Is the curtain going up on a new mission to Western culture? Bishop Lesslie Newbigin is credited with sounding the call for a fresh analysis of what is involved in addressing the Gospel effectively to the West. The first rustlings of the curtain may be dated to 1983 when Newbigin’s *The Other Side of 1984* was published in Great Britain. In response, Princeton Theological Seminary provided Newbigin with a North American platform by inviting him to give the 1984 Warfield Lectures, where he asked, “Can the West Be Converted?” (INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN, January 1987).

One can follow the developing thesis in the editorial themes of this journal:

“The Gospel and the Western World” (January 1987)

“Modernity and the Everlasting Gospel” (October 1988)


Newbigin contributed to each of these issues of the BULLETIN, and he does so again in the present issue.

We lead with “Ecumenical Amnesia,” Newbigin’s assessment of *Ecumenism in Transition*, a recent book by Konrad Raiser, the new general secretary of the World Council of Churches. Then comes Dan Beeby’s “A White Man’s Burden, 1994,” having to do with “the worm” (Western secular culture) in “the rose” (the Gospel as Western missionaries carried it overseas). Beeby echoes Newbigin’s earlier critique: “We are in the midst of a dying culture” (April 1989). And, for a third perspective, Wilbert Shenk’s “Encounters with ‘Culture’ Christianity” brings into focus attempts by Western church leaders of previous generations—figures as varied as John Wesley in the eighteenth century, Søren Kierkegaard in the nineteenth, and Cardinal Archbishop Suhard of Paris in the twentieth—to confront the sickness of Western culture.

Other features of this issue—including David Barrett’s “Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission”—will provide equally stimulating reading.

And then readers may want to return to the theme of “mission to Western culture.” One question raised and seemingly left unanswered in this issue is this: If we are literally in the midst of a dying culture (Newbigin, 1989), and if the all-important worldview categories for communicating the Gospel no longer function in Western secular culture (Beeby), and if the best attempts to challenge Western “culture” Christianity in the past three centuries have had little impact (Shenk), wherein lies the hope for the West? Is the answer to Newbigin’s original question, “No, the West cannot be converted”? As Charles West concluded in an earlier dialogue with Newbigin (October 1988), “We need to work on it further.”
Ecumenical Amnesia

Lesslie Newbigin

Ecumenical Movement - A Paradigm Shift in the Ecumenical Movement?
Paperback SF 15/$9.95/£5.95.

This is, by any reckoning, an important book. Konrad Raiser has an intimate knowledge of the working of the World Council of Churches (WCC) over the past twenty-five years that few can match, and as the recently appointed general secretary, he will certainly have a big part in shaping its future course.

Raiser identifies areas of uncertainty that have created an impression of crisis in the ecumenical movement. These are about its goals (church unity, the tension between the struggle for justice and the search for reconciliation, and the quest for a spirituality adequate to the Christian’s calling), about its methods, and about whose movement it is—the churches’, the ecumenical organizations’, or the mushrooming grass-roots movements’. Raiser senses a profound paradigm shift (following Thomas Kuhn) from what he calls “Christo-centric universalism” to a Trinitarian model, which has as its counterpart the concept of conciliar fellowship within the whole human household, the oikoumene. Raiser sees the Uppsala Assembly (1968) as the point at which there was a decisive break from the old paradigm and the beginnings of a vision of the new. This Uppsala meeting symbolized “the expansion of the ecumenical perspective universally to all humanity” (p. 54).

Christo-centric universalism is indeed a true description of the dominant model in the formative days of the WCC. W. A. Visser’t Hooft, whose mind was more influential than that of any other in shaping its early development, loved to speak of the ecumenical movement as the work of the one Good Shepherd who draws to himself the members of his flock in order that he may draw all people to himself. From early days there have been criticisms of this model, notably that of H. Richard Niebuhr, though these did not always offer a Trinitarian model as an alternative. During my involvement in the integration of the International Missionary Council with the WCC, I was working with this model, but I became convinced that a full Trinitarian theology was needed for an adequate missiology; I thus published, shortly after the New Delhi Assembly, a book with the title Trinitarian Faith for To-day’s Mission (1963). But a Trinitarian perspective can be only an enlargement and development of a Christo-centric one and not an alternative set over against it, for the doctrine of the Trinity is the theological articulation of what it means to say that Jesus is the unique Word of God incarnate in world history. Of course Raiser knows this well, but one has to ask whether, in his development of his thesis, the truth in the former paradigm is developed or obscured. A review of three areas of ecumenical activity as discussed in the book will help to answer this question.

