopes that he could wed Western knowledge with the Christian faith and produce a modern China ready both to become Christian and to join the “family of nations” by 1900 were hopeless fantasies. But his optimism, a product of the nineteenth century, was shared by most of his colleagues, even though they did not labor so strenuously to achieve such progress.

Following a short period in Zhang Zhidong’s school in Wu Chang, Martin was appointed in 1906 as an honorary missionary with no salary by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. He kept himself busy preaching, teaching, writing, interacting with Chinese officials, and doing whatever came to hand as a “self-supporting professor of things-in-general.” At his death in Beijing in 1916, he had served longer in China as an adult missionary than any other person, before or since. In his eulogy for Martin in the Missionary Review of the World, Arthur Brown commented appropriately that his was a “life of extraordinary length, marked by extraordinary powers, filled with extraordinary labors, and crowned with extraordinary achievements.”

Notes

2. Ibid., pp. 134-35.
3. The author of this article has written the only biography of Martin in English, entitled W. A. P. Martin: Pioneer of Progress in China (Washington, D.C.: Christian University Press, 1978). In this article I refer to the original primary sources used for this book and only rarely to the book itself.
7. China Letters (CL) 7, Peking, Martin to Presbyterian Board, no. 44, October 1, 1863.
8. CL 7, Martin to Board, no. 46, November 23, 1863.
9. CL 10, Peking, Martin to Board, no. 169, December 1, 1869. For more detail on the Tong Wen Guan, see Covell, Martin, pp. 169-98.
10. The report of this journey was published in Martin’s Chinese work Xiuxue Kaolue (A resume of Western education), which is no longer available. See also “Notices of Recent Publications,” Chinese Recorder 14 (September-October 1883): 332. No indication exists that his report influenced the educational policies of the Chinese government.
12. Ibid.
13. See these articles in the following issues of the New York Times: October 23, 26, 28; November 3, 9, 20, 1868. Each article is entitled “The Chinese Embassy.”
15. Ibid., p. 212.
18. Ibid., pp. 343-46.

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Major Works by Martin

1894 Hanlin Papers. 2d ser. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh.
1894 Chinese Legends and Other Poems. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh.
1900 Cycle of Cathay. 3d ed. New York: Fleming H. Revell
1900 Siege in Peking. New York: Fleming H. Revell
1909 Tiandao Hejiao (Christianity and other creeds). Tungchow: North China Tract Society

1912 The Lore of Cathay. 2d ed. New York: Fleming H. Revell

Selected Works about Martin

Evangelization from a Liberation Perspective.


This is a survey of the concept of evangelization in the writings of Latin American theologians who hold a liberation perspective. Individual chapters cover six Roman Catholic theologians (Leonardo Boff, Segundo Galilea, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Óscar Romero, Juan Luis Segundo, and Jon Sobrino), and six Protestant ones (including Mortimer Arias, Emilio Castro, Orlando Costas, and Jose Miguel Bonino). As backdrops for the individual studies, one chapter surveys Catholic documents from Vatican II to Puebla, and another surveys documents of the World Council of Churches from New Delhi to Vancouver. There is a chapter of conclusions and an epilogue offering a "wholistic model" of evangelization from a liberation perspective.

Pope-Levison, a United Methodist minister and theological educator, wants to build bridges between those who value social justice. She finds that "the brilliance of evangelization from a liberation perspective is its unification" of the two views (p. ix). Her survey is ambitious in scope, and the twenty-seven-page bibliography is impressive and helpful, but the treatment at some points is superficial—the chapter on José Miguéz Bonino is only four pages long, that on Mortimer Arias only five pages. The method of text analysis would have benefited from more adequate consideration of the context and the practice of these men. We share the author's strong ecumenical concern: "I despair of endless factions which only exacerbate the world's already negative view of Christian unity" (p. ix). But any treatment of evangelization in Latin America cannot afford to ignore the fundamentally different approaches of Catholics and Protestants. Though most Protestants would agree with Arias that evangelization includes "naming the Name that is above all names" and "crossing the frontier between faith and non-faith" (p. 111), from the Catholic theologians studied in this book only two, Galilea and Segundo, have tackled the issues raised by Arias's definition. The author says that WCC assemblies influenced men like Castro and Miguez (p. 91 and p. 153 n. 9). Actually it was partly their insistence that brought back the issue of evangelization to an ecumenical movement that had abandoned it.

—Samuel Escobar

The Nonresidential Missionary: A New Strategy and the People it Serves.


My computer dictionary did not recognize "NRM," a new acronym for our mission lexicon, but it's in there now! Garrison gives us a significant and well-written book. What is an NRM? Simply stated, this person "... is a full-time, professional career foreign missionary who is matched up with a single unevangelized population segment ... for purposes of concentrating on priorities of initial evangelization and eliminating gaps and inadvertent duplications with other agencies. The nonresidential missionary lives outside the targeted assignment because legal residence for a missionary is either prohibited or highly restricted."

Garrison is well qualified to write the book. He is the director of NRM for the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, coordinating the work of some forty-six NRM personnel in thirty countries.

The book consists of three major segments: the first developing the new strategy; the second discussing the people to be served, chock-full of figures as well as a creative call for "twelve alliances for ministry"; and the third with very helpful appendices that expand the definition, facilitate research on population targets, and give a glossary.

