Women: An Unheralded Mission Legacy

Since 1977 some seventy articles have appeared in this journal’s award-winning “Mission Legacies” series. Only six women have been featured.

Why have the contributions of women in the modern missionary movement been so little heralded? Finnish scholar Ruth Franzén, who presents in this issue the legacy of ecumenist and student evangelist Ruth Rouse, recalls a secular scholar who wondered whether women are noteworthy “only when their achievements fall into categories set up for men!”

Our colleague in mission Sr. Joan Chatfield, former director of the Maryknoll Mission Institute, wrote at length on the subject in 1979 (Gospel in Context 2, no. 2). She suggested that the roots of the neglect lie in the traditional social pattern of discrediting the words—and achievements—of women. Recalling the Gospel account of male reaction to the women’s report of the empty tomb—“Their words seemed to [the disciples] as idle tales, and they believed them not” (Luke 24:11)—Chatfield, tongue in cheek, imagines the possible response had the male gardener been the messenger:

“Really? We’ll be right over . . . .”

Arthur Glasser once speculated that women may outnumber men in the modern missionary movement by as much as five to one (Missiology, October 1978). As R. Pierce Beaver documented in his American Protestant Women in World Mission, there were at one time almost as many mission agencies led, staffed, and supported solely by women as there were agencies controlled by men.

In any event, the contribution of women to the world Christian mission has been as impressive as it has been underreported. “All Loves Excelling” (the title of the first edition of Beaver’s American Protestant Women) is particularly apt for the subject of our lead article in this issue, Lottie Moon, Southern Baptist missionary to China.

This issue also gives special attention to the challenge of Islam. Bishop Kenneth Cragg targets the self-sufficiency of qur'anic law as understood by its adherents, which demands on the part of Christians a penetrating witness to our common human need of saving grace. Lamin Sanneh sees in Islam’s insistence on shaping social and political morality a call for the Christian community to reverse its retreat from the public square. And David Kerr, analyzing Egyptian and Iranian “fundamentalists,” cautions against allowing such movements to shape our understanding of the Islamic world.
The Legacy of Lottie Moon

Catherine B. Allen

Like many other missionaries, Lottie Moon left a legacy that paved the way for succeeding generations. But unlike any other missionary, Miss Moon left a legacy that largely paid the way for the growth of the largest missionary force of any evangelical or Protestant denomination.

When she died in 1912 after nearly forty years in China, she left an estate of approximately $250 and a battered trunk of personal effects. She also left a shining name, a spotless record, and a sterling idea for fund-raising. The Woman’s Missionary Union (WMU) of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) shaped these legacies into the most magnetic collection plate in mission history.

The Lottie Moon Christmas Offering for Foreign Missions is the largest source of funding for the SBC’s overseas missions, involving almost four thousand missionaries. By 1992 the cumulative total of the offering was nearly $1.3 billion. With more than $80 million raised in the 1992 collection, the Lottie Moon Christmas Offering is thought to be the largest annual offering collected by Christians.

After a century of intensive scrutiny by researchers, four-foot three-inch Lottie Moon continues to stand tall in estimation. She has become a cultural icon with wide name recognition in the southern United States. Southern Baptists have taken her name around the world, with Baptists in many countries contributing to the offering bearing Lottie’s name.

Best Educated Woman of the South

The Lottie Moon story always begins with a touch of nostalgia for old Virginia. Charlotte Digges Moon was born in December 1840 near Scottsville, Albemarle County, Virginia. She grew up on the “Road of the Presidents” at a family estate called Viewmont. Her maternal uncle, Dr. James Barclay, bought the nearby Monticello mansion after Thomas Jefferson died. Then as one of the early followers of Alexander Campbell, in 1850 he went to Jerusalem as the first missionary of the Disciples of Christ.

As a child, “Lottie” (as she was known) earned a reputation for mischief and intelligence. She was initially hostile to the religion of her devout Baptist parents, pillars of the Scottsville Baptist Church. She may have been influenced more by a highly independent older sister, Orianna. Orianna Moon went away to teaching a beloved baby sister named Edmonia and occasionally assisting Dr. Orianna Moon as she tended wounded soldiers in Confederate spy work.

Lottie took away from school a new life and vision as a Christian. During a student revival in 1858, she went to a prayer meeting to scoff but left to pray all night. John A. Broadus, who soon became one of the founders of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, was then pastor of the Charlottesville Baptist Church. He baptized Lottie and years later claimed that she was the best educated and most cultured woman in the South.

Whatever Lottie’s (or Toy’s) dreams might have been, the Civil War interrupted. She rode out the war at Viewmont, teaching a beloved baby sister named Edmonia and occasionally assisting Dr. Orianna Moon as she tended wounded soldiers in Charlottesville. Lottie’s wartime exploits were not as infamous as those of two glamorous cousins, Virginia and Charlotte Moon, who served as flirtatious Confederate spies in Ohio.

The Moon family’s fortunes were forever lost, and the children scattered to earn their own living. For Lottie this situation perhaps afforded more opportunity than she would have enjoyed before the war. By September 1866 she was on the faculty friendship, and they may have come to the point of an engagement by 1881, but the specifics of their private lives cannot now be documented. Under Toy’s tutelage, Lottie studied Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. She became fluent in Spanish and French. In 1861, just as the guns of Civil War were beginning to sound, Lottie and four other young women were awarded master of arts degrees. These were thought to be the first masters degrees awarded women of the South or in the South.

Lottie took away from school a new life and vision as a Christian. During a student revival in 1858, she went to a prayer meeting to scoff but left to pray all night. John A. Broadus, who soon became one of the founders of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, was then pastor of the Charlottesville Baptist Church. He baptized Lottie and years later claimed that she was the best educated and most cultured woman in the South.

Apparently a sense of calling to foreign missions came early in Lottie’s life as a Christian. John Broadus was noted for his compelling appeals for college ministerial students to serve on foreign fields. Several of Lottie’s Charlottesville friends agreed to go. Broadus would not have thought to direct the invitation to missions toward Lottie. Southern Baptists at the time had appointed only one unmarried woman as a missionary and had vowed never to do it again. To fulfill any such calling in the 1860s, she would have had to marry a missionary. But when Crawford Toy was ordained to go to Japan in 1860, he did not choose a wife to go with him.

With more than $80 million raised in 1992, the annual Lottie Moon Offering for Foreign Missions is the largest of its kind.

Published quarterly in January, April, July, and October by Overseas Ministries Study Center
490 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511, U.S.A.
Telephone: (203) 624-6672
Fax: (203) 865-2857

Editor: Gerald H. Anderson
Associate Editor: James M. Phillips
Assistant Editor: Robert T. Coote

Contributing Editors
Catalino G. Arevalo, S.J.
David B. Barrett
Samuel Escobar
Barbara Hendricks, M.M.
Norman A. Horner
Graham Kings
Gary B. McGee
Mary Motte, F.M.M.
Leslie Newbigin
C. René Padilla

Books for review and correspondence regarding editorial matters should be addressed to the editors. Manuscripts unaccompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope (or international postal coupons) will not be returned.

Subscriptions: $18 for one year, $33 for two years, and $49 for three years, postpaid worldwide. Airmail delivery is $16 per year extra. Foreign subscribers should send payment by bank draft in U.S. funds on a U.S. bank or by international money order in U.S. funds. Individual copies are $6.00; bulk rates upon request. Correspondence regarding subscriptions and address changes should be sent to: INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH, P.O. Box 3000, Denville, New Jersey 07834, U.S.A.

Advertising:
Ruth E. Taylor
11 Graffam Road, South Portland, Maine 04106, U.S.A.
Telephone: (207) 799-4387

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in:
Bibliografia Missionaria
Christian Periodical Index
Guide to People in Periodical Literature
Guide to Social Science and Religion in Periodical Literature
Missionalia
Religions and Theological Abstracts
Religion Index One: Periodicals

Opinions expressed in the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN are those of the authors and not necessarily of the Overseas Ministries Study Center.

Copyright ©1993 by Overseas Ministries Study Center. All rights reserved.

Second-class postage paid at New Haven, Connecticut.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH, P.O. Box 3000, Denville, New Jersey 07834, U.S.A.
ISSN 0272-6122

October 1993

Southern Baptists at the time had appointed only one unmarried woman as a missionary and had vowed never to do it again.

Moon had applied, been appointed, packed, and departed for China. Baptist women of Richmond had organized to guarantee her support.

From the moment Edmonia set foot in China, colleagues stamped her as too young, nervous, and spoiled to succeed as a missionary. Hearing of her older, accomplished sister, they joined in the chorus of pleas for Lottie Moon to come to China. A missionary sermon by the Baptist pastor in Cartersville decided the issue. In 1873, A. C. Safford was appointed by Southern Presbyterians and Lottie Moon was appointed by Southern Baptists to missionary service in China.
Outlasting Colleagues and Controversy

Both Baptists and Presbyterians regarded Shantung as a killing place. Ability to survive was a major accomplishment when measured against the experience of most coworkers. Mrs. Holmes burned out by 1881 and returned to the United States to try to salvage a sane existence for her son. T. P. Crawford was subject to various fits and paralyses, which sorely tried his colleagues,
and Martha Crawford several times was forced to retreat for health’s sake. J. B. Hartwell outlived three wives and survived poor health himself by long sojourns elsewhere. Other early missionaries in Shantung, both Baptist and Presbyterian, suffered serious disabilities and death. Of those Baptists who arrived in Shantung during her first twenty years of service, only Lottie remained unbroken in body and spirit.

Another major development in Lottie’s early China days surely contributed to her survival. This development occurred along spiritual fronts. She remembered that she had heard God’s calling to China “as clear as a bell.” After Edmonia’s breakdown and departure, she filled her human loneliness with the Divine Presence. She daily studied the Bible in Hebrew and Greek. She read devotional materials from the Holiness movement and diligently read Thomas à Kempis’s *On the Imitation of Christ*. Some called her a mystic, for her daily routines revealed that she was taking into account the personal presence of Christ. A favorite quotation was “Lord Jesus, thou art home and friend and fatherland to me.”

With emotional discipline she tried to live at peace with all—Chinese and missionary. This was difficult, since T. P. Crawford and J. B. Hartwell’s feud grew into lawsuits and rumored murder plots that continued even after Hartwell left the field for a time. Then Crawford confronted the entire Southern Baptist mission system, making unauthorized trips through the homeland encouraging schism. Out of his own thwarted battles with the Foreign Mission Board, he adopted the belief that such boards were unscriptural. He began to promote the idea that Southern Baptist churches should send out their missionaries directly. Controversy surrounding Crawford made Lottie consider and modify her own thoughts. She tended to agree with Crawford’s contention that foreign mission money should not be paid out to Chinese assistants and should not be spent on church buildings. She never agreed with his opinion that the Baptist schools should be closed and vigorously opposed his plot to close any mission to establish an inland mission station by herself.

Lottie’s tactic in Pingtu was to live quietly and acceptably among the people until they befriended her and invited her into their homes. She taught the women and children in the accustomed personal way. To placate any Americans who might criticize her for abandoning her assigned job as a schoolteacher, she wrote that she was still a teacher, but her school was mobile, following her from house to house.

For the next seven years, Pingtu was her primary base of work, although she maintained her home in Tengchow and retreated there occasionally. Not only did she work in Pingtu City, but also in surrounding villages, particularly one called Shaling. In Pingtu, she was beyond protection of treaty and foreign intervention on which coastal missionaries relied. In fact, when the American government tried to intervene in behalf of Americans during a 1887 skirmish in Tengchow, she fled not to the waiting warship but to Pingtu. She seldom heard any language spoken but Chinese and seldom had contacts with Westerners. Only rarely did a male colleague journey out to Pingtu to check on her well-being.

Her practice in Shaling village was repeated in a circuit of tiny rural outposts around Pingtu. She simply lived among the people as teacher and friend. She sat on a stone or pile of straw at the threshing floor of the village and chatted with the women as they came to prepare their grains. Or she crawled upon the warm brick bed with women who invited her to their homes. She taught rudimentary reading, Bible truths, and hymns.

Nothing in mission policy or strategy ruffled her equanimity except for threatened trespasses on her freedom and autonomy as an equal partner. An implied infringement on the dignity of unmarried women missionaries made her fire off a resignation to the Foreign Mission Board in 1885. Her anger was met by calming explanations, and she stayed on.

Her crisis in personal discipline came in 1881-85. Just past her fortieth birthday, she was said by T. P. Crawford to be planning to return to the States to marry Crawford Toy, who had been fired in 1879 from the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary because of his views about biblical inspiration. At the time, only T. P. Crawford and Moon were on the field, all other colleagues, including Martha Crawford, having been felled by illnesses. Seeing T. P. Crawford’s irrational behavior, Lottie may have felt the necessity of sticking by her work. A wedding never took place. Some felt that Lottie had studied Toy’s views and rejected him and them. However, she ardently tried to prevent the resignation of a young missionary colleague whose theological views matched Toy’s. To a young person who once asked if she had ever been in love, she said, “Yes, but God had first claim on my life and since the two conflicted, there could be no question about the result.”

Lottie Moon entered a period of restlessness related to the growing controversy between Crawford and the Foreign Mission Board and also related to the growing agitation about the role of women in Southern Baptist life. Through letters, she and Martha Crawford encouraged the developments toward formation of the Southern Baptist Woman’s Missionary Union from 1883 until formal organization occurred in 1888. As if to flee from unpleasantness, she gave herself with greater consecration to direct evangelism.

**Pioneering in Inland China**

A new leaf in her ministry was started in 1885, when she moved to Pingtu, approximately 120 miles from Tengchow. This area had been explored by some younger colleagues and was thought promising. While Crawford was making a controversial tour through the United States to expound his divisive views, she made her move. With only reluctant consent of coworkers, she took her own brief survey trip in autumn 1885, traveling for four grueling days into the interior. In December she moved to Pingtu with a caravan of provisions and settled into rented rooms in the city. She was thought in her own times to be the first woman of any mission to establish an inland mission station by herself.

Lottie’s tactic in Pingtu was to live quietly and acceptably among the people until they befriended her and invited her into their homes. She taught the women and children in the accustomed personal way. To placate any Americans who might criticize her for abandoning her assigned job as a schoolteacher, she wrote that she was still a teacher, but her school was mobile, following her from house to house.

For the next seven years, Pingtu was her primary base of work, although she maintained her home in Tengchow and retreated there occasionally. Not only did she work in Pingtu City, but also in surrounding villages, particularly one called Shaling. In Pingtu, she was beyond protection of treaty and foreign intervention on which coastal missionaries relied. In fact, when the American government tried to intervene in behalf of Americans during a 1887 skirmish in Tengchow, she fled not to the waiting warship but to Pingtu. She seldom heard any language spoken but Chinese and seldom had contacts with Westerners. Only rarely did a male colleague journey out to Pingtu to check on her well-being.

Her practice in Shaling village was repeated in a circuit of tiny rural outposts around Pingtu. She simply lived among the people as teacher and friend. She sat on a stone or pile of straw at the threshing floor of the village and chatted with the women as they came to prepare their grains. Or she crawled upon the warm brick bed with women who invited her to their homes. She taught rudimentary reading, Bible truths, and hymns.

As the only resident Christian in Pingtu, she found herself unavoidably teaching men as well as women and children. She reported this habit very casually but carefully in letters to America, knowing that she was committing a serious breach of Baptist etiquette. Her reports sought to shame American pastors for abdicating their duties to a woman. She reported that, while packing for her overdue furlough in the United States, a delegation of men from Shaling tracked her down in Tengchow to beg her to return to the village.

October 1993
It was in the throes of isolated self-sacrifice in Pingtu that she wrote a letter that was to change the course of Southern Baptist history. The Pingtu field was too responsive to abandon and she decided not to leave it until more missionaries came to relieve her. She wrote to encourage Southern Baptist women to organize and end the hand-to-mouth patterns of mission support. Writing on September 16, 1887, she suggested that the women should take an offering at Christmastime, thus to obtain funds with which to send more women missionaries to Pingtu.

This letter helped to swing the tide in favor of organizing the Woman’s Missionary Union, Auxiliary to Southern Baptist Convention, on May 11, 1888. By October the women had put Miss Moon’s idea into operation. They issued offering envelopes calling for a Christmas offering for Pingtu, China. Hoping for $2,000 to send two helpers to Miss Moon, they in fact cleared more than $3,000, and three women were soon on their way to China.

Still Lottie would not leave until the new recruits were trained. After the arrival of Fannie Knight, the first new missionary, sufficient converts had been won to form the first Baptist church of Pingtu region, in Shaling village, and the third church in North China. A church was constituted in September 1889, with Miss Knight as one of the members. Knight moved into Moon’s place as the resident missionary of Pingtu.

In the meantime, with the younger male missionaries suffering stress of adjustment, Moon became virtually the pastor of one of the earlier churches near Tengchow. A new outpost had been claimed in the city of Hwangsien (today Huangxien), but one of the earlier churches near Tengchow. A new outpost had been claimed in the city of Hwangsien (today Huangxien), but the young missionaries were frightened and sick, and she had to tend them. Though very busy in her role as senior missionary of the area, she continued to journey to Pingtu to encourage the new believers. A storm of persecution against the new church was so fierce that missionaries were forced out of the area. Refusing to call on the power of the United States government to protect the converts (as other missionaries often did), she could do little for the persecuted believers but send them messages of comfort.

Busy in productive work with converts and new missionary recruits, she tried to keep herself above the worsening conflict between T. P. Crawford and the Foreign Mission Board. In 1889 Crawford was taken off the board’s missionary list, although Martha Crawford was retained until she sent in her very reluctant resignation. Crawford’s group by this time had taken on the name Gospel Mission Movement. Churches in the United States were beginning to drop their involvement in the Southern Baptist Convention’s cooperative mission work. Crawford urged his colleagues in North China to join him in work that was not under control of the SBC. Many of the younger missionaries, including Fannie Knight, did resign. They moved off to the western end of Shantung, taking much home and field support with them.

Lottie Moon tried to make peace. She announced her intention to keep up friendly cooperation with the renegades. She expressed her agreement with some of the Gospel Mission group’s field philosophies. In fact, she refused to use any mission money to build a church building for Shaling, instead helping the local believers to build their own. But Lottie Moon remained loyal to the Foreign Mission Board.

It was in this state of severe controversy that the exhausted woman finally took her furlough, after sixteen unrelieved years in China. She arrived in Virginia with chronic headaches. She made very few public appearances but did consent to attend the WMU convention of 1893. The Gospel Mission controversy dogged her heels. H. A. Tupper, embattled secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, sought her consultation. She strongly objected when she learned of the board’s plans to return J. B. Hartwell to the field, as senior man in the place of his old nemesis, Crawford. She begged to be transferred to Japan because “life would not be living” in China. One of Tupper’s last acts before resigning in sorrow from the Foreign Mission Board’s top post was to beg Lottie to return to China and to accept Hartwell. “I doubt if the Board has had a missionary more esteemed than yourself . . . If I had but one request in this world to make of you, my sister, it would be that, if possible, you keep in harmony as far as possible with the Board that honors you more than you know.”

She returned to Tengchow with a different status and different approach to work. Her seniority and her heroism were undisputed. She made up her mind to cooperate with Hartwell, but she did not break her communications with Martha Crawford and the young missionaries who had cast in their lot with the Gospel Mission group.

Reaping the Harvest

The early seed-sowing years were now yielding a great harvest. New missionaries constantly arrived. In answer to an appeal she made during furlough, the first Southern Baptist missionary hospital was opened in 1900, in Hwangsien, when the first practicing missionary nurse and doctor arrived. Other hospitals soon opened in Laichow and Pingtu. The humble schools of early years now grew into higher-level institutions. A theological seminary was begun.

Her daily duties as a missionary fell into three categories, with little change from 1894 until her death in 1912. She resumed management of schools, up to six at a time, for both boys and girls. She invested much time in guiding new missionaries, who relied heavily upon her. And she gave herself increasingly in personal ministries to the Chinese people.

Strangely, she never returned to Pingtu. Pingtu quickly became the most productive mission field of Southern Baptist experience until recent times. A young Confucian scholar whom Lottie had taught, named Li Show Ting, became the leading native evangelist. Baptisms in the area exceeded five hundred a year, and it was said years later than Pastor Li had baptized more than ten thousand people. Although Pastor Li and others never forgot Lottie’s role in inaugurating the work in Pingtu, she never again spoke of it. Male missionaries came in to administer baptisms and perform pastoral roles. Lottie allowed them to take full credit. About the time of Lottie’s death, there were thirty two churches in the area.