The Form of Church Unity

Raiser fears that the Christo-centric model has given rise to a model of unity that is hierarchical and potentially oppressive. “The Lordship of Christ over the Church and the World”—the title of one of Visser’t Hooft’s works—suggests a model of unity that, in Raiser’s view, requires institutional structures of power. The model of the Trinity suggests a different kind of unity, of which the ecclesiastical form is conciliarity and the method is dialogue—not dialogue as a means to an end, but as a way of life—in fact “the sharing of life.”

The statement of the New Delhi Assembly, which pointed to full organic union as the goal, was not acceptable to the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches because it was described as “God’s gift and our task,” something still to be realized. For these Christian traditions unity is already a fact present in their life. Here, says Raiser, the old model breaks down. The new model offers the possibility of seeing the WCC itself as having ecclesial reality because it is a conciliar fellowship of churches that can also be in a relation of conciliar fellowship with the Roman Catholic Church, even though the latter is not a member. (Raiser does not refer to the statement of the Nairobi Assembly that defined conciliarity as a relation between churches that are themselves locally united, thus maintaining the New Delhi emphasis on “all in each place.”)

I agree with Raiser in his opinion that the WCC cannot simply stay with the Toronto Statement of 1950, which affirmed the absolute neutrality of the WCC in respect of the varying ecclesiologies of its member churches, but I do so for a different reason—which I stated in my comment on the Toronto Statement at the time (Ecumenical Review, April 1951, pp. 252-54). The WCC cannot be permanently neutral about the form of Christian unity because it is itself a form of Christian unity, and it is the wrong form. It must move, I then argued, in the direction of full organic union. Raiser, in contrast, wishes to acknowledge the kind of unity that now exists among member bodies of the WCC as a proper form of ecclesial being.

In a brief article it is impossible to do justice to Raiser’s whole treatment, but I want to raise the central questions about the consequences for ecclesiology of putting a Trinitarian model against a Christo-centric one. At the heart of the church’s life is the Eucharist, as Raiser constantly and rightly insists. But what does it mean to share in the Eucharist? It is the memorial of Christ’s passion and his action in making me a participant in that passion so that I may be a participant in his victory. Surely the heart and mind of the one who receives the body and blood of Christ is overwhelmed by the sense of absolute obligation to Jesus. “I have been crucified with Christ, yet I live; yet not I but Christ lives in me, and the life I now live I live by faith in the Son of God, who

Lesslie Newbigin, a contributing editor, was a bishop in the Church of South India. He was general secretary of the International Missionary Council at the time of integration with the World Council of Churches in 1961. He is now retired in London. This article has also appeared in England in One in Christ, vol. 29, no. 3 (1993).
loved me and gave himself for me” (Gal. 2:20). That overwhelming obligation to the one who gave himself for the sin of the world is surely at the heart of the being of the church. Raiser speaks often of the incarnation but not about the atonement. I miss this deep sense of that absolute sovereignty over my heart that Jesus has won, which makes it intolerable that I should be unable to share the Eucharist with everyone for whom Christ died. That is how I understand “Christo-centric universalism.”

Of course it is vital that we remember that Jesus did not seek to take control of world affairs but lived and died in total love and obedience to the Father whose rule is over all. And of course it is vital to recognize that the Spirit whose presence Jesus promised to his church is not domesticated within the church but is free and sovereign to range far beyond what the church knows and does—yet always proving to be the Spirit of the Father by leading men and women to acknowledge the Son. We do need the full Trinitarian framework for proper understanding. But there can be no true understanding of Christian unity that fails to have at its center the mercy seat, that place where—at inconceivable cost—our sins have been forgiven and we are able to meet one another as forgiven sinners who must embrace one another because we have been embraced by the divine compassion in Jesus Christ.

Let me suggest three ways in which this bears on Raiser’s thesis. First, it is right to see the Blessed Trinity as the true paradigm, to recognize that ultimate reality is not to be understood in monistic terms but in terms of relationship. All things and all human realities are to be understood not in terms of the smallest atomic units that can be identified by analysis but in terms of their mutual relationship. But one cannot transfer the mutual indwelling, the communion of the persons of the Blessed Trinity, directly to the life of the church. The church is a body of forgiven sinners who are still sinners even though forgiven. There is lordship and discipleship within the church. When Jesus washed the feet of his disciples, he did not renounce lordship but defined it (John 13:12-14). The same passage warns the apostles that their authority must be exercised in the same way, but it does not deny their authority. The church cannot be understood as a wholly unstructured fellowship whose authority resides within itself.