Garrison is convinced of two major truths: the absolute imperative to evangelize the 3,030 distinct un-reached cities, countries, and people groups; coupled with the rich resources already available to complete this task. The NRM calls for cooperation between the 300,000 Christian missionaries in 23,500 Christian denominations in our world of 1.7 billion Christians—using his very broad definitions.

Some of his statistics can be questioned, such as calling only 51 percent of China as unevangelized. And India is not on his list of thirty least evangelized countries (p. 74). Reading Garrison carefully reveals a keen, organized, high-tech, computer-savvy, statistically-oriented mind. Not all of us can easily follow this type of presentation. But he artfully blends strategy and statistics with spiritual commitment and human-interest case studies.


—William D. Taylor

William D. Taylor is Executive Secretary of the Missions Commission, World Evangelical Fellowship. Born in Costa Rica, he has lived thirty years in Latin America, seventeen as a career missionary at the Central American Theological Seminary in Guatemala.


Dr. Ion indicates his purpose as stressing “the importance of Canadian missionaries in the Japanese Empire as agents of informal relations between Canada and Japan” (p. xi). Although he disclaims any intention of giving a detailed history or theology of the missions with which he deals, in actual fact he gives a rather thorough historical and, to a lesser extent, theological picture. He has confined himself to the Methodist (later United Church), Presbyterian, and Anglican churches.

He sees Canadian missionaries revealing in their life and work Canadian attitudes and culture, but he also shows how the differing social, cultural, and political situations in the two countries produced differing approaches, types of involvement, and results. While recognizing the limitations of the Canadian missionary movement, he affirms the contributions made in the education of women, agriculture, social work, and the introduction to the kind of leisure pursuits that are not a part of Japanese life.

Further, during the period covered, Canadian missionaries were a primary source of information regarding the Japanese empire, both for government and the Canadian church. One wishes that he had dealt in more detail with the actual effect this had on attitudes and opinions in Canada.

For some reason, in dealing with the location of Canadian missionaries, he does not mention comity arrangements between missions, which often determined such location. Also, in noting the contribution of women missionaries, he barely refers to the establishment of church kindergartens that became a significant feature of rural community life.

Ion is an associate professor in the history department, Royal Military College of Canada, and a specialist in modern Japanese history. He has provided us with a perceptive analysis of the role of Canadian missionaries outlined in his preface. —E. F. Carey

Fifteen Outstanding Books of 1992 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 1992. 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 the advancement of scholarship in studies of Christian mission and world Christianity.


Moises Sandoval has written an intriguing account of the Hispanic churches in the United States. When reading his account of the penitentes in New Mexico, for example, one cannot help but wonder whether this is primarily history or story.

Los penitentes were societies of laymen who led the religious life of their communities in the absence of clergy—which in those days was more the norm than the exception. Although they may have been extremists in their penitent practices and ascetic worldview (today they would likely be called fanatics), it was through their mediation that the Hispanic faith was preserved in their communities. That faith carried both the net of Christian symbols and beliefs inherited from their Spanish ancestors as well as their cultural identity, even after those communities lost their lands and some of their language to white America.

As a Roman Catholic (the editor of Maryknoll, the monthly magazine of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America), Sandoval thought it better to invite a Protestant, Edwin Sylvest, Jr., to analyze Hispanic Protestantism in the United States. Sylvest’s chapter is a positive introduction to the subject for English-language readers. On the Move articulates well the Hispanic ad extra criticism of this society. The articulation of an ad intra criticism of the Hispanic faith would have made the book better. How much of the penitente’s worldview survives in today’s Hispanic communities, Catholic and Protestant? What is its impact on the life of those communities? Is it to be reaffirmed or challenged?

—Ruy O. Costa

Ruy O. Costa, Associate Director for Public Policy, Massachusetts Council of Churches, edited One Faith, Many Cultures (Orbis, 1988) and is co-editor of Struggles for Solidarity (Fortress Press, forthcoming).


This volume represents an important contribution to the debate on the possibilities and extent of missionary identification with local Christians and cultures.

The format of the book is interesting. Each chapter deals with a different aspect of identification and begins with a brief survey of the ideas of each of the major missionary conferences from Liverpool 1860 to Edinburgh 1910 on the aspect of identification being discussed. It then proceeds to a detailed study of the attitudes and practice of the London Missionary Society in its work in two very different areas—Central Africa and Central China.

The format chosen by the author brings out clearly both the strengths and weaknesses of the book. The strengths are undoubtedly a real understanding of, and feel for, the subject, and an extremely able and detailed research of the material under consideration. The major weakness is that too often there is insufficient attempt to link the three parts of each chapter. In addition, the accounts of each missionary conference are extremely brief and generalized—the account of the London Conference of 1860 in chapter two is, for example, less than seven lines long (p. 19).

Other minor faults blemish what is generally a solid and important work. The careless discrepancy between the dates in the title of the book (1860-1920) and those in the text (1860-1910) should not occur with an author as able and a publisher as distinguished as these. There are also too many typographical errors in a book as expensive as this, and the lack of maps of the two areas under discussion makes it difficult for readers to identify places with which they may not be familiar.
In spite of these minor faults, this is a well-researched and well-written book which will add much to our knowledge of missionary identification in Africa and China.

—Jack Thompson

Jack Thompson is Lecturer in Mission, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England.