She continued making day trips to nearby villages for evangelistic teaching until she was at last welcomed into the Tengchow city homes of the upper class, who had so long spurned the missionaries. Her converts and friends from Pingtu and other regions came to her. On her compound, called The Little Cross Roads house, she had extensive guest quarters. The rooms were constantly full, especially of women who came to her for personal training. At times the classes were more or less formalized, as she trained women for evangelistic work. But gradually, after her furlough in 1903-4, the students were replaced by the poor and homeless who needed basic human care.

While other missionaries fled, she weathered the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 at her home, despite being bombed. Her intention was to give courage to the Chinese. With the deaths of the Crawfords, most of the missionaries who had affiliated with the Gospel Mission group were coming back into the Foreign
Mission Board's fold by 1909. Lottie urged the board to welcome them home and led her coworkers to make room for them.

In 1909, news came that sister Edmonia had committed suicide. She began to dread the specter of furlough or retirement in a land that was no longer home. The more she felt cut off from the United States, the more emotional investment she made in her homeland regarding the foreign mission debt. She began to give proceeds from the small annuity left at the death of Edmonia to the board's debt-payment fund. In China, drought and famine began to add human misery to the revolution. She heard reports of suffering among the Pingtu Christians. So she took her annuity proceeds to meet the needs closest to hand. Amid the gloom of 1911, she took a decisive step by gathering the leading Christian women of Shantung province. In her parlor, they organized the Woman's Missionary Union of North China, for support of women evangelists.

**Paying the Price**

By 1912, Lottie Moon was occupying Tengchow almost alone. J. B. Hartwell and family were in Hwangsien, with the theological seminary, when death claimed him. Younger missionaries were concentrating on Hwangsien, Chefoo, Pingtu, Laichow, and Tsingtao (Qingdao), where Baptists had extensive institutions and growing congregations. So her colleagues did not realize until late fall that Miss Moon had sunk into physical and emotional collapse. Nurse Jessie Pettigrew was called from Hwangsien to Tengchow. She found what was described as a carbuncle eating into the base of Moon's skull. She was horrified at the loss of weight and the depression she readily observed. Pettigrew bundled Moon off to Hwangsien. There the missionaries realized that she had ceased to eat, in order to assure food for her Chinese sisters in her compound. She was obsessed with the thought that the children of missionaries were starving to death. Malnutrition was advanced, and the young missionaries wanted to conceal Moon's mental state from the Chinese.

She was sent on to Laichow, but the doctor there, one of her favorites, could not turn back the horror. Miss Moon was privately facing. He sent her on to the next station, Pingtu. There in a splendid medical compound near her old house, the missionaries decided that she must return to America. Keeping Moon's distress as quiet as possible, Dr. T. O. Hearn took her to the nearest port, Tsingtao. It was arranged that nurse Cynthia Miller would accompany her.

On Christmas Eve 1912, as the ship was in the harbor of Kobe, Japan, Lottie Moon died. In the hours before death, her mind had cleared. She had sipped some grape juice and expressed appreciation for her care. After prayer and hymns, she dozed, then smiled, lifted her hands in the customary form of Chinese greeting, and exhaled quietly.

The ship's captain, who attributed her death to melancholia and senility, arranged for her cremation in Yokohama. Her ashes were mailed to the Foreign Mission Board in Richmond, Virginia. The family ultimately buried them in Crewe, Virginia, home of her one remaining sister-in-law.

Then began the more famous phase of Lottie Moon's immortality. Cynthia Miller faithfully retold the circumstances of Lottie Moon's death. Leaders of the WMU were appalled as they heard how Miss Moon had weighed only fifty pounds at death. They conducted memorial services for her and pledged themselves to lift the debt of the Foreign Mission Board in the Christmas offering of 1913 as a memorial to Miss Moon. In various ways the women pledged to retell her story until indifference to missions was conquered.

Lottie's death brought forth many commendations and many lamentations from her friends. The young missionaries assessed her career not in terms of evangelization, women's work, or school-teaching—all of which seemed incidental to them. They saw Lottie as one performing social or human needs ministries for the Chinese and diplomacy for the missionaries. She was called a statesman, a queen, and "the best man among our missionaries." One missionary wrote, "The most remarkable thing was that she was in the middle of a lifelong feud between two colleagues and throughout she remained the friend of both families."

The Christmas Offering for Foreign Missions has been collected every year since the first one in 1888. Lottie herself had suggested that it be enlarged to include not only Pingtu, not only her work, not only China, but also Japan and all the world.

In 1918, the retired first executive secretary of WMU, Annie Armstrong, broke her silence on WMU matters with a proposal to strengthen the offering. Miss Armstrong proposed that the Christmas offering henceforth bear the name Lottie Moon Christmas Offering. In the mid-1920s, WMU leaders made an extensive investigative effort, asking eyewitnesses to write recollections of Lottie Moon, and they commissioned Una Roberts Lawrence to write a full biography, which was published in 1927. Ever since, the Lottie Moon story has been retold and rewritten to typify the sacrifice required of missionary and supporter. A contemporary missionary of another denomination, watching the growing fame of Lottie, is reputed to have said, "If I had known the old girl was going to become so famous, I would have paid more attention to her." Some of her coworkers cautioned that Miss Moon would not have approved of the adulation. The story has attracted not only funds but personnel to the mission cause. Beginning with Dr. T. W. Ayers in 1900, dozens of missionaries have testified that they responded to God's call to missions after reading about Lottie Moon.

The Lottie Moon story was retold in a different way in China. The Christians in Shantung immediately began collecting money to erect a monument in her honor. This was a form of appreciation accorded to few others. For instance, Martha Foster Crawford (but not her husband) was memorialized on a plaque inside the

---

**During the revolution of 1911 Lottie ran the Baptist hospital while her fellow missionaries joined a flood of refugees.**
Tengchow Baptist Church. William H. Sears, first pastor of the Pingtu Baptist Church, was honored by a tablet detailing his biography.

The monument to Lottie Moon was different. It was set inside the walled yard of Tengchow Baptist Church in 1915. It was a simple shaft bearing her name in Chinese characters and a brief explanation that she was an American missionary. The inscription spoke not of her evangelistic work, not of her schoolteaching, and certainly not of her powers of persuasion in the United States. It simply said, “How she loved us.”

In 1985-86, Baptists from the United States were able to return for the first time in thirty-five years to Tengchow. The first ones, visiting unofficially, could see that the Tengchow church building was still standing behind its locked wall. The second delegation was able to walk inside. Part of the building was in use as a clinic, but most of the auditorium was standing in dusty neglect. The visitors saw the plaque honoring Martha Foster Crawford inside. Outside, they found the monument to Lottie Moon lying on its side under a pile of rubble, as if buried for protection. One word of the inscription had been obliterated: “American.” The word “missionary” and the words about her love for the Chinese remained.

Notes


2. Unless otherwise noted, sources for this article may be found in Catherine B. Allen, The New Lottie Moon Story (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1980). A condensed version in Spanish was published in 1992 by the Woman’s Missionary Union.


5. “Shantung” Province is today usually transliterated as “Shandong.” “Chefoo” is known in modern Chinese nomenclature as “Yantai.” “Tengchow” is now known as “Penglai.”


10. Quoted by Una Roberts Lawrence, Lottie Moon (Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1927).

11. Recent visits to Pingtu located the house and found it to be still in active use. Open meetings of the Pingtu city church were resumed in 1989.

12. The first Westerners to seek out the Shaling Christians in the post-Mao era visited the village in 1987. The grandson of the first convert, Dan Ho Bang, was visited. The church building, which had been a simple native-style shelter, had fallen down, but the benches had been preserved in local homes. Local Christians were maintaining worship in their homes.


15. By 1989, more than seven hundred Southern Baptist tourists had visited Penglai (as Tengchow was then called) and Pingtu in tours sponsored by the WMU. Because of interest shown by Americans, local authorities repaired the Penglai/Tengchow church building and reset the Lottie Moon monument. Christians from the community began to return to the church building, and the congregation was re-formed with a woman as pastor by early 1989. In Pingtu, the church building, which had been used as a meeting hall, was returned for use by the Christians. The hospital building, on the compound where Lottie was cared for at the end, was being reclaimed from overgrowth and was partially restored. Through a joint venture between U.S. Christians and the local authorities, a medical training program was begun in 1992. One of the researchers in the first WMU-sponsored tour returned to China in 1992 as a coworker to the Chinese Christians.

Bibliographic Notes

Lottie Moon wrote many letters, many of which were published in the Foreign Mission Journal of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board. She was also often published in the Baptist newspapers of Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, and occasionally other states. Despite real skill in written expression, she wrote no books or pamphlets.

An amazing number of letters were saved by her correspondents—family, women’s missionary circles, and others. These have been collected into two main repositories: the Jenkins Library and Archives of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, Richmond, Virginia, and another at the Hunt Library and Archives of Woman’s Missionary Union, Auxiliary to Southern Baptist Convention, Birmingham, Alabama. Both of these archival collections contain much collateral data about Moon. The WMU collections focus on Christmas offering promotion, pamphlets, and biographical studies. Most of these retell the 1927 biography, Lottie Moon, by Una Roberts Lawrence. Also they draw on the eyewitness tracts produced by those who knew her: Mrs. J. M. Gaston, Dr. T. W. Ayers, Mrs. C. W. Pruitt, Mrs. W. W. Adams, and Dr. W. W. Adams. Another useful source is the pamphlet Heavenly Book Visitor, by Eliza Broadus, a contemporary who was the daughter of the one who baptized Lottie. The complete research files for The New Lottie Moon Story by Catherine B. Allen are held by the WMU Archives. The Foreign Mission Board archives are rich in extensive letter files from all North China missionaries during the Moon era. There are displays concerning Moon.

The original manuscript for Lottie Moon (1927) and some interview notes by Una Roberts Lawrence are at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Library, Louisville, Kentucky. The library also has a Lottie Moon historical room containing Moon’s desk and a portrait.

Helpful references to Moon, her family, and her coworkers are found at the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, North Carolina; at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and at the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee.
Increase Your Yield.

God has called you and invested in your ministry. Fuller Seminary is ready to help you increase the effective yield of that ministry through additional cross-cultural training.

Fuller Theological Seminary's School of World Mission has developed the Doctor of Missiology and Ph.D. in Intercultural Studies for people like you who desire to improve their skills in ministry and teaching.

Our doctoral programs help you integrate your practical experience in the mission field with additional research and academic input. A doctoral program gives you the opportunity to focus your ministry and acquire skills that will help you advance to the next phase of your career. While on campus you will study with men and women involved in ministry in over 60 countries under the guidance of the largest School of World Mission faculty anywhere.

Fuller's location in Southern California places you in the middle of the most culturally diverse community in America. Fuller's graduate schools of Theology and Psychology offer incredible opportunities for interdisciplinary studies.

If you are interested in making your ministry more effective, consider one of our doctoral programs in the School of World Mission. For more information,

call 1-800-235-2222 and ask for admissions at ext. 5400
or write to:
Office of Admissions
Fuller Theological Seminary
Pasadena, CA 91182

Dr. Charles E. Van Engen, Associate Professor of Theology of Mission, and recognized missions consultant.
The Legacy of Ruth Rouse

Ruth Franzen

One of the pioneers in women's history asks us whether women are noteworthy only when their achievements fall into categories of achievement set up for men? Regardless of how one answers this question, it is undoubtedly time to attempt to explore the role of women in both the modern missionary movement and the ecumenical movement. One who deserves an honorable place in this history is Ruth Rouse (1872-1956), missionary, evangelist, and pioneer in reaching students in countless universities and colleges around the world.

A picture taken in 1908 of the officers of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) shows three men and one woman: Ruth Rouse, then 36 years old. The intelligent expression behind the glasses typical of the period reflects good powers of observation. Her long dark hair put up under a huge hat suggests that she was well aware of the significance of appearing as a lady. Symbolically the picture suggests the framework of Ruth Rouse's life work. With her fellow workers she shared an interest in all branches of the burgeoning student and missionary movement of the period. Nevertheless her contribution was very special, a woman pioneering among pioneer women, in a society dominated by men. The picture shows her together with John R. Mott, Karl Fries, and Walton W. Seton; the first two were internationally known Christian workers. She was highly trusted by these men, with whom she had a good, long-lasting, fruitful cooperation.

George Woodford Rouse and his wife W. G. (née) MacDonald, the parents of Ruth Rouse, represented devout evangelical traditions; her father coming from an English family chiefly associated with the Plymouth Brethren and her mother being a Scottish Baptist. When Ruth was born, in 1872, they lived in Clapham Park, a London suburb. A layman leading seaside services from the Children's Special Service Mission was instrumental in helping the tall, sporty youngster fight her conversion through when she was nearly eighteen. After that Ruth was baptized in the church of her childhood, the Metropolitan Tabernacle, where Charles H. Spurgeon preached to thousands every Sunday until his death in 1892. That same year Ruth joined the Church of England. Both the work of the Children's Special Service Mission, based in the Church of England, and Spurgeon's preaching represented a type of interdenominational, or rather undenominational, evangelicalism emphasizing vital religion, not doctrine.

Cambridge, and a Life Purpose

In an age when a pious, Victorian, middle-class girl was supposed to stay at home and wait for a suitable suitor, Ruth had parents unprejudiced enough to send their daughter to some of the best schools available—first Notting Hill High School and then Bedford College in London. Later they also let her have her own way when she wanted to study at Girton College, Cambridge. This was one of the first colleges for women and one of the most prestigious ones, with the same standards as the best colleges for men. (The women students took their degree examinations in exactly the same way as men, but Cambridge University did not give women the titles of their degrees until 1923, and not until 1948 were they given membership of the university.) After studying for the normal three years, Ruth Rouse passed her tripos in classics. In preparation for a missionary career in India, she then studied Sanskrit one year at the British Museum in London.

In 1892 during Ruth Rouse's second year at Girton College, Robert P. Wilder visited Cambridge. He was the son of missionaries and himself on his way to take up a missionary career in India. This gentle and modest young man of prayer had been instrumental in starting the rapidly growing Student Volunteer Movement (SVM). He was one of the foremost advocates of the SVM pledge "willing and desirous, God permitting, to become foreign missionaries." Wilder distributed declaration cards in Cambridge, and one of those who promptly signed a card was Ruth's friend and schoolmate Agnes de Selincourt. Ruth also took one, but she was unable to make a decision to sign it. About two years later, after much agonizing uncertainty and self-searching, she was finally able to take the decisive step, trusting not herself but God. She later told how Paul's sentence had flashed through her mind: "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." Wilmina Rowland, who had several interviews with Ruth Rouse more than forty years later, writes:

Suddenly it came to Ruth that what she could commit to Christ's keeping could be a purpose as well as anything else. A decision in his keeping, would be inviolable; there need be no fear of changing it. That intuition broke the back of her indecision. At once she signed the declaration. Never again was there the slightest uncertainty in her mind that the purpose of God for her was worldwide and missionary, nor the faintest thought of changing her purpose to follow that will for her life. Her indecision in other matters still continued for a time, but from this moment she began to "grow up."

During the early nineties there was a great interest in religious matters in Cambridge, with many of the young students later becoming legendary for their enthusiasm and zeal, including Theodore Woods, G. T. Manley, Douglas Thornton, and Louis Byrde. University missions and open-air meetings were arranged using mature and experienced speakers. Many of the prominent evangelists and missionaries of the day were heard, men like Sir Arthur Blackwood, Wilson Carlile, Lord Radstock, E. A. Stuart, J. E. K. Studd, and Douglas Hooper. The morning watch and Bible study were essential parts of the students' active religious life, the center being prayer. Ruth Rouse and Agnes de Selincourt were the backbone of the daily Girton Prayer Meeting.
Beginning a Life of World Travel

Ruth Rouse started her first paid job in 1895 as the editor of the Student Volunteer for one year. As a traveling secretary among women students during the following year, she shared her time between the Student Volunteer Missionary Union (SVMU), the Inter-Collegiate Christian Union, and the Missionary Settlement for University Women at Bombay. The last organization had been founded to secure women students' contributions to missionary work among the Parsees in India. Ruth and her friend Agnes de Selincourt were instrumental in the planning and implementation of this project from the outset.

Miss Rouse (as she was generally referred to in an age characterized by the spare use of Christian names) went to her first student conference in the summer of 1894 at Keswick. There she met for the first time the Americans Robert E. Speer and John R. Mott. The latter was to become her most influential and much-admired fellow worker for about a quarter of a century. She belonged to the small group of young Britons who undertook to arrange the first International Students' Missionary Conference; the famous Liverpool Conference was held in January 1896, attended by more than seven hundred students. These student conferences were marked by youthful earnestness, missionary enthusiasm, and prayerfulness. Later in life she attended innumerable conferences, both national and international, including the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910 and the World Council of Churches' first assembly in Amsterdam in 1948.

The Liverpool conference decided to adopt the watchword of the American SVM: "The evangelization of the world in this generation." Ruth Rouse was also one of ten signers (among them were also G. T. Manley, J. H. Oldham, and D. M. Thornton) of a memorial to the church urging it to accept this watchword as its missionary policy. To their disappointment, no church adopted the watchword.

Ruth Rouse made her first tour abroad in 1897, as a traveling secretary visiting all the Scandinavian countries, including Finland, which in those years was attached to Russia, though as a rather autonomous part named the Grand Duchy of Finland. From these years on, Ruth took a never-ceasing interest in the evangelization of the student world, giving her time and energy especially to the work among women students in all parts of the world.

An appeal from John R. Mott brought her to North America for eighteen months in 1897-99. She served as a Student Volunteer secretary and then as a College Young Women's Christian Association secretary in both Canada and the United States. She was introduced to the movement in America pressing for the higher education for women; she came to know that this movement was pioneered by women of strong Christian conviction and purpose. She herself later summed up the benefits of this period for her further career:

After signing the SVM pledge, Ruth Rouse never had any uncertainty that the purpose of God for her was worldwide.

John R. Mott and the WSCF

Her own contribution was to direct the attention of the national leaders of the YWCA to the student field, to help them understand the importance of their student departments, and to make valuable links with some new, very important colleges. She tried to cover the enormous area, visiting all types of colleges, from Bryn Mawr—the queen of colleges, "with a course fully as stiff as Harvard"—to small, denominational, coeducational colleges. By placing her side by side with many celebrities in foreign missions, C. Howard Hopkins in his biography of Mott gives her a fine tribute:

At no point was Mott's talent as a judge of men—and women—better displayed than in his selection of the traveling staff for the SVM. During his absence in 1895-97, Henry W. Luce, Horace T. Pitkin, and G. Sherwood Eddy, all Yale men, went on the road for short assignments before "sailing" to their mission posts. Others to make names for themselves were Harlan P. Beach, Fletcher S. Brockman, Robert R. Gailey, Robert E. Lewis, J. Ross Stevenson, Fennell P. Turner, S. Earl Taylor, Fred Field Goodsell, and Ruth Rouse.

After attending the Cleveland Convention (2,214 delegates from 458 institutions) Ruth Rouse was offered a post by the YWCA as international student secretary among women. She did not accept it, however, as she felt it to be in conflict with her call to India. Still this invitation demonstrated the direction of her mission in life.

In a very strict sense, Ruth Rouse's missionary career was a short one, from December 1899 to the end of 1901, when she had to leave India because of ill health. Sharing her time between the Missionary Settlement for University Women and the YWCA, she had a large and difficult field—from settlement work in Bombay during the years of the bubonic plague to developing and organizing Christian work among schoolgirls and women students in the whole of South India.

Ruth Rouse saw the need for a radical improvement in the position of Indian women, and like many other Western women, she hoped for a cultural transformation through a Christian, and Western, influence. In her early years she was hardly aware of any problematic links between colonialism and British missions. In her later writings she still summed up the missionary motive in the words "saved to serve the world."