Second, this also has a bearing on the understanding of dialogue. It is true that at the end of his book Raiser speaks of dialogue in terms of the “struggle for truth,” but in the major part of his work he strongly rejects any instrumental view of dialogue and sees it as “the sharing of life.” This is uncomfortably reminiscent of a great deal of contemporary talk about the “richness of diversity,” which is proper in respect of some aspects of human life but not proper when it is merely an expression of indifference to truth. In the contemporary breakdown of the self-confidence of “modernity” and the widespread acceptance of a total fragmentation in human perception (a reaction against the Enlightenment project for the universal rule of human “reason”), this kind of language must be challenged. From the beginning, I believe, there has been at the heart of the life of the WCC the challenge to accept mutual correction in the light of God’s revelation of himself in Jesus Christ as witnessed in the Scriptures. If this mutual correction gives way to the relativism of postmodern culture and dialogue is seen simply as the “sharing of life,” something has gone badly wrong.

Third, Raiser seems to say that the New Delhi picture of organic union as “God’s gift and our task” has failed because it comes up against the Roman Catholic and Orthodox conviction that the unity that God wills and gives is already fully present in
their own ecclesial life. No one can deny the reality and the strength of this position or the formidable barrier that it presents
to any talk of organic union. But if we view this in the perspective
of the whole history of the ecumenical movement, we shall recog
nize that we are here not dealing with something new but with
the most formidable example of that which the ecumenical
movement has faced from its beginning. No one can with integ
rity be a member of a Christian church without believing that this
is the church of Jesus Christ. All of us begin our ecumenical
journey with the belief (even if not too openly stated) that the
others must come to see the reality of the church as we have been
brought to see it. We do not and cannot begin by making a

Mutual recognition and coexistence evade the pain
of mutual criticism and correction.

distinction between our Christianity and our churchmanship.
Yet, as barriers crumble and we begin to meet other Christians at
a deep level, we are compelled to acknowledge the reality of the
presence of Christ in other communions.

Everything now depends on how we interpret this situation.
One way is to settle for mutual recognition and coexistence, for
a relationship of conviviality but not of total mutual commit
ment. This is the easy way, which evades the pain of mutual
criticism and mutual correction. It calls for no reformation. It is
cheap, and (one is bound to say) it almost inevitably tends to
reduce the value of what it deals with. It risks making the
question of truth less serious than it is.

Another way, the opposite of this, is to insist that Christian
document is an integral whole, no part of which can be surren-
dered without corrupting the whole, or at least that there are
"essential" elements that can never be compromised.

But there is a third possibility, and it depends absolutely on
the centrality of Christ and his atoning deed. It is to see the entire
Christian church as a company that lives only by the grace of God
to sinners, a company that does not possess in any of its divided
parts the fullness of what is "essential" but that God nevertheless
in his mercy sustains as witness to and foretaste of his blessed
reign.

This third way of understanding creates the possibility and
the necessity both of radical mutual criticism in light of what we
believe to be God's intention for his church and of mutual
acceptance as those who have been accepted by God in his mercy
to those who fall short of his purpose. I know, of course, that this
way of understanding the movement toward unity is not now
acceptable either to Roman Catholicism or to Eastern Orthodoxy,
but I believe it is the only dynamic that can keep the ecumenical
movement moving. I think it would be the signal for a halt, for an
abandonment of the true goal of the journey, to settle for a
conciliatory that does not continue to call all Christians to the goal
of full communion in the Eucharist, and therefore to a life of full
mutual commitment—however far we may yet be from seeing
precisely what the form of that unity must be.

At each of these three points it will be seen that the (literally)
crucial matter is the centrality of Jesus and his atoning work on
the cross, that work by which he has won lordship over the
church and the world.

The Church in the World

For Raiser the Uppsala Assembly of 1968 symbolized "the expan
sion of the ecumenical perspective universally to all humanity"
(p. 54). This is a remarkable statement in that it illustrates Raiser's
almost total neglect of the missionary factor in the ecumenical
movement. It is often forgotten that the title originally adopted
during the planning stages of the 1910 Edinburgh conference
was "The Third Ecumenical Missionary Conference." The mod
ern ecumenical movement was born out of the vision of a whole
world brought to Christ as Lord. The famous watchword that
fired the ardor of the first pioneers was "The evangelization of
the world in this generation." It was a vision for all humanity, or
it was nothing. But this vital formative factor in the birth and rise
of the ecumenical movement is wholly absent from Raiser's
vision.