Religious Pluralism and Unbelief: Studies Critical and Comparative.


This is a symposium by a group of fifteen British anthropologists, sociologists, theologians, philosophers, historians, and others. Some write passionately, out of a deep religious commitment; others seem detached, even ironic in tone.

The book is divided into five parts: introduction, ethnographic and historical perspectives, theoretical perspectives, institutional aspects of pluralism, and religious pluralism and toleration. In the introduction, the editor discusses the ambiguity of the term "religious pluralism": it can mean merely a state of affairs in which several religions coexist in one society; or it may be an ideological stance, like that of John Hick, a rejection of the idea that truth is singular and imperative. In a perceptive essay, Keith Ward discusses the epistemological problems involved in pluralism.

The second part comprises papers by Eileen Barker, Peter McCaffery, and Thomas Wiedemann, examining the religious scene in Britain, the Netherlands, and ancient Rome. I. M. Lewis writes about gender and pluralism.

In "Theoretical perspectives," Kieran Flanagan criticizes the misuse of sociological concepts by theologians and offers a fiery apologetic for a quite traditional Roman Catholicism. Kenneth Surin does a "materialist" critique of Hick and W. C. Smith, while Gavin D'Costa, Christopher Sugden, and Paul Morris present Catholic, Evangelical, and Jewish apologetics respectively, and Mary Hesse discusses religion, science, and symbolism.

Two papers constitute part four: Antony Allott on legal aspects of the theme in England and Africa, and Adrian Hastings on the relations between theology and religious studies in British higher education.

A single paper by Richard Gombrich, the most detached in the book, constitutes part five.

If a single theme dominates this collection, it is the uniform scorn with which John Hick's position is judged to be intellectually and religiously bankrupt.

All of the papers are workmanlike, most are well-written, some are truly stimulating. It is a pity that the exorbitant price places this book out of the reach of many who would find it useful.

—Charles R. Taber

Charles R. Taber, formerly a missionary and a Bible Society translations consultant in Africa, is Professor of World Mission at Emmanuel School of Religion in Johnson City, Tennessee. He is a contributing editor of this journal.

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Published quarterly. US$24/year; sample US$4. Check or money order payable to Tao Fong Shan Christian Centre, Dept. IB, P.O. Box 33, Shatin, N.T., Hong Kong.


The author of this book currently holds a teaching appointment at the theological faculty in Lucerne, Switzerland. Much of the contents had previously appeared in German publications, a fact that may account for the highly abstract language commonly used.

The book is intended to set philosophical foundations for a new theology of religions. This the author attempts to do with in-depth analyses—much too long and unduly repetitive, although correct—of the thought of Paul Tillich, Raimundo Panikkar, and the later Ludwig Wittgenstein. Krieger distills and expands their thought into the following conclusions: The present dilemma posed for Christian theology by the plurality of religions in the world is that, for fair-minded persons, each has as much right as any other to answer the basic questions of human existence. A solution must therefore begin with the opening and crossing of mental boundaries. This specifically means withdrawal from absolutization of previous beliefs (as verbal constructs). By connecting this approach with the thought/practice of Mohandas K. Gandhi, specifically the pragmatics of non-violence, Krieger affirms the possibility of continuity, of remaining faithful to the essence of one’s beliefs and yet open to their possible correction and “recreation” through a deep common accord and universal discourse.

Krieger’s methodology, however, is in the final analysis more religious than philosophical. He redefines philosophy as intercultural hermeneutics and insists that the intercultural understanding properly implied in its work is essentially related to transcendence and its language, as universal, is religious. Krieger would lead us toward a mentality/praxis that is primarily a search for truth but will produce a “new myth” that can encompass all parties in dialogue. The author’s intent is noble, but a major weakness of the work is its lack of specifics, with reference either to transcendence or to religio-ethical quality. For criteria it seems solely dependent upon Gandhi’s satyagraha.

—Richard H. Drummond

Richard H. Drummond, former Presbyterian fraternal worker in Japan, is Professor of Ecumenical Mission and History of Religions, Emeritus, University of Dubuque Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa.

One Christ—Many Religions: Toward a Revised Christology.


The latest product from the pen of Stanley Samartha is very welcome. He writes in a style reminiscent of Paul Devanandan, a respected predecessor in the ranks of Indian Christian thinkers. He is aware of Western and Eastern thought, and he could well be even more assertive than he is here about the value and indeed the necessity of theological insights from India and elsewhere being inserted into the consciousness of global Christian theology. There is no need for semi-apology: these insights are needed and they are vital!

The first four chapters are introductory in the sense that they work toward the central theme of Christology. However they are interesting in themselves dealing as they do with religious pluralism, interreligious dialogue, the concern for justice, and religion in the context of a secular state. The fifth chapter on Scripture and scriptures is a bridge toward the core four chapters of the book which center upon the search for a new Christology in our global, interreligious, and plural world. The final chapter deals with mission in a religiously plural world.

Samartha’s revised Christology centers upon the themes of the kingdom of God, Jesus’ commitment and trust. Jesus’ freedom and fearlessness, his deep compassion for the poor, his obedience to the imperatives of love and, his realistic sense of wisdom, and his willingness to die. In detail there is little that is really new—yet it is the total complex of thought that is “new” in that it gives a distinctive Indian Christian slant to the whole Christological and pluralistic debate. As Samartha puts it, “What was vindicated at Easter was not so much his [Christ’s] status in relation to God as his function as liberator in regard to human beings” (p. 134).