In 1903 while on convalescent leave in England, Ruth Rouse was asked by Mott to visit Holland, Germany, Finland, and Russia "in order to study the religious conditions of women students, to seek to lead them to Christ and to promote Christian work among them." The arrangement was officially sanctioned in 1905 when she was appointed traveling secretary of the World Student Christian Federation. In his characteristic manner Mott had taken care of the only serious objection to her appointment by securing means for her salary and expenses from Grace October 1993
Dodge, a wealthy American lady deeply dedicated to Christian work among young women.¹⁴ Her personal qualities made Ruth Rouse an ideal traveling secretary. A sense of adventure was part of her constitution. She liked traveling and slept well anywhere; she had considerable ability as a speaker and was in her element doing personal work.¹⁵ Being British, female, and a member of the Church of England, she was a perfect balance in the WSCF for Mott, the American Methodist, who in his turn received a gifted and loyal fellow worker.

Ruth Rouse, independent and capable in her own right, nevertheless admired Mott and his businesslike efficiency very much. Their relation as fellow workers seems to have been a happy one, based on mutual respect. Mott had the rare ability to trust and inspire his fellow workers, and obviously he had a high opinion of women’s intellectual capacity and judgment. His own marriage created a unique husband-and-wife team as well.¹⁶ In spite of all this, Mott was, as Howard Hopkins puts it, “a bit unappreciative of the role of women in the ecumenical movement.”¹⁷ Especially later in life Mott seems to have taken for granted the capacity and generosity of those capable women.

During Ruth’s nineteen years as a WSCF secretary she visited sixty-five different countries, many of them several times. Opposition was not lacking, and her apologetic abilities were often put to the test. Her steady aim was to “get a foothold in any group of women students, however few.”¹⁸ She early became accustomed to the aggressive type of woman student who reacted sharply against everything old and established. Probably her most fruitful method of work could be called evangelism by friendship. Furthermore, she had an outstanding ability of finding capable young students and training them for leadership. To all these she reached out in personal friendship; to which her vast correspondence bears ample witness.

**Ecumenical Contributions**

Ruth Rouse was animated by an ecumenical spirit. She was both a promoter and a product of the WSCF as the “experimental laboratory of ecumenism,” which to her meant, according to her fellow worker and friend Suzanne Bidgrain, “the experience of fellowship in faith with all those who worshipped the Lord to whom her life was dedicated.” She was herself gradually molded by her service within the student work, so that to numberless women students she became the embodiment of the WSCF. Her very existence made it impossible to “look at things from a purely racial, national, and confessional point of view.”¹⁹ By conviction both she and Mott tried, and usually succeeded, to avoid all controversies, whether theological or political.²⁰

During World War I and afterward Ruth Rouse, together with J. H. Oldham, Karl Fries, and others, did much to eliminate differences and bring about mutual understanding within the WSCF as well as between the missionary organizations of the opposite sides. Her most outstanding contribution to the relief of suffering and the restoration of international friendship was the launching of the cooperative undertaking of students known as the European Student Relief. Through her vision of the need and the opportunity to act “in the name and spirit of Christ,” the WSCF decided to start a campaign to concentrate the energies of the students of many nations upon the relief of their needy comrades in other places of the world. Founded in 1925, the project grew into an independent university organization.²¹ During World War II the organization continued its struggle to meet the needs of students.

Another field where the impact of Ruth Rouse was felt over an even longer period was the YWCA. From 1906 to 1946 she was a member of the World Executive Committee and its president from 1938 to 1946. The work of the YWCA and of the WSCF was correlated in such a way that the experience of each could help the other. Through her profound understanding and deep sympathy with both movements, she was able to help make their cooperation more fruitful.²²

Ruth Rouse’s worldwide pioneering among students vitalized the missionary interest in many countries over three decades. Later (1925-39) she served the missionary cause in her own country as educational secretary of the Missionary Council of the National Assembly of the Church of England. This was certainly no easy task, as many types of conflicts affected this body.

At least one more important element of the legacy of Ruth Rouse must be mentioned: she was a good writer. Throughout her whole life she produced articles for several different national and international papers and magazines. In addition to her many other duties, she found time to write pamphlets and books. She started her career as editor of the Student Volunteer, and after retirement she took up a new career as historiographer of the WSCF and the ecumenical movement. To her, the ecumenical urge, a yearning for the reunion of all Christians, was an essential part of her Christian faith.

Like so many of the educated women who were her contemporaries, Ruth Rouse never married. Her opinion of marriage as a refuge in which one is “sheltered and cared for and happy” invites further analysis.²³ She was always careful that her private life should not cause rumors. Consequently we should not be surprised that no sources have been preserved that tell us the reason why she did not marry; we are left to guess. Certainly she would have refused to compromise her ideal of marriage if no appropriate suitor appeared. However, we must keep in mind that attitudes toward marriage were not easy for a professional woman of Ruth Rouse’s generation, who first had to struggle her way to college, then to a professional identity. Female role models were usually all single women. Most educated women of this generation seem to have thought that marriage was a voca­tion incompatible with a career, not to mention with the opinions of a prospective husband.²⁴ Ruth Rouse might well have decided not to marry because of her ambition to “work out her missionary purpose” in worldwide service.²⁵ Still she had her own depend­ents. When she left her office as traveling secretary of the WSCF, an important factor was her need to take care of her aging mother, with whom she shared her home in England.

**A “Female John R. Mott”**

Ruth Rouse has sometimes been referred to as a female John R. Mott.²⁶ In some sense this hits the nail on the head. She had the same zeal for evangelization and the same ability to inspire students. Like him, she is remembered as an evangelist, person

---

**Being British, female, and Anglican, Ruth Rouse was a perfect balance for the American Methodist, John R. Mott.**

---

¹⁴ Ruth Rouse has sometimes been referred to as a female John R. Mott. In some sense this hits the nail on the head. She had the same zeal for evangelization and the same ability to inspire students. Like him, she is remembered as an evangelist, person...
of prayer, leader, advocate of comity, friend, speaker, executive, author, editor, fund-raiser, and traveler. Influenced by Mott’s optimism, she still seems to have been critical and reflective. Although she was not perhaps so contemplative as J. H. Oldham, she appears to have had a similar mediating effect. Furthermore, it must be remembered that she was born in a time when ideas of gender differences deemed women to be in a position of inferiority. Thus her starting point was different than that of her male colleagues. Also, working as a pioneer woman among pioneer women made her contribution different.

Though old and retired, Ruth Rouse was still very influential when she undertook one of her final jobs. She helped, rather unofficially, to arrange the archives of the WSCF and of John R. Mott in the library of the Yale University Divinity School. According to Robert C. Mackie, then general secretary of the WSCF, she was able to remove from Mott’s papers some correspondence “which it would have done no good for posterity to discover.” Of course, to a researcher this is not altogether a cause of rejoicing. However, the incident illustrates the relationship between those two pioneers in a brilliant way and mirrors Ruth Rouse’s manifold and far-reaching influence. This brings us back to the point where we started: the historian’s still-unsolved problem of how to judge the contribution of women. Except for her work in the World’s YWCA, Ruth Rouse did not chair large conferences as did John R. Mott. Neither did she shine as an administrator of genius in the same way as J. H. Oldham. Nonetheless she combined these same gifts with a third: the ability to do personal work.

When the women’s portion of the ecumenical movement’s history as well as their contribution to the nineteenth- and twen-

**Rouse’s pioneering among students vitalized missionary interest in many countries over three decades.**

Notes


9. Memorial of the SVMU to the Church of Christ in Britain (London: SVMU, n.d.).


Bibliography

Major Works by Ruth Rouse


Selected Pamphlets and Reports

Women Students in India. London: Missionary Settlement of University Women, n.d.

Published Addresses in:

The Student Missionary Appeal: Addresses at the International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Cleveland, Ohio, 1898. New York: SVMFM, 1898.
Fourth Biennial Convention, Richmond, Virginia, 1913. New York: National Board of the YWCA of the USA.

Articles in:

Association Monthly
Church Missionary Review
Church Overseas
East and West Review
Evangel, Journal of the Young Women’s Christian Association in the U.S.A.
Federation News (editor 1921-24)
Intercollegian
International Review of Missions
Student Movement
Student Relief Series (editor 1920-24)
Student Service Bulletin (editor 1920-22)
Student Volunteer, London
Student Volunteer, New York
Student World
World’s Y.W.C.A. Quarterly

Unpublished Materials

World Student Christian Federation Collection. Manuscript Record Group 46, Archives and Manuscripts, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Conn. (related to the period 1895-1924).
World Student Christian Federation Archives. World Council of Churches Library, Geneva (mostly related to the years after 1924).
Karl Fries Papers. Handskriftsamlingen (Manuscripts), Uppsala University Library, Uppsala.
Helmi Forsman Gulin Papers. Forsman Koskinen Suku 12, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki.

Works About Ruth Rouse

At the School of Intercultural Studies we are convinced that a life committed to serving Jesus Christ can impact the world in a powerful way. We are equally convinced that in our pluralistic world equipping for crosscultural competency in ministry is vital for "making disciples of all nations."

That is why we have assembled a program combining studies in missiology with the social sciences, designed to prepare you for all facets of crosscultural ministry at home and abroad.

LOOK AT WHAT SICS OFFERS YOU
- A faculty with over 125 years of combined service in international missions
- University setting offering interaction with other disciplines
- New M.A. programs in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and Applied Linguistics
- B.A. ICS, M.A. ICS, M.A. Missions, D.Miss. and Ed.D.
- Vast metropolitan area providing hundreds of opportunities for crosscultural study and ministry

CONSIDER THESE SICS DISTINCTIVES
- The only Christian Ed.D. degree in the U.S. concentrating in crosscultural education
- The strongest program for "Women in Ministry" of any school of world mission
- Concentrations in cultural anthropology, leadership, urban ministry, and international development
- If you are a young Christian desiring foundational preparation for a life of service in today's world or are already experienced in crosscultural ministry and looking for specialized training, the School of Intercultural Studies at Biola University may have just the program you need.

To find out more about the School of Intercultural Studies call or write today.
The Riddle of Man and the Silence of God: A Christian Perception of Muslim Response

Kenneth Cragg

Long years ago in Beirut when I was teaching English American-style, we used a textbook called *Sentence and Theme*. It was meant to develop the art of exposition in cogent prose that had a careful sequence.

It would often seem these days that we work with "Headline and Sentence," in the other sense of the second word. In some newspapers there is scarcely any small print at all. Banners do justice for thought. Contemporary media are strong on exposure but short on exposition. "Spots" and "soundbites" drastically shorten the dimensions we are willing to give to vast issues. The comprehensive theme goes by default.

Islam has been much victimized by such superficiality. It is true that each religious faith must take some responsibility for the image it presents. It will not do to allege that all public imagemaking is travesty and disown it as malicious. Yet, when we have fully allowed for the bigotries of Hizbollah, the *fatwas* (judicial verdicts) issued by Khomeini, and the barbarities of hostage-taking, it remains true that many people in the West have a caricature of Islam. They accept a hasty verdict on these adverse aspects and seem unable, or unwilling, to take authentic stock of the qualities of Islam as evident in art, culture, discipline, and other clues to its meaning.

Former President Reagan's perception of Iran's Ayatollah in the 1980s matched Khomeini's estimate of American mentality as satanic. Following the collapse of the Soviet system and the shift in geopolitics it has engendered, there are Western headline writers and analysts who are tempted to identify in Islam and Muslims the new bête noire of the 1990s. If they feel at a loss without evil things to be fighting against, and if they require phobias behind which to rally belligerence, then it seems that Islam will serve. Some are genuinely alarmed about a threat of world domination coming from Islamic fundamentalism. Such fears are based on the evident capacity of some Muslim regimes, as in the Sudan and Iraq, to operate in ruthlessness and criminal defiance of international civilized standards of humanity and the rule of law.

These fears need careful assessment, but in current global terms of power and technology it would seem credulous to surmise a physical Muslim jihad achieving across the world the kind of subjugation Hitler's Germany attained in Europe in the forties. That, however, is not to say that a Muslim militarism might not attempt, or contrive, local ventures of power and dominance capable of causing a global disquiet.

Our duty here has to do much more with intellectual and spiritual themes rather than with political prognosis. In trying to get those themes into focus, Christians—whether in scholarship and education or in mission—must appreciate and understand how ambivalent and apprehensive the Muslim mind is about the West. If, in effect, there is only one superpower, the opportunity that leaders like Abd al-Nasir utilized to play off one against the other has passed. It was evident in the Gulf War how effective American-led internationalism could be vis-à-vis an Arab power in conditions where both politics and terrain facilitated the likes of Desert Storm. (That lesson is underlined by how dilatory or evasive such internationalism can be when the will is different or the circumstances are ill suited.) The point here is to register how much the Muslim mind sees and feels itself threatened by the preponderance of the West in the theorizing and the marshaling of any such world community organized through the United Nations for "peace and security."

Threatened and disadvantaged it certainly feels. On the one hand, there is no option but to concede the shape of the future as technology, the information media, and the global neighborhood are contriving it. These are largely Western initiated and Western controlled. On the other hand, such conceding goes against the grain of Muslim autonomy, of Islamic self-sufficiency. It makes for a sort of love-hate relationship, for a tension between the irresistible and the unwelcome.

Islamic Resurgence

It follows that Islam is reining in contemporary form its instinctive sense of finality and self-sufficiency, with the West as the foil. In turn, its attitudes to Christianity are clearly involved. The late Isma'il al-Faruqi took a strong lead in campaigning for what he called an Islamization of all knowledge. A Palestinian who studied and taught in Montreal and was later professor at Temple University in Philadelphia, he insisted that education, especially higher education, must be rescued from spiritually debilitating (Western) presuppositions and based exclusively on norms and values that are safe only in the keeping of Islam.

This demand regards the Western social sciences as assuming and fostering secularity. Anthropology, sociology, and psychology most of all are either "value-free" (as the jargon goes), or they leave divine truth and human obligation to God out of their reckoning. Rational, pragmatic, and empirical as they are, they undermine the sense of the divine absolute on which Islam rests. They study faith as a mere phenomenon and assess its significance solely in terms of social function or personal idiosyncrasy. Or it is no more than an epiphenomenon of human behavior or psychic need. All this is in complete, apparent disregard of issues of truth and questions of reality. In this way such sciences introduce a lethal element of optionality into all religious faith, and they do so precisely where youth is most malleable and vulnerable. Thus, Islam—in fact or by implication—is deprived of its categorical authority and fears a subtle seepage of disease into its fabric.

In this way the Western academic and intellectual climate is seen to work against Islamic norms, values, and patterns. Religion contracts into a private affair and is withdrawn from the total aegis over life and society that Islam always assumed to be the role and right of the Qur'an, the sunnah ("divine way"), and

---

Kenneth Cragg, now retired in England, was formerly assistant bishop to the archbishop of Jerusalem and assistant bishop, diocese of Chichester, U.K. He served for many years as an Anglican missionary in Cairo, Beirut, and elsewhere in the Middle East. He has taught at Hartford Seminary, the University of Sussex, and Union Seminary in New York, and is the author of The Call of the Minaret (1956), Muhammad and the Christian (1984), The Christ and the Faiths (1986), and The Arab Christian (1991).
the shari’a (“sacred law”). On this analysis, only the Islamization of knowledge will suffice to stop the rot among Muslim youth and reinstate the full and effective authority of the final Iman (“faith”) and Din (“religion”).

Before considering how this affects Christian mission and interpretation to Islam, we must take the measure of how it seems to be borne out in Muslim experience of the secular manifestations of Western society. These may be directly felt by Muslim people in Europe and the States through emigration and global intercommunity; or, within Muslim nations, they are experienced in sundry forms via the media, technology, and tourism. The break from former patterns of sexual honor, reverence, human dignity, and personal probity in the West leaves many Muslims dismayed, perplexed, and angry. They sense a direct threat to their tradition and are tempted (or glad) to write off Christianity as a played-out faith, disproven by its own present predicament and unable to discipline its own societies or achieve in the concrete its own high ethics.

Islam’s Abiding Validity

Before coming to what this situation requires of Christians and how it puts into question the whole meaning of evangelism (“physician, heal thyself”), it is first necessary to remember how impressed Islam is with its own virility. Traditionally, it has been a very self-assured faith. Heart-searching and mind-querying have not normally been congenial or even thought necessary in Muslim history. Islam, it is said, is an implacable religion. Faruqi’s call for the complete Islamization of knowledge is never in doubt of itself. It is made in confident reaction to what is seen as the insidious “colonization of the mind” through the legacies of Western history. It reacts against a vision of European arrogance as always holding the rest of the world in intellectual and spiritual tutelage to itself.

This declaration of independence on the part of the Muslim community belongs with the classical faith. The Qur’an, on its own showing, is “a Book in which there is nothing dubious” (Surah 2.2). Islam is understood as the one religion divinely suited to human nature, and human nature is divinely suited to Islam, this being the double sense of the word fitrah in Surah 30.30. The Qur’an reveals and enshrines what all religion ought to be suited to human nature, and human nature is divinely suited to Islam, this being the double sense of the word fitrah in Surah 30.30. The Qur’an reveals and enshrines what all religion ought to be.

The break in the West with former patterns of dignity and personal probity leaves Muslims dismayed, perplexed, and angry.

Armed with this formidable self-sufficiency and minded to see the West as spiritually moribund and effete, Muslims stay fortified within their Islam. “Fortified” is the right word if we think of ramparts and bastions, walls and bulwarks, and the sense of defensiveness that goes with them. Any Christian ministries of mind and spirit in these circumstances have much to do to find a hearing.

One obvious question is whether unilateral solutions, such as the Islamization of all knowledge would entail, are really feasible. Answers to the secular situation cannot be had in isolation, even for self-assured Muslims. How far can they be immune from secularizing factors that have so powerfully beset the West? Some modern thinkers in Islam are keenly aware that human issues are universal and that responses cannot be theirs and theirs alone without reference to the parallel experience of shared humanity. There is no Islamic aeronautics, just as there is no Christian zoology or Hindu chemistry. To some degree culture may well vary medicine and hygiene but not astrophysics or pathology. To a fair degree, in fact, the sciences unify the world that religions claim to interpret.

Inasmuch as Jews, Christians, and Muslims share many areas of faith that the sciences address or interrogate, we are to that extent concerned together about a consecration of all knowledge. We must together assess, possess, and affirm the meaning of creation as all our scriptures Semitically confess it. Human creaturehood, dominion (khilafah), and responsibility under divine law are common affirmations. The Qur’an has also a strong emphasis on divine signs in the natural order, which, given due human cognizance in gratitude, come close to what we Christians call a sacramental world, in which all experience-sexual and procreative most of all—has to be acknowledged as both a sphere in our autonomy and a liability Godward for hallowing, gratitude, and awe.

Keeping that common territory of faith always in sight, we can best proceed to where we differ. This means trying to clarify the bearing of Christian faith and the Gospel on all those issues of human life and meaning that arise from the sphere of the social sciences, and that produce the strains many Muslims propose to isolate within a separate Islamization of knowledge, thus serving notice of irrelevance on all other faith systems. We need to bring to bear on this Muslim self-sufficiency or self-reliance the witness and the credentials of those Christian convictions of which they feel no need.

There is a deep irony in this situation inasmuch as a great commonality is present about the situations for which Islam believes it must have wholly unique and unilateral answers. The bewilderments and tensions of the modern mind, which some Muslims see Islam escaping in splendid exemption or contrived immunity, are emphatically present among Muslims here and now. Our best way into any study of a continuing Christian ministry in this field will be first to explore what the bewildered and the alerted say in their report of them.
The Riddle of Man and the Silence of God

An outstanding example is that of the Egyptian Nobel Prize winner (for literature) Najib Mahfuz. In a recent story he has a character say: “God does not relate to us and I cannot relate to Him. There is nothing but dead silence between us . . . I have always concluded that God—praise be to Him—has decided to leave us to our own devices.”

How clear it is that all the issues of what Christian theologians call theodicy, or “the justification of God,” are in that sentiment. The Muslim writer is in line with a recent Western writer remarking that he thought he could believe in God if he did not have to relate him to the world.

No doubt Najib Mahfuz hides behind his fictional character and remains himself enigmatic or silent. Even so, we have to ask why the author wants it said. When the story’s character is reproofed for what is near to blasphemy, Mahfuz has him respond: “Belief in God demands belief in His lack of concern for the world. If there is failure one accepts it patiently. The only right terms. It is the more relevant for our present purposes reproofed for what is near to blasphemy, Mahfuz has him respond: “Belief in God demands belief in His lack of concern for the world. If there is failure one accepts it patiently. The only right terms. It is the more relevant for our present purposes

Jews, Christians, and Muslims have a common concern for consecration of all knowledge.