—Frank Whaling

Frank Whaling, Director of Religious Studies Centre, New College, Edinburgh University, Scotland, is a British Methodist minister and worked in India 1962–66.

Hindus and Christians: A Century of Protestant Ecumenical Thought.


The author of this important book is an ordained Methodist minister from Sri Lanka. He is Director of the Sub-Unit on Dialogue of the World Council of Churches. Appropriately therefore, in the first two parts of the book he tells the story of the developing theological approach to other faiths as this is reflected in the great conferences, with special reference to Hinduism. Commission Four of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 argued on the basis of both scholarship and firsthand experience for a positive approach to Hinduism, an approach that contained the seeds of dialogue and that was taken up by Nicol Macnicol at Jerusalem in 1928. However, these hopeful developments were overshadowed by Tambaram 1938, where the baleful influence of Hendrik Krämer prevailed. After the War Indian Christian thinkers, notably M. M. Thomas and P. D. Devanandan, emphasized the need for Christians to share in the task of building the newly independent nations—a task for which Krämer’s theology was patently inadequate. Krämer’s influence still prevails in some circles, even though theological debate has long since overtaken it.

In the last part of the book the au-
thor argues that the conferences whose work he has surveyed evaded the urgent question of a theological evaluation of the continuing existence of a plurality of religions. We urgently need a theology of pluralism and this has implications for our Christology. Up to this point your reviewer finds his argument lucid and convincing. In the final part he considers some of the main contemporary contributions to this debate—by Hick, Knitter, Panikkar, and others—but here he is perforce attempting to cover too much ground too sketchily. A more robust exposition of his own views would have been more valuable as a conclusion.

—Roger Hooker

Roger Hooker spent thirteen years as a CMS mission partner in North India. He was then for three years on the staff of the Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, England. For the last nine years he has been involved in full-time ministry among people of other faiths in the Anglican Diocese of Birmingham.

Christianity's Asian Adventure

The story of the early spread of Christianity to the East, to southern Asia, India, and China.

The first of two volumes, this is the fascinating and epic story of the early spread of Christianity in the African city. All over the continent, true disciples of Jesus Christ are giving "the African town a soul" (p. 148).

—W. Harold Fuller

W. Harold Fuller lived in African cities for twenty-six years, at first as a missionary journalist and later as an executive of SIM, an interdenominational mission. A Canadian, he is currently consultant to SIM's Media Department.
New Wine: The Cultural Shaping of Japanese Christianity.


This small volume distills the research and writing of more than four decades of a distinguished missionary career in Japan. The author served as director of the International Institute for the Study of Religions and editor of the Japanese Journal of Religious Studies as well as professor of sociology of religion at Tokyo Union Theological Seminary.

Part 1 contains three chapters on Japanese religion and provides a very important background for understanding the religious culture that has helped to shape Japanese Christianity. Part 2 presents three chapters on Japanese Christianity, addressing directly issues that the title promises.

Though all the chapters contribute valuable insights, three I found particularly helpful. Chapter 1 is a veritable gem of condensed information and interpretation of Japanese religions. Chapter 2 traces the development of the traditional principle of the unity of religion and government and the principle of separation of the two that is written into the present constitution. Chapter 5 shows convincingly that the Japanese ancestral rites and funerary practices have significantly influenced Japanese Christianity.

The final chapter reports and interprets the findings from a questionnaire that reveals differing attitudes and practices, especially concerning the ancestral rites, on the part of Christian and non-Christian Japanese who have or do not have the butsudan (Buddhist altar for ancestral rites) in their homes. Many will be surprised to learn that any Christian homes have the butsudan in them. The questionnaire apparently did not identify mixed households, although such information would have made the results more valuable.

I highly recommend this book to all who wish a better understanding of Christianity in the context of Japanese religions.

—E. Luther Copeland

E. Luther Copeland is a retired Southern Baptist missionary who served in Japan, 1948-56 and 1975-81. He is currently Visiting Distinguished Professor of Religion, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.


Despite his cameo clerical-collared appearance in the Gandhi film, one tends to forget that Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940) was ever a missionary in the conventional sense. In 1914, when he relinquished his teaching post at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, to join Rabindranath Tagore at Shantiniketan, he had been a missionary for a decade—a turbulent decade in modern Indian history. From the moment he set foot in India and found himself a sahib, he had been working up to some such gesture.

Andrews, far more than most of his missionary contemporaries, was a personal meeting point of forces in tension. Almost from the first, Englishman or not, he was a warm supporter of the Indian national movement. His support was not uncritical, though to his more cautious missionary colleagues, often it seemed to go too far. His passion was to translate into terms of practical service the theology of the incarnation he had learned from the Christian Socialists, and especially from B. F. Westcott in Cambridge.

Daniel O'Connor has placed historians of the church in India greatly in his debt through this admirably crisp, clear, and well-documented study. The danger with missionaries of the somewhat eccentric Andrews type is that of being placed on a pedestal, as one of a select company of modern "saints," distinguished not by their orthodoxy or by miracle but by their practical compassion for suffering humanity. Others of the type include Father Damien, Kagawa Toyohiko,
The "private" Andrews remains a shadowy figure: did he keep no personal diaries or journals to complement his autobiographical writings? Perhaps there remains something to be learned about Andrews' spirituality and inward motivation: were it accessible, his psychological makeup might repay further study. In the meantime, we are grateful to Dr. O'Connor for this valuable addition to the Andrews literature.

—Eric J. Sharpe

Ernest J. Sharpe is Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Sydney.

Der Missionsarzt Rudolf Fisch und die Anfänge medizinischer Arbeit der Basler Mission an der Goldküste (Ghana).


Though the physician-author concentrates on the initial phase of medical missionary work by the Basel Mission and its first full-time medical missionary, Dr. Rudolf Fisch, M.D. (1871–1946, pp. 151–459), his study contains far more than one would expect from the title. Under the heading “1815–1885—The Time Before Medical Missions Came In,” he gives a general description of the state of health among the Basel missionaries, their families, and the Ghanaian congregations, followed by a medical chapter on “Quinine and Blackwater Fever” and a descriptive one on “Medical Work in the Missions” (pp. 16–150). To the closing chapter on “Christian Missions and the African Perception of Disease” (pp. 460–510) he appended relevant documents, maps, bibliography, photographs, and an index (pp. 511–85).

Unfortunately the author ignores the overall context of medical missions, thus considerably distorting the picture of the multifarious work and responsibilities of a medical missionary in West Africa by the turn of the last century. However this history of missions written under the perspective of medical history helps more adequately to assess the achievements of missionaries in exemplifying the health hazards faced, for which the Basel Mission work in Ghana is held up as an example.

—Christoffer Grundmann


The now familiar phrase of John Fairbank that “the missionary is the invisible man of American history” is gradually becoming untrue. With Sr. Carita Pendergast’s detailed account of her congregation’s life and work in two western Hunan areas, Yuanling and...
Wuki. we have a clearer picture of China during these years of banditry, the Sino-Japanese conflict, and the subsequent civil war whose end brought the expulsion of most foreign missionaries from China.

Sr. Carita herself spent eighteen years in western Hunan and she tells her story with clarity and wit. Particularly notable are the many vignettes of the human relationships formed between the Sisters and Chinese, young and old. This reviewer found their efforts to educate Chinese girls and to reconcile Chinese women to their local communities very heartening. Their "constant ideal was not to Americanize Chinese Christians but to help them become better Chinese citizens; and the Sisters depended on their Chinese members for guidance" (p. 82).

Despite their very obvious concern for orphans, schoolchildren, and hospital patients, the Sisters were challenged by Communist male teachers in their Tsen Tseui School in 1944. This led to an eventual forfeiture of the teachers' contracts but not before some disillusioned teenagers fearing reprisal had transferred to other schools. Like so many missionaries the Sisters of Charity in Hunan did not anticipate the communist victory over the Nationalists in 1949, and when they themselves were forced out in 1951, they sensed that they were failures. The author's return to this region in 1989 served to change these feelings. Like many other Chinese Christians, those of Yuanling and Wuki traveled sometimes sixty and more miles to greet their new elderly teacher and friend.

Havoc in Hunan is a highly personal account of a very complex period in the history of China. Reading it would be rewarding for anyone planning to teach in this area or for the student or scholar who is trying to understand China in microcosm during a turbulent period. There was one reference made to seeing "eye-to-eye on mission policy" (pg. 151), whose further exploration would have lent strength to the text. However, this is a book that makes a fine contribution to the still unfinished personal and congregational accounts of mission life in twentieth-century China.

—Virginia Unsworth, S.C.

Sr. Virginia Unsworth is Director of the Humanities Division at the College of Mount Saint Vincent and Associate Professor of history. She was a Maryknoll associate in Hong Kong from 1979 to 1982.

Developing an Asian Evangelical Theology.


Why "Asian Evangelical Theology"? an Asian reader might well ask. "Is this something different from an 'Asian Christian Theology'?" If this book is intended mainly for an Asian audience, as it appears, why call at all for doing theological reflection. He points out that, "Young Asian theologians to discover that the questions that occupy Western theologians do not always relate to the problems facing the church in Asia" (Preface).

One of the most valuable parts of the book is Part 2 on "Cultural and Contextual Considerations" and Part 3 on "Contextualization and Theology." Our author believes that, "The type of theology needed for Asian evangelicals is biblical and dogmatic rather than purely situational and existential" (p. 84). He concludes that "From all indications, an appropriately contextualized theology, one that treats fairly God's Word and the particular context, has yet to appear" (p. 188). Probably the weakest part of the book is the last chapter in which he outlines "The Beginnings of an Asian Evangelical Theology." Although he cites a number of Asian evangelicals on the basic Christian doctrines, the discussion unfortunately does not reflect any distinctively Asian perspectives.

Despite its weaknesses, this book is a useful tool for beginning students of theology in Asia. The main purpose of the author was to challenge the students to think theologically and to do it contextually, so their theology will reflect Asian viewpoints. This purpose he has indeed accomplished.