It is significant how far classical Islam tends to discount such questions. As a confident and articulate exposition, it seems fair to take A Faith for All Seasons as representative, even though ordinary Muslims might not express themselves in such forthright terms. It is the more relevant for our present purposes because Shabbir Akhtar, in writing it, is explicitly responding to Christian ministries of meaning such as we would always hope to bring.

Islam’s Refuge in Inscrutability

“Muslims,” Akhtar writes, “must . . . refuse to concede the tragic failure of man on pain of having no theology left to articulate. They must require and practice “an almost total freedom from the tragic instinct” and “be resolutely determined to guard against the temptation to tragedy” in which Christians indulge. There are very similar sentiments in all the writings of Isma’il al-Faruqi. Akhtar also sees the Christian faith as taking the human predicament too seriously; he charges Christians with falling back romantically on ideas of divine pathos, of condescension into suffering in order to avoid oppressive thoughts of a mere “spectator-God.” Muslims, by contrast (so Akhtar states), have no right and certainly no need to affirm that God is love.

“The capacity of a religion to excite pathos,” writes Akhtar, “increases as faith declines, as practical piety and serious acceptance reach a lowebb. Thus, Christian concepts of incarnation and atonement are unhappy travesties of a really sovereign God whose authority is exercised in law and scripted revelation, exercised unimpeachably by him and adequately for us. At worst, Muslims here can fall back, as A Faith for All Seasons does, on divine inscrutability. Its author notes Surah 82.8 about God making man in whatever form he pleases. This may include the very perversity that is our common problem. Even if the divine creating, however, has in fact made us for damnation, God is not answerable to external, rational, or philosophical critique or question. “To question further would be blasphemous.” Surah 95.4-5 refers to humans as “fairest and lowest of the low” in creation. There the puzzle of human perversity must rest.

By this logic, the burden of theodicy evaporates. We are given the problem back as an answer. God remains Allahu akbar, while idolatry, as well as shirk, zulm, and ni’faq—perversity, wrongdoing, and hypocrisy—remain. These, however, are only problematic for “a certain kind of morally constrained sovereignty,” which has to be judged “always more or less helpless.” The divine government of Islam, with this Islamic version of human amenability, is not that sort of “morally constrained sovereignty.”

A Faith for All Seasons squarely demonstrates the vital areas of Christian ministry in mind and meaning and shows how exacting are they. While adamant in his resistance to Christian sentimentalism, as he sees it, Shabbir Akhtar is also frank in his recognition of “the shallowness of Muslim responses to the challenge of modernity.” He acknowledges the need for urgent self-criticism and cites Surah 2:286: “Lord, do not burden us beyond what we have strength to bear,” applying the words to “the silence of God being increasingly oppressive . . . on the heart of every reflective believer.”

The Gospel Response: God in Christ

In response to such sober Muslim reflections, any sense of the Christian “word in season” has to be aware of how patently short is the Christian community itself in upholding it. The Gospel,
Shabbir Akhtar remarks, “is in no better shape vis-à-vis recalcitrance than Torah or Qur’an.” But this is precisely why, according to the Christian Gospel, the world needs God in human flesh, redemptively suffering on our behalf.

A Faith for All Seasons decides that “Islam has no human, or partly human reality that can correspond to Christ,” adding cryptically: “If Islam has a Christ, it is Allah.” Has the author realized that this must mean there is a Christ-dimension in the being of God? The New Testament witnesses to what that dimension is. As Paul has it: “God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself” (2 Cor. 5:19). It is precisely this divine capacity to have the Christ which allows us to speak of “the Christ in God.” The credal language concerning “the only begotten of the Father” has cryptically: “If Islam has a Christ, it is Allah.”

One vital area of common concern is the need for penitence, the sense of suffering vicariously for one another.

Christ, in the figure of one who undertakes to redeem evil by the worth of the love that bears it. Those who see their salvation in and through the cross must be ready to read and apply its redemptive principle in every relationship of their own. Only so do we confess the forgiveness of sins as being both that which grace grants us as receivers and also what grace asks of us as givers.

Then our verdicts do not exonerate, nor idly accuse, nor cynically scorn, the world as we see it. Rather they are to be bent always toward salvation, toward what salvation means and what salvation demands.

One vital area of common concern is the need for penitence, the sense of suffering vicariously for one another.

Dialogue is often elitist and exceptional, despite its popularity and the spate of books about it. The masses of illiterate and inarticulate believers, the growing number of merely formal or bemused adherents, have little mental time or economic leisure for theodicies. Yet they feel and know the human loneliness and, in their own idiom, are no strangers to perplexity.

One vital area of interfaith concern alongside the inter-theology we have studied here is the need for common penitence, the sense of suffering vicariously for one another. This would mean undertaking not only what is criminal in our own guilt but what is tragic for us all. Christians find the paradigm in

Notes


3. The one analogy is used by Shabbir Akhtar, see below; the other comes in Discourses of Rumi, trans. and with commentary by A. J. Arberry (London: J. Murray, 1961), pp. 51-52. For Akhtar, see also Be Careful with Muhammad (London: Bellew Publ., 1989), section on “The Qur’an.”


7. Ibid., p. 160-61. Earlier quotations (after footnote 6) are on pp. 181 and 207.


10. Ibid., pp. 157 and 187.

11. I tried to develop this theme of a collective penitence as a vital area of interreligious concern in To Meet and to Greet (London: Epworth Press, 1992), pp. 63-80.
Can a House Divided Stand? Reflections on Christian-Muslim Encounter in the West

Lamin Sanneh

The Muslim challenge in asserting a religious interest in government and education may be considered a challenge also to the prevailing Western attitude of secular accommodation, or even abdication. Consequently behind the back of a Christian religious retreat from the public square comes a rising tide of Muslim demands for a role for religion in public affairs. Islam has always conceived a political role for religion, whatever the ambivalence of individual Muslims. However, what is new and different now is that the Muslim pressure is being brought to bear in the West itself, and is not simply a matter confined to distant and exotic societies.

The present Western context of Muslim political activism means Muslims will demand “rights” that are not simply religious, narrowly defined, but educational, legal, political, economic, social, and medical, including public health matters concerning slaughterhouses, matters that the Western rank and file have left in the hands of state and secular institutions. Consequently, Westerners are caught in a bind in the face of Muslim demands; the logic of religious toleration, not to say of hospitalization, requires making concessions to Muslims, while the logic of privatizing Christianity, of taking religion out of the public arena, disqualifies Westerners from dealing in any effective sense with Muslim theocratic demands. In view of the different positions of the two religions concerning the public realm, is a meeting possible between them? If so, on what grounds and to what end?

Part of the answer to this question depends on what reasons led Westerners to reject a territorial and theocratic role for religion, and whether those reasons are valid and relevant to Muslim demands. Let us deal with the issue in two stages.

Christian Territoriality Versus Voluntarism

The church was never more involved in politics than during the era of the Holy Roman Empire, when faith and territory were joined as a principle of membership in church and state. Under the empire, Christianity became Christendom, and the political ruler was seen as God’s appointed agent, the earthly counterpart to the heavenly sovereign. In that scheme political affairs and religious matters were two aspects of one and the same reality. It follows from this that church and state were united for the same purpose, even though as institutions they represented different functions. While the church reserved to itself custody of the absolute moral law, the state was concerned with enforcing the rules of conformity that gave practical expression to the higher spiritual law. Conformity rather than personal persuasion was the chief end of religious activity under this corporate arrangement.

Christendom identified itself with territoriality in the sense of making religion a matter also of territorial allegiance. Membership in the church was coterminous and interchangeable with territorial location, with territorial rule established on, and made legitimate by, the ruler’s confessed religion. Conversely, believers living in a territory ruled by a nonbeliever were considered resident aliens, even though prevailing conditions of peace and tolerance might ameliorate the necessity for embarking on acts of conscientious withdrawal, what Muslim sources refer to as hijrah.

As an arrangement, Christendom would work only if there continued to be a more or less homogenous, cohesive society apportioned into more or less stable social classes. Such homogeneity and cohesion became increasingly difficult to maintain in the face of growing pluralism and social mobility. Finally with the rise of national ethnic consciousness, fueled by the drive for religious freedom, the formal structures of the empire collapsed, to be lost irrevocably in the rubble of Napoleonic Europe, and Christendom as a territorial reality broke up into its constituent parts.

For leading Christian thinkers of the time the demise of Christendom was a consummation the godly had devoutly wished for, because it allowed religion to become a matter of personal experience rather than of membership in a divinely designated race or church. Thus was the church transformed from territoriality to voluntarism. As John Locke forcefully, and perhaps excessively, expressed it in his Letter Concerning Toleration (1689), Christians as members of a “voluntary society” were those who came together for “the public worshipping of God in such a manner as they judge acceptable to Him, and effectual to the salvation of their souls.” The overriding concerns of such a society, he felt, ought to be spiritual and moral, “and nothing ought nor can be transacted in this society relating to the possession of civil and worldly goods.”

Between this conception of religion and of the state Locke drew a neat, if overly formal, distinction. He gave to civil government the responsibility for ordering our material well-being, which includes “life, liberty, health, and indolence of body,” as well as “possession of outward things, such as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the like.” Just as the church should not concern itself with the amassing of wealth and material possessions, so should government not concern itself with the salvation of souls.

This distinction between the nature of religion and of the state is not satisfactory either in detail or in principle, as Locke recognized, for he went on to observe that government should
not be given authority over religion because “it appears not that God has ever given any such authority to one man over another as to compel anyone to his religion.” For Locke, as for many Puritan divines, religion was incompatible with state coercion, not simply because the state is a pretty blunt and oppressive instrument to use in delicate matters of faith, but because “though the rigor of laws and the force of penalties were capable to convince and change men’s minds, yet would not that help at all to the salvation of their souls.”

Locke reasoned like this because theological issues were paramount for him in the following sense: a soul that was compelled was a soul that had lost its religious worth, so that it would not be a legitimate subject for spiritual regeneration. Similarly, the political commonwealth would be a tyranny if nothing beyond compulsion held it together. Such a religious conception of the moral integrity of the human person was necessary to Locke’s conception of the tool-making character of civil government. Religion and civil government, Locke continued, have an overlapping legitimate interest in “moral actions” that belong “to the jurisdiction both of the outward and the inward court; both of the civil and domestic governor; I mean both of the magistrate and the conscience.” In other words, religion as a voluntary society made possible the birth of the theory of limited state authority. In this complementarity of church and state we find the “good life” wherein “lies the safety both of men’s souls and of the commonwealth.”

The Muslim challenge was not far from Locke’s mind, and he considered how Muslims and others might be integrated into a society where religion was not enforced or enforceable. That form of Islam, he said, that represented a rupture with the tradition of voluntarism would be difficult if not impossible to assimilate. Similarly, atheism would present a no less troubling challenge. “Those that by their atheism undermine and destroy all religion, can have no pretense of religion whereupon to challenge the privilege of toleration.” This statement shows Locke is aware that the argument for religious toleration itself rests on a religious idea, and that it is a contradiction in terms for people to repudiate religion while supporting tolerance and inclusiveness. That is why Locke insisted that neither atheist nor Muslim or any other “ought to be excluded from the civil rights of the commonwealth because of his religion.” We may summa-

**Locke reasoned that a soul compelled was a soul that had lost its religious worth.**

rize Locke’s reasoning to the effect that, on the one hand, moral integrity requires us to reject the use of political instruments of Christendom in securing religious ends; on the other hand, we cannot surrender the religious ground concerning the primacy of conscience without making civil government in the narrow sense and religious toleration broadly conceived ultimate casualties. Numberless other Western religious thinkers have given similar attention to the proper relation of religion and politics. They separated the two by repudiating territoriality without jettisoning the religious ground of the repudiation. One seventeenth-century theologian insisted that religious persons of conscience cannot allow “a secular sword [to] cut in sunder those knots in religion which [it] cannot untie by a theological resolution.” The reason for this is that “to employ the [civil] magistrate in this kind of compulsion is a prejudice to the Lord Jesus, and the provision he has made for the propagation of the Church and truth.” Such teachings are the foundation on which we have built the modern ideas of democratic pluralism and religious freedom and in terms of which we have conceived all human history as tending toward what R. G. Collingwood has called “the general development of God’s purpose for human life.” These are all timely words in our fiercely secular world.

These are some of the reasons why religious territoriality became unacceptable to Christian thinkers, and they explain the ambivalence of many Westerners who find difficulty with the claims of territoriality in Islam but who nevertheless feel encouraged by Islam’s witness to divine sovereignty in human affairs.

**Islamic Territoriality—A Contested Concept**

The late Ayātullāh Khumaynī* of Iran once complained that Muslims have been robbed of their heritage through the connivance of the West. Western agents, he charged, “have completely separated [Islam] from politics. They have cut off its head and [given] the rest to us.” The reference is to the creation in Muslim countries of the secular national state as the successor to the transnational Islamic caliphate. A similar complaint was made by Sādiq al-Mahdī, the Sudanese political leader who pilloried the secular national state by declaring: “The concepts of secularism, humanism, nationalism, materialism and rationalism, which are all based on partial truths, became deities in their own right: one-eyed superbeings. They are responsible for the present Euro-American spiritual crisis. The partial truths in all these powerful ideas can be satisfied by Islam.” It was in respect to such sentiments that Kenneth Cragg wrote: “The renewed and effective politicization of Islam is the most important single fact of the new [Islamic] century.”

All these views have their roots in the Prophet’s own personal legacy in Medina and Mecca, where he established territoriality (dār al-İslām) as the handmaid of religious faith. It was not long before the early Muslims were rallying round the political standard ‘lā hukm illā bi-İlāhī’ (“no government except under God”). The words have echoed down to our day, refined and mediated by the medieval theologian, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), as a stringent theocratic credo. It is from Ibn Taymiyya, among others, that modernist Muslim reformers in the last two hundred years have received their marching orders, from Jālāl al-Dīn Afghānī to Sayyid Quṭb and Ayātullāh Khumaynī.

In view of Ibn Taymiyya’s influence on modern critical Muslim assessments of the West, a few words are in order on his ideas. He spoke about the indispensability of God and the Prophet in political affairs, what he calls siyāsah ilāhīyya wa inābā nabi‘iyya (“divine government and prophetic vicegerency”). He contended: “To govern the affairs of men is one of the most important requirements of religion, nay, without it religion cannot endure . . . . The duty of commanding the good and forbidding the evil cannot be completely discharged without power and authority. The same applies to all religious duties (holy war, pilgrimage, prayer, fast, almsgiving), to helping those who are wronged, and to meting out punishment in accordance with the legal penalties . . . . The purpose of public office is to further the religion and the worldly affairs of men (islāh . . . dinahu wa-dumāyhu) . . . . when the pastor exerts himself in proportion to his ability to further both, he is one of the most excellent fighters on the path of God.” “The exercise of authority,” he concluded,

*Ed. note: Or, as commonly transliterated in the Western press, Ayatollah Khomeini.
“is a religious function and a good work which brings near to God, and drawing near to God means obeying God and his Prophet.”

These are uncompromising words that impute territoriality to religious orthodoxy, words that would make Muslims uncontented with a merely utilitarian political ethic. Yet they are words that also make it difficult to coexist in a pluralist society. One way out of the restrictive confines of Ibn Taymiyya’s thought is to make “the duty of commanding the good and forbidding the evil” (amal bi-mu’rif wa nahy’an al-munkar) a condition of the religious interest in politics rather than the justification for a theocracy, especially when a theocratic state may itself flout the divine law.

A similar consideration has led many other Muslims to question whether even under Islamic territoriality it is wise to employ force and coercion to propagate religion. One early caliph, for example, agonized over the safety of religious truth when upheld by the instruments of the state. This was the Caliph al-Ma’mun, who declared in a public meeting in A.D. 830 that although many under his rule had converted to Islam for purely religious reasons, many others had done so from less honorable motives. “They belong to a class who embrace Islam, not from any love for this our religion, but thinking thereby to gain access to my Court, and share in the honour, wealth, and power of the Realm; they have no inward persuasion of that which they outwardly profess.” This anticipates Locke’s notion of the jurisdiction of the “outward and inward,” and why territoriality is as repugnant to conscience as it is inimical to democratic pluralism. When religion looks to political power for its ultimate defense, then it will soon find in the same source its sole vindication and reward. We would, like the agonized caliph, be unable to determine the true from the spurious, sincerity from self-interest, or commitment from opportunism.

In an instructive piece of debate between two Muslim scholars on the need for a theocratic state, we find identical issues being raised. One of the scholars in question, Muhammad al-Kanemli (d. 1838), the ruler of Kanem-Bornu in West Africa, challenged the jihad leader ‘Uthman dan Fodio (d. 1817) with regard to the use of the sword for religious ends. Al-Kanemli said the sword is too rough-and-ready a weapon to use in settling religious questions, especially questions between Muslims themselves, since they would attempt to resolve by force majeure what might be substantial matters of theology, or even only differences of opinion. He insisted that Muslims must either settle for tolerance and mutual acceptance or else unleash a smoldering permanent war that would exempt, in his words, not even “Egypt, Syria and all the cities of Islam . . . in which acts of immorality and disobedience without number have long been committed.” “No age and country,” al-Kanemli cautioned, “is free from its share of heresy and sin,” and any rigid notion of Muslim territoriality that flies in the face of this reality would reduce to ashes all sincere but inadequate attempts at truth and obedience. We could not find revealed truth in the blinding flames of fanaticism.

A whole religious vocation has developed among certain groups of Muslim West Africans on rejecting political and military means for spreading and maintaining religious faith and institutions. One such group are the Jakhanké people, whose clerical roots go back to medieval Africa through a cleric called al-Hajj Sālim Suwaré (hence the appellation “Suwarians” in some sources). In received traditions al-Hajj Sālim is described as handing down teachings that represent a scrupulous disavowal of political and military coercion in religious matters, and the repudiation of secular political office for the professional cleric, an astonishing position given the unambiguous rulings of the Qur’ān and the jurists. Yet equally astonishing is the durability of this pacific strain in Muslim West Africa, whose antiquity and dispersed, mobile character have led scholars to offer a Semitic hypothesis as its origin. Indeed Jakhanké chronicles identify them as Bani Isrā’ila (“children of Israel”), which appears to lend at least a conjectural credence to the Semitic theory. At any rate, as professional clerics the Jakhanké people established educational centers as cells of influence among diverse ethnic groups, a clerical cordon sanitaire of mobility and dispersal from where they wafted the felicitous breath of pacific counsel. So distinctive was this tradition that local religious militants who defied it found themselves exposed to the virus of religious mutiny from within. Local populations that had come under the influence of clerical pacifism were so deeply affected that they felt a theocratic state was more disconcerting than the prospects of continuing pluralism.

This is not to say that pacific Muslim clerics did not clash with unamenable secular strongmen, for they did, but that clerical pacifism undermined the extreme program of a corporate theocratic state. The attempt was made many times in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to create theocratic governments in Muslim West Africa, and each time it failed from the prevailing unfavorable quietist climate of opinion. Even the effort by European administrations to co-opt into the colonial brand of political committedness such pacific clerics by giving them chieftaincies foundered on the same pacific rock, with the clerics offering their sympathy, or even cooperation, but stopping short of becoming collaborators and active allies. In the era of total political mobilization that some colonial regimes preferred, such clerical independence was deemed an affront, and it brought on the collision it was designed to avert, forcing the clerics to reassess the heritage in the light of new realities. In the example of one such stock-taking in 1911, the clerical leader who, along with his followers, was arrested at the point of a gun and sent into humiliating exile and imprisonment spoke eloquently of clerical pacifism not simply in terms of personal survival but in terms of a long, self-consistent vocation. The French administrator and scholar Paul Marty, who saw the relevant document, found it difficult not to be impressed by the argument. Marty said the leading cleric in question “formulated conclusions, stamped with the indelible mark of loyalty, and remarked that his fidelity, had it not been born of natural sympathy, would have been for him a necessity of the logic of history.” Marty described the attack on the pacific clerics as the St. Bartholomew’s Massacre. Such conflicts were clearly painful personal setbacks, but they were scarcely a fatal loss for pacific credibility or mobility, since the clerics conducted themselves with dignified restraint under violent provocation and then subsequently emigrated as haven-seekers.