—Douglas Elwood


This is a penetrating dialogue between two pairs of Jewish and Christian scholars. In a series of statements and responses Leonard Swidler, professor of Catholic thought and interreligious dialogue at Temple University, and Lewis John Eron, associate rabbi at Temple B'nai Abraham, Livingston, New Jersey, explore the figure, history, and theology of Jesus. Gerard Sloyan, formerly of the Catholic University of America, now professor emeritus at Temple University, and Lester Dean, instructor of religion at Temple University and Cabrini College, likewise discuss the life and thought of Paul. The starting point for each scholar is the historical fact that both Jesus and Paul were observant Jews. The aim is to overcome misperceptions about these two figures from both the Jewish and Christian sides.

This book originated from a number of formal and informal dialogues between these scholars, organized by Temple University's Religion Department, that took place mainly in Ger-
many between 1980 and 1986. The volume consists of some twenty-three chapters, nine on Jesus and fourteen on Paul, followed by a useful select annotated bibliography.

The statement-response approach has the merit that usually only one controversial issue is addressed in a relatively concise section of six to ten pages. The wide-ranging debates include "Jesus-Yeshua: A Torah-Free Jew?"; "Yeshua: Messiah? Christ? Human? Divine?"; "Jesus and Judaism" and "Did Paul Represent or Misrepresent the Judaism of His Time?"; "Did Paul Have any Problems with the Law?"; "Did Paul Think That Jews and Jewish-Christians Must Follow Torah?"; "Was Paul's Chief Figure Justification by Faith or the Transfer of Lordship?"

The topics are approached in an irenic spirit in which each author interacts positively with his partner, seeking primarily to learn from rather than to teach him. The result is an excellent volume of theological-biblical questioning and reflective exchange in which traditional understandings are carefully scrutinized using the best of contemporary scholarship in a balanced and critical inquiry.

This book is significant in bringing together and exploring in a genuine dialogue and in short compass major issues that have created and maintained division between Jews and Christians for centuries. It should prove very useful for both dialogue and teaching.

—William S. Campbell


Renewal in Theological Education: Strategies for Change.


During the 1980s Bob Ferris believes there was a growing appreciation of the need for renewal in theological education. Some of the factors he cites that led to this awareness were the emphasis on contextualization highlighted by the Theological Education Fund, the development of Theological Education by Extension in Latin America, and the studies in North America funded by the Lilly Foundation, which led to important statements—notably Edward Farley’s lament in Theologia, which Ferris calls a good diagnosis of the situation without any proposed remedy. For evangelical educators, Ferris argues, this awareness came to the clearest expression in the 1983 manifesto on renewal formulated by the International Council of Accrediting Agencies for Evangelical Theological Education, which clearly set out the major values of renewal—contextualization, churchward sensitivity, continuous assessment, strategic flexibility, and community life among others.

This book grew out of an in-depth study of ten institutions that Ferris believes reflect renewal values, which he studied during 1988-89 as scholar in residence at the Billy Graham Center in Wheaton. After an introductory discussion of renewal, Ferris devotes a

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chapter to each of these institutions, such as the Canadian Theological Seminary in Regina, Saskatchewan, which reflects deep sensitivity to churchly concern; Columbia Bible College and Seminary in South Carolina (where the author is a professor), which integrates around mission studies; and Union Seminary in Pune, India, which has pioneered a required year-long internship.

Though there is a great deal of fascinating material here, including survey results and interviews, Ferris is strangely uncritical of the material he presents. At times the description amounts to unqualified praise, without benefit of careful analysis. We do not learn what might be lost in the pursuit of renewal values. For example, when the students interrupt their studies for internships, what happens to language sequences? In fact we learn very little about the role biblical and theological reflection will play in renewal. Union Biblical extension students, we are told, see “study as a discipline integral to ministry” (p. 113) rather than as something they do before ministry. But how are these things integrated?

The book is really about renewal in ministry education rather than renewal in theological education. In ministry education there is much that we can learn from Ferris’s descriptions of training goals, learning contracts, and adult education methods. But what this has to do with theological reflection that is historically or biblically informed, we do not discover. Interestingly the Lilly studies, which he sees as one of the factors in a rising awareness of renewal, have most recently begun to make important advances in theological reflection on the practice of ministry. This would provide a useful supplement to the valuable case studies in this book.

—William A. Dyrness

William A. Dyrness, former missionary in the Philippines, is Dean and Professor of Theology and Culture at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California.

The World Forever Our Parish.


In this compact and well-edited volume, Dean Gilliland, professor of contextualized theology and African studies at Fuller Theological Seminary’s School of World Mission, has captured the heartbeat of evangelicals within the United Methodist Church for evangelizing the world. The contributors are the twelve speakers at the plenary sessions of Convo ’90 held in Louisville, Kentucky. They include four bishops (three from North America and one from Nigeria), four pastors and evangelists, three mission scholars, and one laywoman. All contributors are Methodists, and as Bishop William R. Cannon states in his foreword, the “book is Methodist through and through” (p. 7). Gilliland accurately sums up the themes of the convocation: the clear call for United Methodists to evangelize with focus both on cross-cultural mission and mission to their own society; the alarming “trend away from scriptural authority”; and the precipitous decline in membership of the denomination. In addition, the denomination, which has nearly nine million members, is twenty-third among U.S. denominations in the ratio of missionaries to members (1:20,268) (p. 201).

Since contributors are all United Methodists, the volume represents a critique from within. And two of the three scholars challenge evangelicals within Methodism. George G. Hunter III, while offering a telling critique of his denomination for its medieval “chaplain model” of ministry, does not exempt the evangelicals and their institutions from the searchlight of his analysis, Gerald H. Anderson, on the way to describing the shape of mission in A.D. 2000, identifies the “most serious source of our problem: the drift toward radical relativism in our theology of religions” (p. 135). He challenges evangelicals, “who have not made significant contributions in the theology of religions” (p. 136), to make a difference at this point.

This volume deserves attention by study groups throughout the wide spectrum of United Methodism, as well as other mainline churches that have similar problems.

—A. H. Mathias Zahniser

A. H. Mathias Zahniser, John Wesley Beeson Professor of World Mission, E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, served with the General Mission Board of the Free Methodist Church of North America in Egypt, 1965-67.


Dr. Hedlund’s methodology is uncomplicated. He begins with Genesis and steadily works his way through to Revelation, identifying every passage along the way that in any sense bears on the question of the mission of the church. In that sense we are presented with a comprehensive biblical theology of mission. It is exhaustive, and every passage is thoroughly annotated by reference to scholars from Aalders to Zwemer. The stance throughout is that of traditional orthodox evangelical biblical Christianity. As we would expect, the book is lit up with references to the Asian context within which it was produced: Dr. Hedlund teaches at the McGavran Institute, Madras, India.

Arguably chapter 24, “Cultural Encounters,” is of most value for the practicing missionary. The missiologist will find rewarding material in all twenty-seven chapters, but in chapter 24 the theory is properly earthed. Core subjects dealt with here include the spirit powers, the nature of religion, the significance for Christian mission of social structures, and the relationships between Christianity and the state. And there is a tantalizingly brief page on demon possession, a subject that is, in fact, relatively frequently addressed in the Bible and that is of immediate relevance to the contemporary mission task.

Perhaps that identifies the one weakness of the book. In working his way through the Bible, Hedlund has found it impossible to produce anything approaching a systematic missiology. There is no weighting of the myriad themes that are properly identified. Everything is noted, but at the end of the day we are left with the ingredients for a systematic missiology but no indication of the relative quantities of each ingredient required if an adequate missiological cake is to be made.
baked. Note here the parallel volume, *The Biblical Foundations for Mission*, by Donald Senior and Carroll Stuhlmueller (1983), which covers much the same ground and in much the same depth, but with the focal themes helpfully identified. But in Hedlund, death, demon possession, disasters, the devil, poverty, liberation theology (Gutiérrez is the only liberation theologian quoted; so much for Boff and Sobrino and the appearance, but no one subject gets a depth, but with the focal themes helpfully identified. But in Hedlund, death, demon possession, disasters, the devil, poverty, liberation theology (Gutiérrez is the only liberation theologian quoted; so much for Boff and Sobrino and the appearance, but no one subject gets a really adequate treatment.

This volume is essential reading for everyone engaged in teaching a biblical theology of mission, but one hopes that Dr. Hedlund’s next effort might be a systematic ordering of his impressive collection of biblical themes.

—Peter Cotterell

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Palmer, a missionary evangelist and church planter in Colombia, South America, addresses a critical problem in the Christian community—understanding and responding to interpersonal conflict in ways that are likely to maintain or restore unity. While the purpose of conflict management is not clarified, the Scripture states that unity is a top priority because it is one of the means by which God chooses to reveal his glory (John 17; Rom. 15; 1 Cor. 1–3; Eph. 4).

The author examines the causes of conflict, the four types of conflict, and the five styles of conflict management. Scripture is used extensively by way of illustration and documentation. The chapter entitled “Development of Conflict Management Skills” is particularly good. It introduces both analytic and behavioral tools for practical use. Discussion questions following each chapter and case studies make this text attractive for group study. The writing is clear, concise, and uncomplicated.

The book will be helpful to people (especially Westerners) who value more direct, face-to-face means of handling conflict. This is not, however, a universal value. Where shame, losing face, and losing honor are central cultural values (the author mentions these), indirect strategies are necessary, at least in the early stages. The author does not tell us what to do in these situations except to use “caution and diplomacy.” More information specifically on intercultural conflict management is found in Communication, Culture, and Organizational Processes, ed. William B. Gudykunst, Lea P. Stewart, and Stella Ting-Toomey (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publ., 1985).

—Duane Elmer

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Duane Elmer teaches Intercultural Studies in the Christian Education Department at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois. He and his wife were missionaries in South Africa and have conducted numerous overseas workshops on building relationships, resolving conflict, and cultural adjustment/effectiveness.

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Murray W. Dempster (Ph.D., University of Southern California) is Professor of Social Ethics at Southern California College.

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Six generations ago David Livingstone promoted "commerce, civilization, and Christianity." His modern counterparts, Jonathan Bonk, a second-generation Mennonite missionary in Ethiopia and now professor of mission studies at Providence College, Winnipeg, focuses his book on the second of this triad. His basic thesis is that the imbalance in wealth between the missionary messenger and the receptor "distorts the transmission and inculturation of the Gospel" (p. ix).

The author first analyzes the historical and cultural context of missionary affluence and the economic, domestic, social, and strategic rationale given for it. Why did the issue of appropriate standard of living, raised so eloquently by Daniel J. Fleming in Living as Comrades (1950), disappear from the missiological agenda? Bonk argues that later missionaries accepted uncritically Western ideas of inevitable progress, imperialism, and the value of high consumption.