I myself was present when the Maliki mufti of the Republic
of Senegal, a seasoned child of the Jakhanké peripatetic tradition, was invited from his country retreat in Casamance by the president to travel to the capital to meet the king of Saudi Arabia. He at first refused because he had in principle avoided political sponsorship and was unwilling to place himself at secular dis-

**Muslims and Christians can support a public role for religion without making territoriality a necessity for faith.**

posal. When he finally yielded, it was as a courtesy to the royal visitor rather than a concession of collaborating with political office. He and clerics like him are happy to make their peace with political territoriality but are less willing to collapse religion into such territoriality. Admittedly, religious withdrawal, even with the clerical pacific principle at its heart, may not deal well enough with the problem of the doctrinaire ideological secular state, but it does sustain the moderate pacific counsels by which Muslim Africans have extended and deepened the tradition of genuine pluralism.

There is thus a large body of material in religious sources. Muslims and Christians, to support a public role for religion without requiring us to make territoriality a sine qua non of faith. Sufyán Thaurí, a classical Muslim writer, has a witty aphorism that may be apt on this point. He wrote, “The best of the rulers is he who keeps company with men of [religious] learning, and the worst of the learned men is he who keeps the society of the king.” That is to say, religion and worldly affairs prosper together when political rules are qualified by moral principles, and they suffer when moral principles are qualified by political experience. In the first case we would have Locke’s notion of limited state sovereignty, and in the second, echoes of the Vicar of Bray’s ballad in which the morality of taking the king’s shilling is set at the king’s bidding.

**Conclusion**

The Muslim challenge and tradition we have thus examined in this brief account bring up the issue of how the Western understanding of the limits and liability of territoriality may complement or otherwise amend and alter demands of political immunity for religious groups that have entered the West. It is important, therefore, to recognize the new context in which Muslims have encountered the West, not as a subjugated people of a colonial empire but as immigrants looking for opportunities in the West. However, in spite of differences of culture and language, and in spite of a common desire to succeed economically, such religious groups are, in the words of the legal manuals, “bound together by the common tie of Islam that as between themselves there is no difference of country, and they may therefore be said to compose but one dār [i.e., dār al-Islām, or the abode of fraternal Islam]. And, in like manner, all who are not [Muslims], being accounted as of one faith, when opposed to them [i.e., Muslims], however much they may differ from each other in religious belief, they also may be said to be one dār [i.e., dār al-ḥarb, “the sphere of war and enmity”]. The whole world, therefore, or so much of it as is inhabited and subject to regular government, may thus be divided.”

At least such is the insistence of radical religious activists.

The Western comprehension of this new reality must keep abreast of moderate Muslim counsels concerning the dangers of territoriality, and both sides need to come to a common mind about freedom in religion, whether in Manchester or in Medina. It would be wrong for Westerners to think that they can preserve religious toleration by conceding the extreme Muslim case for territoriality, because a house constructed on that foundation would have no room in it for the very pluralist principle that has made the West hospitable to Muslims and others in the first place. The fact that these religious groups have grown and thrived in the West at a time when religious minorities established in Islamic societies have continued to suffer civil disabilities shows how uneven are the two traditions.

We risk perpetuating such a split-level structure in our relationship, including the risk to the survival of our great public institutions, unless we take moral responsibility for the heritage.

**Noteworthy**

Andrew F. Walls, a contributing editor of this journal, received an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, on July 8, 1993. The citation given with the degree described him as “a prolific contributor of articles, with the gift of always offering an exciting, if at times unsettling interpretation of the onward march of Christian expansion, seen in terms of the penetration of successive cultures and each culture contributing both to the survival and the diversification of the faith.”

Peter Kuzmic has been appointed Distinguished Professor of World Missions and European Studies at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts, effective July 1993. Kuzmic had been president of the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Osijek, Croatia, since 1972.

The First Presbyterian Church in Houston, Texas, has endowed the John William and Helen Lancaster Chair of Evangelism and Missions at Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, and John R. Hendrick has been inaugurated as the first incumbent. Dr. Hendrick has also been elected to chair the Worldwide Ministries Division of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.).

October 1993 167
of the West, including tolerance for religion. Such tolerance for
religion cannot rest on the arguments of public utility but rather
on the firm religious rock of the absolute moral law with which
our Creator and Judge has fashioned us. Ibn Taymiyya is right
that “the exercise of authority is a religious function” in the sense
of accountability and subordination to the higher moral law, but

In view of Muslim pressure
and the sterile utilitarian
ethic of the secular state,
Westerners must recover
responsibility for the
Gospel as public truth.

he is mistaken when he makes this the territorial principle of
orthodox rectitude. The political community is also the moral
community, except that the political and the moral are not

Notes

1. See, for example, Larry Poston, Islamic Da’wah in the West: Muslim
Missionary Activity and the Dynamics of Conversion to Islam (New York:
2. For a succinct, lucid summary, see Sir Ernest Barker, Principles of
3. The Muslim jihadi’st ‘Uthmân dan Fodio (d. 1817), wrote an exhaust­
(Khartoum: Khartoum Univ. Press and New York: Oxford Univ.
Books, 1990), A. J. P. Taylor examines some of the deeper social and
political ramifications of the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire.
(1647-9) from the Clarke Manuscripts (London: J. M. Dent & Sons,
thinker, expressed similar sentiments about the use of “human
compulsive power or force” in religion (ibid., p. 332ff.).
6. Ibid., p. 256.
1946), p. 49.
8. Cited in A. Rippin and J. Knappert, eds., Textual Sources on Islam
(Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press; Chicago: Univ. of Chicago
126-27.
10. Kenneth Cragg, The Call of the Minaret (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books,
11. See W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad at Medina (Oxford: Clarendon
Press, 1962), still regarded as the definitive study of the subject.
12. An authoritative Muslim political tract put it as follows: “The [relig­
ious] law of the sultan is the [political] law of the country,” in Uṣūl
al-Siṣṭān (On the fundamentals of government), reproduced in B. G.
Martin, “A Muslim Political Tract from Northern Nigeria: Muḥammad
Bello’s Uṣūl al-Siṣṭān,” in Aspects of West African Islam,
vol. 5, ed. Daniel F. McCall and Norman R. Bennett (Boston: Boston
Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 82-83.
13. Cited in E. I. J. Rosenthal, Political Thought in Medieval Islam (Cam­
bridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958), pp. 51ff.
William Muir (London: SPCK, 1887), pp. 29-30. Al-Kindī, himself the
supreme controversialist, added that people turned to Islam in these
circumstances, “some by fear of the sword, some tempted by power
and wealth, others drawn by the lusts and pleasures of this life.”
16. For a detailed study of the subject, see Lamin Sanneh, The Jakhanke
Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia
(Lanham, Md.: Univ. Press of America, 1989). This is the first and
only book-length study in any language.
17. Ibid., pp. 132-33.
18. Cited in Nizám al-MuIk, The Book of Government for Kings (Siṣṭān
Nāma) (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), p. 63. This work
was written in the eleventh century.
19. Digest of Moohummadan Law: Containing the Doctrines of the Hanifëa
Code of Jurisprudence, ed. and trans. Neil B. E. Baillie (1869-75; re­
The Challenge of Islamic Fundamentalism for Christians

David A. Kerr

A brief visit to Egypt in the late 1970s, en route to a WCC-sponsored meeting on Christian-Muslim dialogue, gave me the opportunity of visiting Coptic friends in el-Fayyum, a town some fifty miles southwest of Cairo where about a third of the population is Christian. Their quizzical interest in the conference I was about to attend revealed a measure of skepticism. Is there any possibility of dialogue with Muslims, they asked, when the sheikh of their local mosque was preaching fire and damnation against the Egyptian government, Christianity, and the West? The name of this feisty preacher meant nothing to me at the time. But in recent months he has been bandied around the Western press as “Egypt’s Khomeini…from Jersey City”: Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, spiritual leader of the Al-Salam Mosque in Jersey City, allegedly the ideologue behind the bomb outrage in New York’s World Trade Center.

Since the early 1970s Sheikh Rahman has been an outspoken critic of successive Egyptian governments— likening Nasser to Pharaoh, condoning Sadat’s assassination, and condemning Mubarak as a pawn of U.S. interests. As an amir of the radical Jama’at al-Muslimin group,4 he justified militancy against Muslims whom he judged to be unbelievers.5 He was arrested several times in Cairo, was refused permission to enter Saudi Arabia, and, after a year’s haven in Sudan, finally came to the United States.

My Coptic friends’ questioning of what kind of relationship they can foresee with Islam in light of the sheikh’s fulminations is but one example of apprehensions widespread among Christians living in Muslim-dominated societies in the Middle East and in other parts of Asia and Africa. Similar questions are being asked by Christians in the West, nervous that what is termed “Islamic fundamentalism” will take root in Western societies where Muslim communities are growing.6 The continuing Rushdie affair is a reminder that our “global village” is full of contradictions that make it an uncertain and dangerous place to live.7

It is the concern of this essay to wrestle with these questions in search for a sense of Christian relationship with Islam that will be realistic as well as optimistic. In this regard the cautionary advice of an international group of Reformed Church Christians may help orientate our perspective: “Contemporary Christian stereotypes of Islamization reflect three tendencies which militate against dialogue: sensationalism particularly in the mass media which oversimplifies complex realities; essentialism which tends to cast Islam as a monolithic religion and view all Muslims as the same; and extremism which regards all Muslims as fundamentalist with the implication that they are dogmatic, reaction- ary, and anti-modernist.”8

Islamic Stereotypes in Recent Literature

Since the Iranian revolution of 1979 there has been a spate of journalistic-cum-academic literature on Islamic fundamentalism.9 Critical appraisal of a selection of these books makes it abundantly clear that Christians have no monopoly on the stereotyping of Islam. The repertoire of conceptual interpretations has become standardized around the themes in the following sections.

Islamic Fundamentalism’s Immanent Hegemony

An early example of prediction that Islamic fundamentalists are poised to take over the Muslim world is found in Militant Islam by the Indian-born British journalist Godfrey Jansen. Writing in the shadow of the Islamic revolution, he portrayed fundamentalism as the most potent force within the contemporary Muslim world, rooted in its Islamic past, successful in Iran and Pakistan, and “well placed to come to power…in Egypt and the Sudan in the near future, and in Indonesia in the not too distant future.”10 At the time of publication many people found these prophecies credible, but a decade of hindsight shows them to have been overstated. Indonesia, the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, remains committed to a constitution based on the pancasila principles of socioreligious pluralism.11 Though Egypt is the home of the Muslim Brotherhood, arguably the strongest ideological force behind contemporary fundamentalism,12 the government continues to proscribe its activities and has so far resisted falling prey to the more extreme groups spawned by the brotherhood.13 The civil war in Sudan has in part to do with the constitutional future of the country’s predominantly Muslim north and Christian south, but it is important to remember that the main advocate of Islamization, President Nimeiri, was removed from power in 1985. Pakistan’s Islamization campaign, closely identified with the military government of Zia al-Haq, now seems caught between the contending programs of political parties in a restored democratic process. Even in Iran, where fundamentalism contributed to the successful Islamic revolution, the ideologically heady days of the 1980s are giving way to more sober and compromising counsels in the revolution’s second decade. Iran, as we shall see below, is a special case and, along with the radical movements it protects in southern Lebanon, is unique among Muslim societies.

Fundamentalism as Islam’s Wrath Against the West

If Jansen illustrates an element of extremism in much of the recent literature, there are abundant examples of sensationalism...
in the sense of reducing complex realities to single causes. Turning to the popular genre of travelogues, V. S. Naipaul, a Trinidad-born British novelist of Indian background, published translations ensuring that Muslims’ “half-made societies are doomed in the sense of reducing complex realities to single causes. Anger against the West—its imperial history, its monopoly of resources, its political manipulations ensuring that Muslims’ “half-made societies are doomed to remain half-made”—is Naipul’s recurrent theme, and the prism through which he attempts to interpret Islamic fundamentalism. “Rage was what I saw.”

Fundamentalism and Terrorism

Sacred Rage: The Wrath of Militant Islam (Sussex, U.K.: Linden Press, 1985) is Robin Wright’s journalistic foray into fundamentalism through the Iranian revolution. She focuses upon terrorism as a particular manifestation of anger. Tracing the development of conflict between Iran and the United States before and after the Khomeini period, she shows how both sides proceeded largely on the basis of ignorance of the other. Critical as she is of U.S. failure to develop a consistent policy toward Islamic fundamentalism, she portrays the latter almost entirely in militant terms, falling back on the cliché of fanaticism. This is yet more crudely the case in John Laffin’s Holy War, Islam Fights (London: Grafton Books, 1988).

Fundamentalism and Oil

A further example of single-issue sensationalism is to be noted in the perceived linkage between Islamic fundamentalism and oil. This thesis was first advanced by the American political scientist Daniel Pipes, who argues in a study entitled In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power (New York: Basic Books, 1983) that the OPEC oil boom from the early 1970s fueled Islamic movements that opposed Western economic power. Tying Islamic fundamentalism closely to OPEC’s fortunes, he predicted that the former could not survive the latter’s decline. However, the actual politics of oil over the last ten years have seen a struggle between four major oil-producing states—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran—whose mutually competitive socioeconomic policies (including wars between Iraq and Iran [1979-89] and more recently between Iraq and Kuwait/Saudi Arabia) have greatly weakened OPEC. Meanwhile the phenomenon of fundamentalism seems not to abate.

Sensationalism is seen in the perceived linkage between Islamic fundamentalism and oil.

Fundamentalism as the Intrinsic Nature of Islam

These reductionist interpretations of Islamic fundamentalism are misleading in that they adhere to a single account of fundamentalism that, upon closer analysis, is shown to be untenable as a total explanation. They address symptoms more than causes. Does this suggest that fundamentalism is more deeply rooted in the very nature of Islam as a historic religious experience?

The case for an intrinsic fundamentalism has been argued by several scholars, for example, Bernard Lewis, who traces it to the traditional Muslim doctrine of the Qur’an as kalam Allah, the literal Word of God. At a popular level Dilip Hiro’s Holy Wars: The Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism (London: Routledge, 1989) finds evidence of fundamentalism not only in Muslim attitudes towards their sacred text but in the life of the Prophet Muhammad and throughout the later developments of Islam.

With greater discrimination, however, the British doyen of Islamic scholarship, William Montgomery Watt, cautions that to assess Islam as fundamentalist by nature is to disregard the wide variety of religious, social, and political manifestation of Islamic identity throughout history. It is, in fact, to play to the fundamentalists’ own methodology and rhetoric, which seek to impose a particular view of Islam upon Muslims as a whole. Watt urges liberal scholars, Muslim and non-Muslim, to rectify this image by honoring the rich diversity of Islam’s historic and contemporary experience.

Defining Islamic Fundamentalism: Egypt

Arabic has no equivalent for the English word “fundamentalism.” We need to attempt a definition of the phenomenon through the concepts and actions of Muslims themselves, beginning with fundamentalist groups in Egypt.

Islamic Fundamentals of Religion

The concept of fundamentals certainly exists in Islamic thought, and centrally so in the importance of the usul (“roots,” or “foundations”) of religion. The roots of Islam lie in the Qur’an, the Hadith, and the shari’a. The Qur’an is held to be the very Word of God (kalam Allah). The Hadith, embodying the sunna, or inspired example of the Prophet Muhammad, serves to interpret and amplify the meaning of God’s Word. Together, the Qur’an and Hadith constitute the sources of shari’a, which, by a process of juristic discernment (figh), provides ethical instruction and guidance for Muslim communities and individuals. Traditional Islamic theology gives first place to these three fundamentals of religion, distinguishing them from everything else, which is derivative and therefore classified as “branches” (furu’).

Islah as the Means of Renewal

Of the several Arabic terms that designate renewal, one that has enjoyed wide currency through the past century is islah—a word that has no precise English equivalent but that conveys the idea of making righteous. It was used particularly by Muslims from the second half of the nineteenth century who wanted to restore the identity of Islamic society (at the time largely controlled by European empires) by returning to the precedent of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions (sala). Known as the Salafiya movement, it eschewed anachronistic historicism by advancing a renewed use of reason (‘aql) as the means of interpreting the fundamentals of religion over against centuries of imitative tradition (taglid).

The classic exposition of this form of islah is found in the writing of the late nineteenth-century Egyptian Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905), whose most systematic treatise is available in English translation under the title Theology of Unity. It represents a milestone in the exercise of a modern ijtihad, or “personal reasoning” upon the usul of religion.

The Shari’a as the Framework of an Islamic State

Abduh was a thinker who applied his ideas of islah to the development of educational and legal reform in Egypt. It fell to
the next generation, inspired by his writings, to wrestle with wider issues of social renewal. Hassan al-Banna (1906-49) was not trained (as Abduh had been) in traditional Islamic learning. But in 1926 he founded a populist movement called the Muslim Brotherhood (al-ikhwan al-muslimun), largely in opposition to the secularizing nationalism of the political party (Wafd) that spearheaded the struggle for independence from Britain. He accepted the framework of a Western-originated nation-state but advocated the necessity of its being constituted according to the shari'a for the preservation of Islamic integrity and order. The Brotherhood streamlined their concept of shari'a into broad principles of public order (maslaha), within a social ideology that preserved the unity of religion and public life against Western and nationalist distinctions between state and religion.

After Egyptian independence the brotherhood quickly began to oppose Nasser, who in turn proscribed their activities. Their influence has nonetheless been widespread, especially among the social classes of the petit bourgeois shopkeepers and artisans and the young, mainly unemployed, intelligentsia.

Generally considered to be the first “fundamentalist” movement in the Muslim world, the Muslim Brotherhood enables us to identify the phenomenon (1) as the social application of Islamic principles, (2) as a counterideology to the ruling elite, (3) with leaders emerging from outside the ranks of religious professionals ('ulema), and (4) as attractive to people who feel themselves alienated from both traditional Islamic authority and secular rulers.

Jihad as the Means of Social Transformation

After Hassan al-Banna’s death in 1949 at the hands of the secret police, ideological leadership of the brotherhood passed to Sayyid Qutb (1906-66). Two years’ study in the United States (1949-51) left him profoundly disillusioned with Western society, and back in Egypt he devoted himself to the struggle to realize an Islamic alternative.

Central to his writing is the concept of jihad, the Arabic word for “striving,” in which it is the duty of all Muslims to engage. The

Disillusioned with Western society after two years’ study in the United States, Sayyid Qutb devoted himself to an Islamic alternative.

Prophet Muhammad taught that jihad is engaged at four levels: in the heart, as the place of spiritual striving; by the tongue, as the means of preaching and teaching the message of Islam; by the hand, as the means of its social application; and finally by the sword, as the implement of its defense and confrontation against ungodly forces. This last meaning of militant struggle was exemplified in the Prophet Muhammad’s strategy against pagan forces of Mecca from his home base in Medina. Sayyid Qutb drew an analogy between this and the situation in Egypt under the cold war pressures of Soviet and American influences. He declared Egypt to be in a state of pagan ignorance; 19 thus he justified the use of force to bring about change.

The revived commitment to jihad is another defining attribute of Islamic fundamentalism. One of Qutb’s contemporaries in the brotherhood, Muhammad al-Ghazali, referred to it as “the neglected duty,” which is the title of a book devoted to the subject (see n. 5). But if Muslim fundamentalists all commit themselves to spiritual, propagandist, and socially active struggle for the faith, there are different answers to the question of when, and against whom, militant struggle is justified.

Militant Rebellion

Qutb was executed in 1966, having been found guilty of plotting armed rebellion against Nasser’s government. The legacy of his more extreme teaching has been continued by clandestine groups that have adopted revolutionary strategies of change in contrast to the brotherhood’s more evolutionary approach. Two main groups can be identified that have taken up acts of public violence: Al-Jihad, which traces its origins to a failed coup d’état in the 1970s, some of whose members were responsible for Sadat’s assassination in 1981; and Jama’at al-Muslimin, the group linked to the World Trade Center bombing and that claimed responsibility for the assassination of the Egyptian minister of religious affairs in 1977.

The difference between the two groups lies not in principle, for both justify the use of violence against those whom they denounce as unbelievers (kuffar), whether Muslim or not; they differ only in their judgment of who the kuffar are. For Al-Jihad they are the government, whereas the Jama’at al-Muslimin condemns the whole of Egyptian society for unbelief, regarding themselves to have “migrated” spiritually and in some cases physically,20 in order to create a pure Islamic community that can eventually defeat the ungodly nation.

Although we may take these groups as examples of extremist fundamentalism in Egypt, on the criterion of their justification of violence against other Muslims (whom they declare to be unbelievers), it is important to emphasize that they do not stand in the mainstream of Islam. Ideologically they represent a tiny faction that has effectively seceded from the much broader movement of the Muslim Brotherhood. Theologically they have crossed an ethical Rubicon that has few precedents in Islamic history, the Sunni mainstream having always maintained the doctrine that God alone is judge of a person who has testified the faith of Islam.21

The Case of Iran

The focus of so much media attention on Iran since its Islamic revolution of 1979 has linked the name of Ayatollah Khomeini with Islamic fundamentalism in the Western mind. The resulting generalizations ignore the specific character of the Iranian situation in both religious and political terms and reduce the variety of Islamic fundamentalisms to a single model.

While factors of Persian history and culture contributed to the development of Shi’ism in the early centuries of Islam, it was not until the sixteenth century that Shi’ism was instated as the official form of Islam under the ruling dynasties of the shahs. It differs from Sunni Islam in its location of religious authority in the figure of the Imam, directly descended from the Prophet Muhammad’s household, through the union of his cousin Ali with his daughter Fatima. As distinct from Sunni Muslims, the Shi’ites add the institution of the imamate to the trilogy of religious fundamentals described above.

Since the ninth century C.E. the majority of Shi’ites believes that the twelfth imam in succession to Ali exists in the invisible state of occultation (rajha), hidden from sight as the sun behind a cloud, but no less the source of light and spiritual guidance. The
theory of Shi'i religious leadership involves a hierarchy of “clergy” who receive and apply the guidance of the Hidden Imam as the infallible source of quranic interpretation for the direction of the Muslim community. This will pertain until the coming messianic age, when the Imam will return to earth to establish a truly righteous society before the arrival of the Last Day.

At the head of this clerical hierarchy, for which Sunni Islam has no equivalent, stand the ayatollahs—the “signs of God” upon the earth. The most senior ayatollahs reside in the Shi'ite holy places in Iraq, associated with the martyrdom of Ali's son Hussain, killed by a Sunni army. It was during his exile in Iraq that Ayatollah Khomeini gave a famous series of lectures in which he developed his politicojuristic doctrine of the vilaya al-fagih, or “authority of the religious jurist,” in which he advocated the subordination of political leadership in Iran to the spiritual authority of the religious scholar (fagih). His later success in marshaling Iranian resentments in revolution against the shah returned him triumphantly to Iran in 1979, and the new Islamic constitution established this doctrine at its core.

Analysts of the Iranian revolution question the degree to which it was purely Islamic in the sense of being motivated solely by religious factors. A potent variety of political and economic elements was involved. As the only major institution during the

The problem facing Iranian fundamentalists is the difficulty of translating religious generalizations into viable governmental programs.

Pahlavi monarchy that successfully resisted state control, it was the clergy, under Khomeini's uncompromising leadership, who were able to articulate popular grievances against the Westernizing trends of the shah's Iranian nationalism, eventually to the point of directing and “Islamizing” the forces of opposition.

Now into its second decade, and deprived of Ayatollah Khomeini's leadership, the Islamic Republic is moving into a new phase colored by ideological compromise, internal power sharing, and reconciliation with the United States. In terms of a descriptive definition of fundamentalism, this current status underlines two features: the strength of the fundamentalists lies in their defining, through religious symbols, the opposition to a ruling regime; the problem facing the fundamentalists is the difficulty of translating their religious generalizations into sustainable governmental programs.

Conclusions

If the foregoing analysis has helped develop a descriptive profile of the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism, it becomes clear that no simple definitions, as have been offered in much of the Western literature of the 1980s, are sufficient. The phenomenon is not monolithic. There are striking differences between the Iranian and Egyptian varieties, and within Egypt, where the phenomenon has a longer history than anywhere else in the Muslim world, we find a broad spectrum of theory and praxis. This is why many scholars refuse to use the term “fundamentalism,” deeming it too imprecise to identify the complexity of trends that are actually involved. If we choose to retain the term, we need to think of fundamentalisms in the plural and to avoid generalization from the perspective of any one of them.

Back to where this inquiry began. My Coptic friends in Egypt understandably expressed moral condemnation of the extremist violence of groups like the Jama'at al-Muslimin. They are condemned by mainstream Muslims as well. While the Muslim Brotherhood movement remains illegal, it continues to have widespread influence in that it addresses issues that concern many younger Egyptian Muslims, women and men alike: issues of religious identity, cultural destiny, economic disparity, and social organization. Raising such concerns from the 1930s, Hassan al-Banna sometimes addressed Coptic Christians as well as Egyptian Muslims, recognizing that Egyptian society of his utopian vision would rest on coexistence between the two religious communities, as it has in the past. Before him Muhammad Abduh had done the same, to the point of drawing favorable comparison between the self-reformist movements in Christianity and the Islamic islah.

Christian dialogue with Islamic fundamentalists is not an a priori impossibility. It needs to be discriminating in terms both of partners and of issues. It will be pursued differently by Christians living within Islamic societies than by Christians meeting Muslims in the West. Conditions and priorities vary from place to place, but we need to be in mutually supportive communication. For example, the issue of the religious and human rights of Christian individuals and communities in relation to shari'a law is different from, but by no means unrelated to, issues and individuals in Euro-America. There can be no doubt that it is within the sphere of social ethics that Muslims put their priority in terms both of their internal religious discourse and for such dialogue as may be entertained with and by Christians.

Vigilance in matters of human rights was highlighted in the recommendations of the international group of Reformed Church Christians dealing with Christian-Muslim relations, already quoted in the introduction to this essay. The whole thrust of their recommendations was framed within an emphasis on the need to develop a theological understanding of power. Their paragraph on this issue is a fitting conclusion to the present discussion:

Islamization is deeply concerned with the social and political expression of religion in search of an Islamic society or state. The danger of religion becoming a tool of nationalism, or being exploited by a government or party for narrow political ambition is evident. Too easily, however, have Christians interpreted Jesus' teaching to “render to Caesar the things of Caesar, and to God the things of God” as implying an absolute separation between religion and politics. While this view is powerfully challenged by liberation theologians, many Christians have yet to develop a theological understanding of political power which enables them to critique Islamic as well as secular ideologies, while at the same time seeking to cooperate with Muslims in the struggle for justice and peace.
Notes

1. The Arabic word sheikh denotes one whose maturity qualifies him for leadership (sheikha in the feminine). Originally used of an Arab tribal leader, the term applies to leadership of various sorts, including, as in this case, religious leadership by qualification as a graduate from Islam’s most ancient university, al Azhar in Cairo.

2. Arabic for “peace,” salam derives from the same Arabic root (slm) as islam, a causative verbal noun that signifies “making peace” through obedience to God, the source of peace (al-Salam); cf. Surah 59:23.

3. Meaning “leader,” a term derived from the Arabic word for “command.”

4. Meaning “Society of Muslims,” for discussion of which see below; the sheikh is also said to have been associated with the Al-Iihad group (discussed below).


9. The origins of this movement are associated with the religiopolitical activism of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (1839-97). The British scholar Sir Hamilton Gibb identified al-Afghani as the major influence on “more recent popular movements which combine Islamic fundamentalism with an activist political program” (Muhammadanism [New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1949], p. 134). Bruce Lawrence notes that this is one of the earliest uses of the term “fundamentalism” in relation to Islam (Defenders of God, p. 272).


11. The five principles of pancasila are (1) belief in the one supreme God; (2) just and civilized humanity; (3) the unity of Indonesia; (4) democracy led by the wisdom of deliberation among representatives; and (5) social justice for the whole of the people of Indonesia. It is to be noted that the 1945 Jakarta Charter, which contained a special proviso for Muslims (belief in the one supreme God with the duty for all Muslims to follow the syaria [= shari’a, or holy law]), has so far been resisted by the constitution makers.


13. Including the Jama’at al-Muslimin (Muslim Society), linked to Al-Jihad, some of whose members have been on trial in Cairo for their alleged campaign of violence against foreign tourists.


17. The origins of this movement are associated with the religiopolitical activism of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (1839-97). The British scholar Sir Hamilton Gibb identified al-Afghani as the major influence on “more recent popular movements which combine Islamic fundamentalism with an activist political program” (Muhammadanism [New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1949], p. 134). Bruce Lawrence notes that this is one of the earliest uses of the term “fundamentalism” in relation to Islam (Defenders of God, p. 272).


19. For which he used the term jahiliyya, meaning “age of ignorance,” the Islamic term for Arabia prior to the revelation of the Qur’an.

20. The original name of the Jama’at al-Muslimin group came from the Arabic words takfir, meaning “declaring someone an unbeliever,” and hijra, meaning “migration” from an ungodly place to create a righteous community (modeled after the prophet Muhammad’s hijra from Mecca to Medina).

21. Known as the shahada: “I bear witness that there is no god but God; and I bear witness that Muhammad is the Messenger of God.” For discussion of the classic Islamic debate about the standing of a grave sinner within the community of believers, see William Montgomery Watt, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 126ff.


23. In particular his Islam Wa’l-Nasraniya (Islam and Christianity) (Cairo, n.d.), which has yet to be translated into English.

24. My Neighbour Is Muslim, pp. 98-99.
Book Reviews

Toward the Twenty-First Century in Christian Mission.

James Phillips and Robert Coote have edited an excellent collection of essays in honor of Gerald H. Anderson, director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center, editor of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research, and preeminent scholar of the world mission of the church. Toward the Twenty-First Century in Christian Mission surveys the mission of the church from the perspective of ecclesiastical groupings, geographic areas, "foundational disciplines," and current issues. The volume contains a brief biography of Gerald Anderson as well as a select bibliography of his writings from 1958 to 1993. The breadth of the volume honors the wide scope of Anderson's own involvement, which has ranged from Philippine church history to mission theology and trends, mission history, publishing and administration, and serving as president of both the American Society of Missiology and the International Association for Mission Studies.

This exceptional volume contains essays by leading mission scholars, mostly American Protestants of diverse traditions, but also including some Catholics and a good number of non-Americans. The essays are of high quality. Of particular interest is the recent bibliography that accompanies each essay. Just to have the up-to-date thinking and references provided by outstanding missiologists is worth the price of the volume. Noteworthy features of the book include its inclusive approach toward theological differences among Protestants and its refusal to draw artificial distinctions between "Western" evangelism and "non-Western" mission.

Especially helpful is the world survey of Christian mission by region, with key missiological issues highlighted from different parts of the world. The articles on Oceania by Darrell Whiteman, the Commonwealth of Independent States by J. Martin Bailey, and Latin America by Samuel Escobar are particularly insightful. Other vital contributions are those on biblical models of mission by David Bosch, contextualization by Donald Jacobs, mission and affluence by Jonathan Bonk, and Christian-Muslim relations by David Kerr. An additional essay on the missiology of so-called indigenous churches would have been helpful, but essays by Gary McGee on Pentecostal missions and Paul Hiebert on popular religions address the issue indirectly. An essay on mission as liberation written by a non-Westerner would also have been valuable. Quibbles aside, this volume will be a superb textbook for stimulating discussion in seminary mission courses.

—Dana L. Robert

New Evangelization: Good News to the Poor.

With this concise volume Brazilian and former Franciscan Leonardo Boff continues his untiring struggle to renew the church from below. The context for these pages was the controversial "celebration" of the five hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Columbus on American shores. Very sagely, Boff correlates this event with a second major theme: Pope John Paul's call for a "new evangelization" (p. xii). Boff takes the pope at his word and spells out clearly and boldly the shape of this challenge for Latin America, in sharp contrast to the "first evangelization" carried out by the Spaniards and Portuguese during the colonial period.

For this double agenda, Boff provides a wealth of valuable documentation that makes his book an excellent primer on both Luso-Hispanic colonialism and on current Roman Catholic missiology. An opening quotation from a Guatemalan text, Chilam Balam, describes poignantly the Mayan shock and grief over the "Gospel as anti-Gospel" during the conquest. Boff also quotes the infamous "Requirement" read to the Indians (p. 100) and a chilling catechism (Santo Domingo, c. 1510) that blithely informs the natives that all their parents and ancestors are in hell (p. 15). On new currents in missiology, Boff quotes basic passages from Vatican Council II, Evangelii Nuntiandi, Medellin, and Puebla.

Boff argues eloquently that true evangelism must occur within a sincere, open dialogue with the culture being evangelized, including its religion. The triune God is present in the culture long before the missionary arrives; native religions reveal divine grace as well as human sin—which is also all too present in European Christendom. To confuse the Gospel with one of its inculturations, or to identify one image of God with God, is idolatry.

The first evangelization failed, according to Boff, because it was not really sufficiently Christian and evangelical. The new evangelization must involve letting the "evangelized" evangelize the "evangelizers." "The Church stands ever in need of evangelization" (Paul VI, Evangelii Nuntiandi 15).

Specifically, Boff argues that the Roman Catholic Church—especially the hierarchy—must be willing to be evangelized by other Christians (Protestant, Pentecostal, Orthodox) and by the cultures to which it presumes to take the good news (pp. 44-47). Boff argues forcefully for the dismantling of European Christendom and the emergence, through the Spirit, of a genuine "Communitarian Christianity" (p. 118) that will be a culturally authentic incarnation of the good news.

—John Stam

John Stam, a missionary in Central America for over thirty-five years, is Professor of Hermeneutics and Theology at the National University of Costa Rica and the Nazarene Seminary of the Americas, San José, Costa Rica.
Neither Bang nor Whimper: The End of a Missionary Era in China.


George Hood, author of Mission Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China (1988), brings a wealth of credentials to this work. He was missionary for twenty-seven years in South China, Malaysia, and Singapore; one-time secretary for the Council for World Mission (U.K.); and missiologist and historian.

The title is misleading. This is not a historical account of the end of the missionary era in China; rather, it is an account and appraisal of the end of British Protestant mission work in China and is based largely on the records of British Protestant mission societies and leaders in the years following 1949. This is made clear in the author's preface (p. ix). Since, by the author's own statistics, there were only 14 British mission societies out of a total of 109 at work in China (and this does not include Catholic missions, which had more than twice as many missionary priests in 1949 as ordained Protestant missionaries), this book is only a piece of the picture.

One feels the constraints of the narrow focus set by the author. Important ecumenical study groups and conferences on China that were convened both inside and outside Britain, but with the cooperation and participation of persons from Britain during the period covered by this book, are omitted or barely mentioned. Organized efforts and publications by North Americans and Europeans that paralleled the British studies, appraisals, and projects go unmentioned. As it did for the secular community of China scholars, so for the missionary community the "China debacle" (p. 199) generated the greatest burst of analysis and introspection ever undertaken.

George Hood's work is comprehensive and detailed. Chapters 1 and 2 briefly set the historical stage for Protestant missions in China, leading into the main sections, which deal with the response of British mission boards to the termination of mission efforts in China, the redeployment of British missionaries, and the lessons to be learned. His sources, drawn largely from British mission board files, include reports of staff meetings, China study groups, position papers by board executives, and writings by former China missionaries.

Prominent among the last item are works by the late David Paton, respected among church-related sinophiles worldwide. Among the two camps (conservatives and liberals), he took the position "God is at work" rather than "the Lord will overrule." Paton's various writings, and particularly his Christian Missions and the Judgment of God (SCM Press, 1953), guided many former China missionaries to a broader theological and missiological understanding of what had happened, paving the way for a whole new understanding of the "three-self" concept and

PROPOSALS INVITED FOR RESEARCH PROJECTS IN MISSION AND WORLD CHRISTIANITY

The Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut, announces a Research Enablement Program for the advancement of scholarship in studies of Christian Mission and Christianity in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania. Grants will be awarded on a competitive basis in the following categories:

Field research for doctoral dissertations
Post-doctoral book research and writing projects
Missiological consultations (small scale)
Translation of major works of mission scholarship into English
Oral mission/church history projects (non-Western world)
Planning grants for major interdisciplinary research projects

The Research Enablement Program is designed to foster scholarship that will contribute to the intellectual vitality of the Christian world mission and enhance the worldwide understanding of the Christian movement in the non-Western world. Projects that are cross-cultural, collaborative and interdisciplinary are especially welcome. The deadline for receiving 1994 grant applications is December 1, 1993. For further information and official application forms please contact:

Geoffrey A. Little, Coordinator
Research Enablement Program
Overseas Ministries Study Center
490 Prospect Street
New Haven, CT 06511, U.S.A.
Tel: (203) 865-1827
Fax: (203) 865-2857

This Program is supported by a grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts.
principles of indigeneity now universally accepted.

Perhaps one important lesson learned was the need for ecumenical sharing. Hood tells of the short-lived China Study Group of the IMC Research Department, which held a final meeting in London in 1959, adjourning after failing to agree on the format for a China study book. One group member later wrote of the “crying need for an inexpensive book [on] Protestant Christianity in China” (p. 222). At precisely the same time, Francis P. Jones, an eminent American missionary-scholar, was preparing just such a book, The Church in Communist China, which was published in 1962 by the Friendship Press. The 176-page book was used as a major study resource by North American churches that year and remains today an important reference book.

—Donald MacInnis

Guillermo Cook writes and lectures on Latin American religious phenomena in North America, Europe, and Australia. A member of the Latin America Mission and a native Argentinean, he is currently engaged in research on the Protestant churches, and also on Amerindian religiosity in a Protestant context. He resides in Costa Rica.
Juan A. Mackay: Un escocés con alma latina.


We welcome this first biography of John A. Mackay, the brilliant Scottish missionary-theologian. It is well documented and written with affection, clarity, and elegance. John H. Sinclair has touched key aspects of the life of his subject, trying to set each moment of his story within the context of its time and place. In this way he has been faithful to the spirit that was characteristic of Mackay himself, in his teaching and writing.

Sinclair has not kept this quality; however, in the chapters entitled “Perú from 1910 to 1920” and “The Southern Cone, 1926-1932.” As they stand, for the average Latin American reader they are little more than a list of persons and events, which does not convey the unique historical circumstances to which they refer.

Unfortunately the editors have been careless in the proofreading and layout of the book. Several Spanish words are incorrectly spelled, and there are too many inaccurate transliterations of English words and idioms to Spanish. This is to be regretted, especially because Mackay had such a unique command of the Castilian language.

Sinclair states that the name “wee frees” was used to refer to congregations of the Free Presbyterian Church (p. 44). As a graduate from the theological college of the Free Church of Scotland, this reviewer must clarify that actually the name “wee free” was used to distinguish the members of the Free Church of Scotland from those of the established Church of Scotland. Also in our view the success of John A. Mackay as headmaster of the Anglo-Peruvian College (later on known as Colegio San Andrés) in Lima cannot be justly understood apart from the invaluable contribution and the friendly loyalty of W. Stanley Rycroft. Sinclair mentions him four times on pages 88 and 89, but these references do not express adequately Rycroft’s work and influence, which have lasted until today in that school.

Sinclair reminds us that “Mackay considered himself a child of three continents and three cultures: the European, the Hispanic American and the North American” (p. 71). It is to be expected that children from these three continents should contribute to the study of this outstanding Christian, whose life and thought have had a global impact. Sinclair has done his part on behalf of North America.

—Pedro Arana Q.

Pedro Arana Q., General Secretary of the Peruvian Bible Society, is a graduate from the Colegio San Andrés, the school that John A. Mackay founded in Lima, and presently chairs the board of directors of that school.

Dissonant Voices: Religious Pluralism and the Question of Truth.


Harold Netland’s interest in religious pluralism turned seriously academic at Claremont Graduate School under Pro-
Hick. Perhaps it was this opportunity joined to his former missionary work in Japan that motivated this book.

One might assume Netland to have evolved some form of inclusivist position within the context of his study under John Hick. On the contrary, Netland holds to an exclusivist position, which this book defends. He approaches the issue epistemologically, seeking to deal with the problem of conflicting truth claims.

Among the strengths of the book is Netland’s careful treatment of contrasting positions. A paucity of rhetoric is characteristic of Netland’s writing style and his arguments. He considers opposing views and, for the most part, handles them with skill and understanding.