In part 2 the author is at his best as he analyzes negative consequences of Western missionary affluence. It creates the illusion of superiority, blinding the missionary to the resulting isolation, isolation, mistrust, and often hostility. The outline of biblical teaching on wealth and poverty that follows is replete with Bible verses but without exegesis.

The third section, "Grappling with Affluence," is short and less satisfactory. Bonk doubts that Western missionaries can shift from their affluence or begin insisting that missionaries lower their standards of living.

"It may be that societies of a new kind will have to be generated," Bonk concludes, citing historic evangelical models, including the Moravians, the Salvation Army, and the China Inland Mission (p. 128). The account, however, is silent concerning exciting alternative models. Mother Teresa inspires thousands to live simply, both within and outside her order. Third World missions are mushrooming, especially where old missionary patterns are rebuffed (e.g., China and India). Presbyterian "Frontier Interns" and United Methodist "Mission Interns" readily accept voluntary poverty. Innumerable "tent-making" persons in mission, from before-career youth to postcareer seniors, often live simply and effectively in cross-cultural witness and service but are rarely counted by mission agencies because they are not on an official payroll.

Bonk's call for "venturers in simpler living" deserves careful study and reflection by mission administrators, missionaries, missionary candidates, and all concerned for the future of the missionary enterprise.

—Norman E. Thomas

Norman E. Thomas is Vera B. Blinn Professor of World Christianity at United Theological Seminary in Dayton, Ohio. From 1962 to 1976 he served as a United Methodist missionary in Zimbabwe and Zambia.

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City of God, City of Satan: A Biblical Theology of the Urban Church.


To write a biblical urban theology is a formidable challenge for any author. Robert Linthicum has the background of a city pastor, theologian, and urban community organizer. His current position as director of the office of Urban Advance for World Vision International exposes him to current city issues worldwide. He has put this experience together in a book that combines scriptural foundations, theological and sociological analysis, and practical insights about the mission of the church in cities.

In part 1, the city is described as the battleground between hostile forces—between Yahweh and Baal in the Old Testament and between God and Satan in the New. God is revealed as having compassion for the city, and his intention is to recreate the city, with its systems and inhabitants, into the kingdom of God.

Part 2 addresses the role of the church as the community that exposes the lies that the systems tell to keep the city in bondage and its role as the advocate of the kingdom of God. To this end the church witnesses in its prayer, presence, proclamation, and practice, as it works for the empowerment of the poor, the liberation of the powerful from their own kind of bondage, and the reformulation of the city into a godly community.

Urban workers need supernatural power to keep going and to remain optimistic, creative, and even "full of humor." This emphasis appears in part 3, which discusses the spiritual disciplines required for ministry in cities, the life in community, and maintenance of the heavenly vision.

—Roger S. Greenway

Roger S. Greenway is Professor of World Missiology at Calvin Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan. His ministry background includes twenty-five years of mission activity, from urban church-planter and pastor to mission director, teacher, and writer.
Revolutions in Eastern Europe: The Religious Roots.


Professor Niels Nielsen has assembled important testimony and documentation in this valuable book. His data is drawn from many sources and is based on his own travels during the late spring and summer of 1990 in Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, as well as in what we used to call the USSR. My own travels during the same period of time, and a variety of additional Protestant and Orthodox sources, essentially confirm his research.

Another authority, writing in the New York Times on March 9, 1992, affirmed: "the Pope...played a role in what we came to call the new political thinking. I am prepared to acknowledge that his speeches included many ideas that were in harmony with ours. The closeness between us of which I have just spoken was not only personal, but intellectual." The author of those lines is Mikhail S. Gorbachev. As this book shows, faithful Christians were ready to walk through the door that Gorbachev opened.

I particularly appreciate the scholarship that Nielsen brings to this subject. The subtitle of his book is to be taken literally. As a professor of philosophy and religious thought, the Rice University scholar not only traces the origins of the velvet revolution in Central and Eastern Europe but places these in the perspectives of the long tradition of the church, which provided a center of national identity and a model for dissent. If Nielsen's brief book is at all shortsighted it is in his failure to describe how the hierarchical and patriarchal structure of the churches (not only Orthodox and Roman Catholic but also Lutheran) contributed to the rise of totalitarian Communism.

It is particularly interesting to read this book eighteen months after it was written. In those months the face of Europe changed dramatically and is still changing. Nielsen's observations and predictions have held up remarkably well. For example, he is absolutely correct in saying that in post-Communist Europe, a key test of the integrity of religion (I would institutionalize this concept by saying the integrity of the church) will be in the area of Jewish-Christian relations. He hints, as well, of the need for significant dialogue with Hinduism, Buddhism, and especially Islam. In the wake of the militant atheism with which the Communist broom swept Eastern Europe, modern Christians also must interact with self-conscious secularists.

As I read this book, I was haunted by a proposition that Pope John Paul II made to a group of American Protestants who went to Rome just prior to the demise of Communism. Speaking from his own Slavic perspective about the emergence in 1992 of the new united Europe, the Holy Father predicted that only the Christian church can bring unity in the midst of rampant nationalism and ethnocentric factionalism. He proposed a strategy of collaboration among the Orthodox in Eastern Europe, Roman Catholics in Southern and Central Eu-
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