Netland’s perspective on other religions (Shinto, Buddhism, etc.) seems to be based upon what is lacking in them by contrast to Christianity. Whether this is a substantive philosophical concern or simply a matter of having another perspective is not clear. At times Netland wants to say yes to what he finds in other religions, and at other times he wants to say no.

This is an important book for those interested in theology of religions.

—Thomas N. Wisley


Brian Stanley, a British Baptist who lectures on church history in Trinity College, Bristol, England, and who has already written an excellent study on the topic of Protestant missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (The Bible and the Flag [Apollis, 1990]), has now produced another fine volume to mark the bicentenary of the first of the missionary societies that developed out of the Second Evangelical Awakening at the beginning of the last century.

Officially commissioned by the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) to mark the first two hundred years of its life, this work will become the standard work on the subject. In addition to being given access to all the society’s archives, including those not normally available to researchers, Stanley has also used various private collections of letters from previous missionaries and officials of the society, has visited a number of the areas where the BMS has worked in the past or is currently working, and has conducted numerous interviews with retired and serving missionaries.

The result is a work that gives both a broad overview of the activities of BMS missionaries from William Carey up to the present and great amounts of detailed information on projects, people, discussions, conflicts, successes, and failures that flesh out the broad outline and give a balanced picture of the contributions made in many different areas and kinds of work.

Readers who want the broad picture will necessarily skim some of the detail, but those who want detailed information on individual persons, places, and projects will find it. The author manages the vast amount of material without losing sight of the forest for the trees. The author is to be complimented on the excellent, scholarly, and interesting work he has produced.

—R. E. Davies

R. E. Davies is the Senior Tutor at All Nations Christian College, Ware, U.K., where he has taught for over twenty years. A British citizen, he has wide experience in teaching theology in various countries in Eastern Europe.


The editors of this journal chose A History of Christianity in Asia, volume 1, by Samuel Hugh Moffett, as one of the "Fifteen Outstanding Books of 1992 for Mission Studies." It is a monumental, pioneering work, representing the fruit of a lifetime of scholarship on the subject. The author was born of American missionary parents in Korea and was himself a Presbyterian missionary in China and Korea for most of his career until he became the Henry W. Luce Professor of Ecumenics and Mission at Princeton Theological Seminary, where he is now professor emeritus.

Kenneth Scott Latourette, in his seven-volume History of the Expansion of Christianity, focused on the missionaries and the very first national workers in the process of expansion. Moffett is concerned with

Thomas N. Wisley is Professor of International Christian Studies, Tokyo Christian University. Formerly, he taught at Seattle Pacific University and at the Alliance Biblical Seminary, Manila, Philippines. He also served as a missionary with the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Thailand.
Jesus was an Asian, that the church began Gospel reached China with missionaries and what happened after it expanded.

Moffett’s project includes all of Christianity in all of Asia through all of history since the Great Commission was given “on a hill in Asia, at the far western edge of the continent” (p. 4). It is not generally recognized—especially in the West—that Jesus was an Asian, that the church began in Asia, and that Christian missions started in Asia. The author reminds us that the Gospel reached China with missionaries from Persia as early as it reached Scotland with missionaries from Ireland. “The seed was the same,” he says, “The good news of Jesus Christ for the whole world. ... But in Asia. The author reminds us that the Church was the same, “he says, “The good news of Jesus Christ figures hardly ever in the text of a caste-ridden society; myths and legends similar to biblical accounts of the origin, fall, and redemption of man; the absence of any long theological, philosophical, historical, and liturgical traditions and expressions in tribal religions; and above all the person and figure of Jesus Christ. Surprisingly, the name of Jesus Christ figures hardly ever in the text and not at all in the index.

Sociological interpretation of history, though important, has also inherent weaknesses. Any religious phenomenon, such as the spread of Christianity in a given area, needs to be interpreted from different angles and with different hermeneutical tools. Downs seems to be aware of this problem (p. 194). One wonders why he has not carried out his research more along these lines.

—Sebastian Karotempel

Sebastian Karotempel, S.D.B., is Professor of Systematic Theology, Sacred Heart Theological College, Shillong, India, and Editor of the Indian Missiological Review.

History of Christianity in Asia. Vol. 5, pt. 5: Northeast India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.


This study by Frederick S. Downs, Professor of Church History at the United Theological College, Bangalore, is a substantial contribution to the history of Christianity in India. It is a very objective and scholarly interpretation of the impact of Christianity in Northeast India.

The main thesis of the book is that the advent of Christianity has helped the tribals of Northeast India to readjust themselves to the new social, political, and cultural situation arising out of the introduction of the British rule and subsequently the independent Indian administration (p. 209). It may be disputed, however, whether that is the only or the main reason why the tribals embraced Christianity in large numbers.

One could suggest several other factors that may account better than Downs’s hypothesis for the Christianization of Northeast India, including the connotation of tribal and Christian values; the search for wholeness; the emphasis on community in Christian and tribal ways of life; freedom in matters of food; comparatively democratic ways of functioning; emphasis on the basic dignity and equality of persons without the burdens of a caste-ridden society; myths and legends similar to biblical accounts of the origin, fall, and redemption of man; the absence of any long theological, philosophical, historical, and liturgical traditions and expressions in tribal religions; and above all the person and figure of Jesus Christ. Surprisingly, the name of Jesus Christ figures hardly ever in the text and not at all in the index.

Sociological interpretation of history, though important, has also inherent weaknesses. Any religious phenomenon, such as the spread of Christianity in a given area, needs to be interpreted from different angles and with different hermeneutical tools. Downs seems to be aware of this problem (p. 194). One wonders why he has not carried out his research more along these lines.

—Sebastian Karotempel
Salvation Outside the Church? Tracing the History of the Catholic Response.


Francis Sullivan brings to his work on the question of salvation outside the church the lucidity, balance, and insightfulness that marked his earlier work on the magisterium. This current work will be welcomed and well used by all those involved in the study of foundational theology, ecclesiology, and missiology.

Sullivan traces the history of the formulation "outside the church there is no salvation" from its earlier usage among the Fathers. It served to warn baptized Christians against separating themselves from the church. In the course of his historical exposition he gives particular attention to the more rigid interpretation offered by Augustine, the nuanced treatment by Thomas Aquinas, and the decisively triumphal appropriation characteristic of Boniface VIII's Unam Sanctam and the decree of the Council of Florence.

This work is especially interesting as a case study in the development of doctrine. Sullivan skillfully demonstrates how a foundational teaching such as the necessity of the church for salvation develops as the cultural and historical contexts in which it must be understood change. The process manifests the delicate balance of fidelity and vitality that should characterize ecclesial life. There are, however, two areas in which the text is lacking. The first is a chapter, important for the ecumenical discussion, on the scriptural foundation for the teaching. The second is the absence of any references to theologians such as Piers or Pannikar who are struggling with this issue from within cultures shaped by the great non-Christian religions. Their voices need to be heard, as does that of Francis Sullivan.

—William McConville, O.F.M.

William McConville, O.F.M., is President of Siena College in Loudounville, New York. He was formerly director of the Program in Mission and Cross-Cultural Studies at the Washington Theological Union.

The Catholic Church in Peru, 1821-1985: A Social History.


Latin American historians and missiologists welcomed this book when it first appeared in Spanish, in 1988. Now we congratulate the publishers for making it available in English. The evolution of the Catholic Church in Peru during the last two centuries illustrates well what happened also in other parts of Latin America. With this volume historian Jeffrey Klaiber has accomplished well his intention "to fill a lacuna in contemporary studies of that Andean republic" (p. ix). Since 1963 Klaiber has been a Jesuit missionary in Peru, where he is highly re-
This book reflects his immersion among the people, as well as his patient work at church archives across the nation, which has given him a unique grasp of the social and cultural history of the country and the region.

Klaiber’s work on the Peruvian church covers the period after independence from Spain in 1821 up to the first visit of the pope in 1985. Over forty pages of endnotes, bibliography, and reference to sources give an idea of the amount of research on local, regional, and national levels that has accumulated in recent years. Klaiber has incorporated it into ten very readable chapters.

The book opens with a comprehensive summary of the development of the church in Latin America since the sixteenth century. Following methodological insights from Ivan Vallier and Enrique Dussel, Klaiber pays special attention to the way in which “the church in Peru, as in any other place in the Catholic world, was influenced, molded and conditioned by the social milieu in which it exists” (p. 3). He has tried to recover the memory of bishops and priests who worked for the poor. He has documented the course of European and North American missionary orders that brought renewal in our century, as well as the rise of laypeople to key leadership positions and movements as diverse as liberation theology and the Catholic charismatics.

Klaiber does not spare criticism of structural weaknesses, and he does not hide the tensions brought by the application of Vatican II. Ultraconservative Cardinal López Trujillo, when he was still president of the Council of Bishops of Latin America (CELAM), attacked this book violently. That could be taken as a good indication of the quality of the research and the pastoral courage of the interpretative keys used by Klaiber.

Samuel Escobar, a Peruvian, teaches missiology at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia and is Visiting Professor at the Orlando E. Costas School of Missiology in Lima, Peru.

The Transfiguration of Mission: Biblical, Theological, and Historical Foundations.


“The model of mission established by Jesus the Messiah is the prototype for all faithful mission” (p. 12). The thesis of this book, developed collaboratively by six Mennonite scholars over eighteen years, is that there is indeed an authentic biblical expression of the mission of God that is as valid and relevant today as in the days of Jesus the Messiah and the first disciples. It is that of a “messianic community” in whose life the reign of God is actualized, living out the messianic ethic in this world, and in hope anticipating the glorious consummation of God’s reign. While superficially bearing a resemblance to the recent conciliar emphasis on “Mission in Christ’s Way,” this Mennonite vision of the mission of the Messiah is at once more solidly grounded, uses more of Scripture to develop a consistent foundation, and eschews isolated emphases such as “mission among the poor” or “mission at the margins” in favor of a more comprehensive description of the mission of Messiah Jesus.

The title The Transfiguration of Mission refers to Jesus’ critique of the Pharisees’ mission (Matt. 23:15) and his desire not to negate its intention but to purify it of legalistic and propagandistic features and rehabilitate it as a method of recruiting disciples for God’s kingdom. The volume recognizes the inherent risk of distortion and co-optation in all missionary efforts. Indeed, the claims made by the authors for a “neo-Anabaptist” messianic model rest not only on faithfulness to a biblical basis (especially in the Synoptic Gospels) but equally on the fact that the model represented has been tried and tested over many centuries in “the history of that Anabaptist messianic community which knew the intense suffering, persecution and martyrdom of non-resistant powerlessness at the hands of the sacral Christendom” (p. 43), which it dared to challenge as antiChrist. A confessional...
The Overseas Ministries Study Center announces the Doane Missionary Scholarships for 1994-1995. Two $2,500 scholarships will be awarded to missionaries who apply for residence for eight months to a year and wish to earn the OMSC Certificate in Mission Studies. The Certificate is awarded to those who participate in fourteen or more of the weekly seminars at OMSC and who write a paper reflecting on their missionary experience in light of the studies undertaken at OMSC.

Applicants must meet the following requirements:
- Completion of at least one term in overseas assignment
- Endorsement by their mission agency
- Commitment to return overseas for another term of service
- Residence at OMSC for eight months to a year
- Enrollment in OMSC Certificate in Mission Studies program

The OMSC Certificate program allows ample time for regular deputation and family responsibilities. Families with children are welcome. OMSC’s Doane Hall offers fully furnished apartments ranging up to three bedrooms in size. Applications should be submitted as far in advance as possible. As an alternative to application for the 1994-1995 academic year, applicants may apply for the 1995 calendar year, so long as the Certificate program requirement for participation in at least fourteen seminars is met. Scholarship award will be distributed on a monthly basis after recipient is in residence. Application deadline: February 1, 1994. For application and further information, contact:

Gerald H. Anderson, Director
Overseas Ministries Study Center
490 Prospect Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06511
Tel: (203) 624-6672  Fax: (203) 865-2857

Preferential Option: A Christian and Neoliberal Strategy for Latin America’s Poor.


“Opting for the poor in the 1990’s, in short, means opting for the neoliberal development model as the best and most empirically sound model available” (p. 35). In these words, Amy Sherman, editor of Stewardship Journal, succinctly states the book’s thesis.

The book’s intended audience is Christian nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), which Sherman hopes will adopt a neoliberal approach to development, based on “the free-market model,” rather than a statist approach in which “economic controls and the arbitrary rules of government ‘manage’ economic processes” (p. 24). Sherman contends that many Christian NGOs choose a statist model of development because of overdependence on the dependency theory and outdated information that ignores “the renaissance of democratic fervor across the globe” (p. 14).

Sherman draws her arguments in favor of a neoliberal strategy from several sources. First, she presents five lessons learned about development experiments in Latin America. Second, she analyzes the impact of structural adjustment on the world’s poor in the last decade. Third, she “takes her theory for a test drive” and examines three countries—Chile, Bolivia, and Guatemala—which, to differing degrees, are implementing the neoliberal...
strategy for development.

The strength of the book lies in the economic material, which is well documented by statistics and scenarios from many less-developed countries. Unlike the economic material, however, the religious material is poorly researched and insufficiently documented. For instance, Sherman makes a claim about what “biblical teaching on public order suggests” but fails to cite one Scripture reference or one biblical scholar to support the claim (p. 39). Similarly, her primary authorities on religious material are neoliberal Michael Novak and Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, both strong critics of liberation theology, while her bibliography contains no references to any liberation theologian.

—Priscilla Pope-Levison

Striving Together: A Way Forward in Christian-Muslim Relations.


If you are looking for a single volume that adequately introduces the crucial issue of Christian-Muslim relations, Charles Kimball’s Striving Together is for you. A Southern Baptist and professor of religion at Furman University, Kimball earned his doctorate in Islamic Studies at Harvard and served as Middle East director of the National Council of Churches. His knowledgeable book is addressed to Christians who recognize the importance of understanding Muslims and cooperative relations and who “need resources to facilitate constructive engagement with the issues” (p. xiii). To help meet that need, he starts by providing a sound though cursory introduction to Islam and the history of Christian-Muslim relations. He then describes Christian theological options related to the heated issue of religious pluralism, utilizing the now-familiar paradigms of exclusivist, inclusivist, and pluralist. Kimball is carefully descriptive, but in summarizing Hans Küng’s views, he indicates his own desire for “new responses” that are “informed by more accurate and appreciative knowledge of the religious traditions” (p. 84).

Kimball’s “way forward” in Christian-Muslim relations emphasizes educating Christians to understand Islam, deliberate dialogic encounter between Christians and Muslims, and engagement in cooperative social action. He makes helpful comments on the possibility of understanding another religious tradition, the importance of recognizing internal varieties among believers, and the risks of change implicit in learning. His major attention is given to dialogue. Although the quality of interfaith dialogue varies greatly, its beginning marks “a new chapter in the history of interfaith relations” (p. 85), and its value for friendship creation cannot be underestimated. Finally he advocates “moving beyond toleration and minimal levels of civility to neighborly relations, even cooperation” (p. 109), and he is right when he suggests that “practical ways to connect . . . with Muslim neighbors are all around” (p. 120).

This is a balanced and intelligent work that uses simple language and has a practical bent. Because of its broad sweep the study is necessarily introductory, but it well meets the current pressing need for a volume of this type and can be warmly recommended to readers at all levels.

—Roland E. Miller

Gesandt zu heilen! Aufkommen und Entwicklung der ärztlichen Mission im neunzehnten Jahrhundert.


This scholarly book pioneers in writing the history of medical mission in the nineteenth century. The author is theological consultant of the German Institute for Medical Missions in Tübingen, Germany, and convener for the study project on healing sponsored by the International Association for Mission Studies. To compile this comprehensive compendium, he not only studied a great many books (as the sixty two pages of bibliography indicates) but also spent years of research in all the major missiological archives around the globe.
Because of its interdisciplinary character, medical mission is one of the most interesting phenomena of modern mission history. While missionaries of various agencies earlier supplemented their evangelistic ministry with compassionate care and medical activities, the idea of medical mission as a method was conceived by a group of physicians, missionaries, and merchants in China, who in 1838 founded the Medical Mission Society at Canton. Medical, charitable, evangelical, and also commercial motives brought members from different denominations together in this venture. This movement spread soon, at first among Protestant missions, and in the twentieth century also in Roman Catholic orders. This study traces the origins of medical mission, outlines the rise of medical missionary centers in the West, and surveys the practical application of this concept in different continents of the Third World. Attention is paid to famous missionary physicians but also to the work of women doctors and nurses and to the role of indigenous medical workers.

This historical presentation is evaluated by a critical inquiry into the motivations for this healing ministry, which perhaps are as many as there were medical missionaries. In the light of discussions between medicine, theology, and mission in the twentieth century, previous strategic and methodological arguments are discarded in favor of a holistic approach in imitation of Christ in the intercultural context of mission.

—Hans-Jürgen Becken

Hans-Jürgen Becken is a retired Lutheran minister who worked from 1951 to 1974 as missionary and theological lecturer in South Africa. Later he was secretary in the Association of Churches and Missions in South Western Germany (EMS) in Stuttgart, Germany.

Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective.


Being more “eschatological activists” than academics systematicians, Pentecostal missionaries have typically “preached now and published later.” This tendency has been joined by a trend emerging since the mid-1980s: a budding Pentecostal/charismatic missiology. Called and Empowered is an important interpretive contribution to a movement that has its roots in the nineteenth-century “spontaneous missiology of the Spirit” articulated by Roland Allen and A. B. Simpson. Their missiological thought and methodology had much influence on the theology and practice of early twentieth-century Pentecostals, whose activism was eventually distilled into publication by the dean of Pentecostal missiologists, Melvin Hodges of the Assemblies of God, who wrote The Indigenous Church (1953) and A Theology of the Church and Its Mission: A Pentecostal Perspective (1977).

Called and Empowered represents the work of a new generation of Assemblies of God scholars in mission. A total of twelve essays are presented under the umbrella of four perspectives: biblical/theological dimensions, the integration of Gospel and culture, response to non-Christian worldviews, and missiological strategies. A concluding section includes three responses from outside the Pentecostal tradition. The editors are professors at Southern California College in Costa Mesa, California (Assemblies of God).

The strength of such a collection is in its diversity and applicability as a class-
room text. As such, it is a strong addition to the growing number of works that seek to define a distinctive Pentecostal missiology.

It is hoped that the book will be revised and expanded beyond the tribe of one denomination and eventually include more essays from authors other than North American middle-class Pentecostals (only three of the twelve essays are by authors from outside the United States) and will be more representative of women in Pentecostal/charismatic mission (all fifteen articles are written by men). The book, however, is rich enough in content to produce responses and expansions of themes for years to come. Missiologists will welcome the beginnings of a well-researched self-definition by Pentecostals that effectively opens a window to this growing segment of the world Christian family.

—L. Grant McClung, Jr.

L. Grant McClung, Jr., is Coordinator of Research and Strategic Planning for Church of God World Missions and Associate Professor of Missions and Church Growth at the Church of God School of Theology in Cleveland, Tennessee.

For All The Peoples of Asia: Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences Documents From 1970 to 1991.


We are at the brink of the twenty-first century, and some maintain that it will be “the Asian century.” In this perspective, the aspirations and initiatives, the pains of growth, and movements of Asian Christian communities invite—even demand—the interest and reflection of thoughtful Christians throughout the world. This volume of texts provides a privileged resource for such a reflection.

Edited by two prominent Asians, G. B. Rosales (Filipino bishop-theologian) and C. G. Arévalo (Jesuit systematic theologian and missiologist), For All the Peoples of Asia assembles the most important texts issued by the conferences, consultations, and assemblies of the Federation of Asian Bishop’s Conferences since its inauguration by Paul VI in 1970 in Manila. This compendium serves as a sourcebook for comprehending the dynamic development of mission, theology, church, dialogue, and evangelization in Asia’s local churches.

The book contains the uniquely significant documents of the five FABC plenary assemblies held in Taipei, Calcutta, Bangkok, Tokyo, and Bandung. In addition, it also contains twelve documents on interreligious and dialogic matters, seven on social action, and four each on the missionary and lay apostolates. Collectively, they constitute the resources for a perceptive look at the Asian church.

Many topical items are presented: Asian Colloquium on Ministries in the Church, International Congress on Mission, FABC Documents Survey, and others. Two important introductory essays by Catalino Arévalo and Felix Wilfred (members of the FABC Theological Advisory Commission) provide an essential overview and framework for situating the FABC in the world of Asia and for comprehending specific documents. An extensive index is truly helpful in locating common themes dispersed throughout the fifty individual items collected in this volume.

Some minor deficiencies and inconsistencies appear. Yet, the remarkable theological vision that emerges from these documents is filled with great breadth, hope, and courage. Here is an “ecclesiology of the Asian churches” arising from the life, experience, and reflection of Jesus’ disciples in the part of the world that in previous centuries was called the Far East. Reading this collection will be joining the journey that the Roman Catholic communities in Asia have made in the post-Vatican II era.

—James H. Kroeger, M.M.

James H. Kroeger is a Maryknoll missionary and has worked in Asia (Philippines and Bangladesh) for over two decades. Since 1991 he has been the Asia-Pacific Assistant on the Maryknoll General Council.

Facies of Jesus in Africa.


This book is a collection of eleven essays of African theologians, edited by Robert J. Schreiter, professor of historical and doctrinal studies at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago.

The first part gives a broad survey of African Christologies. In the lead article, Charles Nyamiti examines two approaches of African theologians in doing theology—moving from the Bible to African cultural reality, and vice versa. Whatever the approach, Nyamiti argues that Christological reflection must begin from the ordinary Christians’ “understanding of Christ and his relevance to their current problems and aspirations” (p. 19).

Efoie Julien Pennoukou’s essay “Christology in the Village” tries to do
just that. He reflects on the answer that his uncle gave to the Christological question “Who is Jesus for you?” (p. 24). Penoukou then learns from him that African Christology focuses on the functional relationship between Jesus Christ and human beings.

In her essay “Christology and an African Woman’s Experience,” Anne Nasimiyu-Wasike also interviews six African women about “their experiences in relation to Jesus” (p. 72). She concludes that “for African women Jesus Christ is the victorious conqueror of all evil spiritual forces; He is the nurturer of life, and a totality of their being” (p. 80).

The second part of the book focuses on six theologians attempting to discover the true faces of Jesus Christ in Africa. As Anselme Sanon points out, when Africans are able to recognize his face and “find an African name for him” (p. 90), then Christ becomes real to them in their personal and social struggles for their true identity and integration.

All the authors come out with faces of Jesus relevant to the whole life of Africans. The book is a major contribution toward our understanding of Jesus Christ for the African and the world church.

Robert Aboagye-Mensah


Because of the important contribution to past and current mission activity by member missions of the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association (IFMA), this is an important book. Edwin “Jack” Frizen believes in the nondenominational agencies, whose association he led for twenty-eight years. This effort is welcome as his history of “faith” mission agencies.

It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of innovative missionary structures to the church’s missionary task. Frizen begins with detailed, selected snippets as reminders of this unsayable fact. But his championing of faith societies implies connections for the IFMA to any and all agencies of like character. Yet some of the nondenominational agencies that he traces have no historical connection with the IFMA.

Perhaps the greatest value of the book will be for students of mission who will cull the book for facts and supply the interpretive principles his style omits. Some of his listings are seminal typologies for improved practice. This is certainly true of the organizations and patterns on page 399. Other raw data of high value are provided.

But the quasi-journalistic style leaves the reader with puzzles to solve. Frizen deprives us of engagement with his evaluative process. Immersed in the long and noble history he is sharing, he is content simply to state “what is” without marshaling evaluative argument. All “facts” (which sometimes are opinions) appear to have equal weight.

Seventy-Five Years butresses IFMA stances, often by stating them as if they were the only logical or right stance. So this book perplexes by leaving important questions undeveloped. Why is diversity healthy within the IFMA but dangerous outside it (especially when the theme of the concluding chapter is the power of unity as a key to world evangelization)? Why did the IFMA object to Roman Catholics in attendance at the Lausanne Congress in Manila in 1989? His quotation from a World Evangelical Fellowship position paper suffices: “We consider the members of the Roman Catholic Church to be part of our mission field.” This event with Catholics is to be eschewed. But why? They might have conversion experiences equal to the staunchest non-Roman evangelical. And why is a congress with World Vision undesirable? We might have profited from greater rationale.

The style is explained if one assumes that the intended audience is the IFMA set. From within familiar stances, Frizen writes to extend the impact of the agencies he knows and loves so well. But a good editor would have addressed these issues to gain a broader hearing for valuable information.

—Samuel Wilson

Samuel Wilson is Professor of Mission and Evangelism at the Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry, Ambridge, Pennsylvania. He was a Christian and Missionary Alliance missionary to Peru and director of the World Vision International Missions Advanced Research Center. He also served as director of research for the Zwemer Institute of Muslim Studies.
Conversion and Jesuit Schooling in Zambia.


The author, an expatriate Jesuit priest in Lusaka, has written an abundantly documented ethnohistorical study of Jesuit schooling in Chikuni, a central Jesuit mission station among the Tonga in southern Zambia. Its special value consists in interweaving historical description with theoretical issues concerning the interrelationship of education with theologies of conversion, religious beliefs, background of the missionaries, capitalism, and church growth (chap. 1). The study covers a period of seventy five years, from the beginning of Chikuni station (1905) up till 1978, and is divided into three sections: 1905-40, with stress on primary education and keeping traditional Tonga society intact (chap. 3), 1940-64, with the mission’s focus shifting to secondary education and modernization (chap. 4), and 1964-78, with continued emphasis on secondary schooling now in line with national development goals (chap. 5).

The study throughout contrasts three different types of educational ideologies: Catholic, Jesuit, and government with “ideology” understood principally as “the content of thinking characteristic of various groups” (p. 14, n. 57). It is interesting to note that in the colonial period (1905-64), missionaries and colonial government determined the educational policies and programs with different and only partially overlapping objectives, to which Africans could respond, however, only with their own perceptions and aspirations (chap. 3, pp. 84-88). In the period after independence (1964-78), this situation was reversed. The independent Zambian state determined the educational policy and program, to which now the Jesuits had to respond (chap. 5, pp. 109-32). This new policy led to a dissolution of the Catholic school, which required a painful but in a way liberating exercise of redefining Jesuit education, especially regarding the missionaries’ aim of conversion. In this they were greatly aided by the new vistas of the Vatican II Council, which also broadened the content and scope of conversion because of a new position taken vis-à-vis other Christian denominations and other faith traditions.

The author, aware of his parti-pris (p. xvii), is nevertheless critical of his colleagues and their educational work but tends to qualify his criticism in a positive way, perhaps more graciously than a non-Jesuit ethnohistorian could.

The study is deficient in failing to explain why one of the professed aims of forming local priests (p. 16) apparently did not succeed (cf. pp. 137-38). Could the separate Jesuit ideology and the special organizational status of the Jesuit order (p. 99) provide at least a partial answer? In his conclusion the author pleads for greater identification with the poor by becoming corporately poor (p. 142). This approach contrasts with Elizabeth Colson’s last paragraph of her introduction to this study, which stresses the hope of Zambians to “escape from an unchosen poverty so that they can see themselves as respected members of the world community” (p. xxix). Thus the struggle for a right educational vision and program continues.

—Frans J. Verstraelen

Frans J. Verstraelen, Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Zimbabwe, was secretary for lay apostolate and social action, National Catholic Secretariat in Ghana (1965-69), and associate director of the Interuniversity Institute for Missiological and Ecumenical Research (IIMO), Leiden, the Netherlands, 1969-89. In 1973 he did research on the Catholic Church in Zambia, published in An African Church in Transition (Leiden: IIMO, 1975).

Dissertation Notices

Babatunde, Ezekiel Adebola.
“Yoruba Concept of Good Character and Its Implications for Christian Spiritual Formation in Yorubaland of Nigeria.”

Gupta, Paul R.
“Institutionalization and Renewal of Hindustan Bible Institute.”

Hall, John Wesley, Jr.
“Urban Ministry Factors in Latin America.”

Hup, Chung Lian.
Th.D. Chicago: Lutheran School of Theology, 1993.

Im, Peter Yuntaeg.
“Toward a Theological Synthesis of Missionary Discipleship: Foundations for a Korean Missiological Paradigm.”

Janvier, George E.
“The Open and Closed Items for Needs Assessment: Comparison in Nigerian Pastoral Education.”

Olander, Mark A.
“A Study of the Relationship Between Teacher Leadership and Student Motivation in Bible Colleges in Kenya.”

Sterk, Vernon Jay.
“The Dynamics of Persecution.”

Weiss, Raymond Ernest.
“The Emotional/Affective: Revealer of Cultural Dynamics.”
INDEX—VOLUME 17

January through October 1993

(pages 1-48 are in the January issue;
pp. 49-96 in April; pp. 97-144 in July;
and pp. 145-192 in October)

ARTICLES

Can a House Divided Stand? Reflections on Christian-Muslim Encounter in the West, by Lamin Sanneh, 17:164-68.
Crusade or Catastrophe? The Student Missions Movement and the First World War, by Nathan D. Showalter, 17:13-17.
Ferrin, Howard W. [Obituary], 17:75.
The Legacy of Lewis Bevan Jones, by Clinton Bennett, 17:126-129.
The Legacy of Lottie Moon, by Catherine B. Allen, 17:146-52.
Noteworthy, 17:30, 74-75, 167.
Pew Charitable Trusts Announcement (missions research programs), 17:74-75.
Research Enablement Program Grant Awards for 1992, 17:74-75.
The Student Foreign Missions Fellowship over Fifty-Five Years, by H. Wilbert Norton, Sr., 17:17-21.
Themes of Pentecostal Expansion in Latin America, by Karl-Wilhelm Westmeier, 17:72-78.

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES

Allen, Catherine B.—The Legacy of Lottie Moon, 17:146-52.
Bennett, Clinton—The Legacy of Lewis Bevan Jones, 17:126-29.
Cragg, Kenneth—Prepositions and Salvation, 17:2-3.
Norton, H. Wilbert, Sr.—The Student Foreign Missions Fellowship over Fifty-Five Years, 17:17-21.
Sanneh, Lamin—Can a House Divided Stand? Reflections on Christian-Muslim Encounter in the West, 17:164-68.
Showalter, Nathan D.—Crusade or Catastrophe? The Student Missions Movement and the First World War, 17:13-17.
Westmeier, Karl-Wilhelm—Themes of Pentecostal Expansion in Latin America, 17:72-78.
BOOKS REVIEWED

Anderson, Gerald H., Robert T. Coote, and James M. Phillips, eds.—Mission in the 1990s, 17:79.
Barker, John—Christianity in Oceania: Ethnographic Perspectives, 17:81.
Bonk, Jonathan J.—Missions and Money: Affluence as a Western Missionary Problem, 17:44.
Covell, Ralph—Mission Impossible: The Unreached Nosu on China’s Frontier, 17:83.
Crockett, William V., and James G. Sigountos—Through No Fault of Their Own? The Fate of Those Who Have Never Heard, 17:93-94.
David, M. D.—The YMCA and the Making of Modern India (A Centenary History), 17:141.
Dickson, Kwesi A.—Uncompleted Mission: Christianity and Exclusivism, 17:86-87.
Downs, Frederick S.—History of Christianity in India, Vol. 5, pt. 5: Northeast India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 17:179.
Fischer, Friedrich Hermann—Der Missionsarzt Rudolf Fisch und die Anfänge medizinischer Arbeit der Basler Mission an der Goldküste (Ghana), 17:39.
Garrison, V. David—The Nonresidential Missionary: A New Strategy and the People it Serves, 17:32.
Gilliland, Dean S.—The World Forever Our Parish, 17:42.
Hamnett, Ian—Religious Pluralism and Unbelief: Studies Critical and Comparative, 17:35.
Hood, George—Neither Bang nor Whimper: The End of a Missionary Era in China, 17:175.

Linthicum, Robert C.—City of God, City of Satan: A Biblical Theology of the Urban Church, 17:44.
Moran, Gabriel—Uniqueness: Problem or Paradox in Jewish and Christian Traditions, 17:85.
Morris, Merrill—Kosuke Koyama: A Model for Intercultural Theology, 17:140-41.
Ogden, Schubert M.—Is There Only One True Religion or Are There Many? 17:135-36.
Renck, Günther—Contextualization of Christianity and Christianization of Language: A Case Study from the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, 17:87-88.
Samartha, S.J.—One Christ—Many Religions: Toward a Revised Christology, 17:36.
Sander, John—No Other Name: An Investigation into the Destiny of the Unevangelized, 17:93-94.
Sandoval, Moises—On the Move: A History of the Hispanic Church in the United States, 17:34.
Schreiter, Robert J., ed.—Facies of Jesus in Africa, 17:185-86.
Shorter, Aylward—The Church in the African City, 17:37.
Stults, Donald Leroy—Developing an Asian Evangelical Theology, 17:40.
Tracy, David—Dialogue with the Other: The Inter-religious Dialogue, 17:88-89.
vander Laan, Cornelis—Sectarian Against His Will: Gerrit Roelof Polman and the Birth of Pentecostalism in the Netherlands, 17:89.

Van Engen, Charles—God’s Missionary People: Rethinking the Purpose of the Local Church, 17:80.
Zwief, Mary—Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii, 17:134.

REVIEWERS

Aboagye-Mensah, Robert, 17:185-86.
Anderson, Gerald H., 17:82, 135-6, 178-79.
Arana, Pedro Q., 17:177.
Bailey, Martin J., 17:45-46.
Bays, Daniel H., 17:134.
Becken, Hans-Jürgen, 17:183-84.
Bromley, Myron, 17:87-88.
Campbell, William S., 17:40-41.
Carey, E. F., 17:33.
Carroll, Ewing G., Jr., 17:83.
Cook, Guillermo, 17:176.
Copeland, E. Luther, 17:38.
Costa, Ruy O., 17:34.
Cotterell, Peter, 17:42-43.
Crim, Keith, 17:92-93.
Davies, R. E., 17:178.
Drummond, Richard H., 17:36, 140-41
Dyreness, William A., 17:41-42.
Elmer, Duane, 17:43.
Elwood, Douglas, 17:40.
Feldsend, John H., 17:185.
Fuller, W. Harold, 17:37.
Geyer, Alan, 17:80-81.
Greenway, Roger S., 17:44.
Grundmann, Christoffter, 17:39.
Guder, Darrel L., 17:80.
Hiebert, Paul G., 17:85-86.
Hogg, William Richey, 17:79.
Hooker, Roger, 17:36-37.
Hultkrantz, Åke, 17:84.
Karotemprel, Sebastian, 17:179.
Kirk, Andrew, 17:86-87.
Lacy, Creighton, 17:141.
Machniss, Donald, 17:175-76.
McClung, L. Grant, 17:184-85.
McConville, William, 17:180.
Miller, Roland E., 17:183.
Murray, Jocelyn, 17:142.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

Dissertation Notices [from the U.S.], 17:46.
Dissertation Notices [from the U.S.], 17:94.
Dissertation Notices [from the U.S.], 17:187.

BOOK NOTES

Sign up now for 1994 Spring Semester Seminars

OMSC

“Where a cross-fertilization of learning takes place.”

—Rev. Peter Joseph, Myanmar Council of Churches, Myanmar (Burma)

Andrew Ross
Jan. 17-21
“How to Avoid Cross-Cultural Pitfalls.” Dr. Ross, University of Edinburgh, OMSC Senior Scholar in Residence, deals with miscommunication of the Gospel. $95

Darrell Whiteman
Jan. 24-28
“Culture, Values, and Worldview.” Asbury Seminary’s missionary anthropologist shows how worldview impacts cross-cultural mission. $95

Andrew Ross Jan. 17-21
“How to Avoid Cross-Cultural Pitfalls.” Dr. Ross, University of Edinburgh, OMSC Senior Scholar in Residence, deals with miscommunication of the Gospel. $95

Darrell Whiteman Jan. 24-28
“The Gospel in a Pluralist Society
Reading week, Feb. 7-11, targets Lesslie Newbigin’s most important work. Discussion Thursday and Friday. (No tuition)

William Fore
March 1-4
“Mass Media in Mission.” Former President of World Association for Christian Communication assesses impact and potential of Western media in the Third World. Cosponsored by Mennonite Central Committee. $65

Sakhi Athyal
March 7-11
“Assessing Third World Missions.” Dr. Sakhi Athyal, Union Biblical Seminary (India), surveys a burgeoning movement, with special focus on the role of Third World women in church and mission. Cosponsored by Mission Society for United Methodists, SIM International, and World Evangelical Fellowship. $95

Maria Rieckelman, M.D., and Donald Jacobs
March 14-18
“Passages” in Missionary Life.” Two veterans—one a Roman Catholic and the other a Mennonite—guide a time of renewal through biblical and personal reflection. $95

Carroll Stuhlmueller
March 21-25

Bryant Myers
April 5-8
“Evangelism and Development.” The director of MARC/World Vision helps us move toward more holistic mission. Cosponsored by American Leprosy Missions and World Vision. $95 (Note Tuesday morning start.)

Kenneth Mulholland
April 18-22
“Missionary Career Development.” Dean of Columbia Biblical Seminary and Graduate School of Missions outlines key decisions and stages of your overseas service. $95

Harvie Conn and Luis Cortes
April 25-29

Paul Hiebert
May 2-6
“Missions and Spiritual Warfare: Myth, Superstition, and Reality.” Cosponsored by Christian Reformed World Missions, Eastern Mennonite Missions, Latin America Mission, Samford University Global Center, and Southern Baptist FMB. $95

Attend both April 5-8 and 13-16 for combined fee of $145. Free room during break between seminars.

Merrill Ewert and Evvy Hay
April 13-16
“Community Health Care and Development.” Third World development specialists from MAP International conduct this important workshop. Cosponsored by MAP and United Church Board for World Ministries. Wed.-Sat. $95

Dear Friends at OMSC:

☐ Register me for these seminars ☐ Send more information

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Publishers of INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH

Overseas Ministries Study Center 490 Prospect St., New Haven, CT 06511
Tel: (203) 624-6672 Fax: (203) 865-2857
**Book Notes**

**Aaker, Jerry.**  
*Partners with the Poor: An Emerging Approach to Relief and Development.*  

**Braybrooke, Marcus.**  
*Pilgrimage of Hope: One Hundred Years of Global Interfaith Dialogue.*  

**Engel, James F., and Jerry D. Jones.**  
*Baby Boomers and the Future of World Missions.*  

**Ferris, Elizabeth G.**  
*Beyond Borders: Refugees, Migrants, and Human Rights in the Post-Cold War Era*  

**Gifford, Paul.**  
*Christianity and Politics in Doe’s Liberia.*  

**Gittins, Anthony.**  

**Greenleaf, Floyd**  
*The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean.*  

**LaVerdiere, Eugene, ed.**  
*A Church for All Peoples: Missionary Issues in a World Church.*  

**Mather, George A., and Larry A. Nichols, eds.**  
*Dictionary of Cults, Sects, Religions, and the Occult.*  

**Schubert, Esther.**  
*What Missionaries Need to Know about Burnout and Depression.*  

**Sider, Ronald J.**  
*One-Sided Christianity? Uniting the Church to Heal a Lost and Broken World.*  

**Smith, Donald K.**  

---

**In Coming Issues**

**Protestant Theological Education in the Former Soviet Union**  
Mark Elliott

**Archival Sources in Britain for the Study of Mission History**  
Rosemary Seton

**The Global West and the Missing Categories**  
H. Dan Beeby

**Encounters with “Culture” Christianity**  
Wilbert R. Shenk

**State of the World’s Children: Challenge to Mission in the 1990s**  
Bryant L. Myers

**The 1888 London Centenary Missions Conference: Ecumenical Disappointment or American Missions Coming of Age?**  
Thomas A. Askew

**In our Series on the Legacy of Outstanding Missionary Figures of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, articles about**  
Horace Allen  
Henry G. Appenzeller  
Charles H. Brent  
Claudius Buchanan  
Amy Carmichael  
Donald Fraser  
Melvin Hodges  
J. C. Hoekendijk  
Adoniram Judson  
Hannah Kilham  
Johann Ludwig Krapf  
Lars Peter Larsen  
Robert Mackie  
Constance E. Padwick  
John Philip  
Timothy Richard  
John Ritchie  
Friedrich Schwager  
Charles Simeon  
William Taylor  
Franz Michael Zahn