One could almost agree with Raiser in taking Uppsala as the
point of crisis for the former paradigm because it was the occa
sion of an almost total denial of that vision. For me the most
painful experience of that assembly was the struggle of the
section on mission to overcome the almost implacable resistance
of the drafting group to include any reference whatever to the
duty of the church to bring the Gospel to those who had not heard
it. My other most vivid memory is of the whole assembly listen
ing with rapt attention while the singer Pete Seeger sang that old
mockery of the Christian eschatological hope "Pie in the sky
when you die." I had never thought that the WCC could sink to
that level of banality, but it was typical of the utopian enthusiasm
of that gathering.

Raiser is very rightly concerned to remind us that the word
oikoumene refers to the whole inhabited world and not the church.
He quotes the statement of the Rolle meeting of the Central
Committee (1951) that stressed this point (p. 84), but (as the one
who drafted that statement) I cannot forget that it was John
Mackay (then chairman of the International Missionary Council)
who insisted on this point. Raiser develops the vision of the
oikoumene as the household, consisting of "men and women
struggling to become what they were intended to be in the
purpose of God" (p. 85).

But the necessary distinction between church and world is
obscured. The word "solidarity" is constantly used rather than the
word "love," and this is surely a sign of the problematic
character of the vision here offered. Love, if it is first love toward
God and then toward the other, is compatible with the call to

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repentance and the offer of forgiveness. "Solidarity" suggests a
too-naive acceptance of all human struggle as being directed
toward the will of God. For Raiser the task of the church is not to
Christianize the world but to change it (pp. 104-5), and it is the
oikoumene (not the ecclesia) that comes down as a city from heaven
(p. 87).

Raiser, of course, is absolutely right to protest against an
ecclesiocentric concept of mission, as though the church were the
author and the goal of mission. But this whole vision is too much
shaped by the ideology of the 1960s with its faith in the secular and in human power to solve problems. The thesis is heavily marked by a model not explicitly referred to but tending to dominate the WCC from Uppsala onward, a model that interprets all situations in terms of the oppressor and the oppressed and that tends to interpret the struggles of the oppressed as the instrument of redemption. This model owed not a little to Marxist thought, and the collapse of Marxism as a world power has created a new situation with which the WCC has to come to terms.

It is one of the most pressing tasks for the immediate future to rediscover a doctrine of redemption that sees the cross not as the banner of the oppressed against the oppressor but as the action of God that brings both judgment and redemption for all who will accept it, yet does not subvert the proper struggle for the measure of justice that is possible in a world of sinful human beings. And this leads to my third concern.

Mission and Evangelism

One of the most important documents produced by the WCC in the past three decades was entitled “Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation.” This was developed during the years 1976-81, and was approved by the Central Committee in 1982. In his wide-ranging study of the work of the WCC, Raiser does not mention this document; it is briefly referred to in a quotation from the Roman Catholic ecumenist Thomas Stransky. Indeed this total amnesia in respect of the missionary and evangelistic work of the churches is (for me) the most remarkable feature of the book. Raiser speaks much of the basic significance of the confession of faith and baptism as the realities that must be the foundation for the ecumenical movement. Yet there is no sign of any concern about the fact that the great majority of the world’s people have not made this confession and have not been baptized. It is surely important to ask about the means by which people may become Christians. It is here that the thoroughly Eurocentric character of the book becomes clear. No one shaped by experience of Asian and African religions could have written this. When Raiser says that “awareness of religious pluralism is a development of the last twenty years” (p. 57), it is clear that we are speaking within the horizon of European culture. The profound experience of the missionary movement over the past two or three centuries is ignored.

I have to confess to a deep personal concern here, for if the vision for the WCC that this book represents were to be realized, then the bringing of the International Missionary Council into the WCC would have to be judged as having been a mistake. The two other original components of the WCC—Faith and Order, and Life and Work—each took for granted the existence of the churches and challenged them in respect of their disunity and of their social irrelevance. It was part of Visser ‘t Hooft’s “Christ-centred universalism” to insist not only that the lordship of Christ must relativize all denominational divisions and challenge the domestication of the churches within Western society, but also that it must challenge the church as such to accept its worldwide missionary obligation and not to leave that task to other bodies. To allow the worldwide missionary and evangelistic calling of the church to disappear from the agenda of the WCC (as this book effectively does) is much more than a “paradigm shift.”

I do not wish to deny the elements of truth in the vision that so captivated the 1960s. I tried to acknowledge these in the little book I wrote at the time (Honest Religion for Secular Man). And I do not want to endorse all that is done by the churches and move-
A White Man’s Burden, 1994

H. Dan Beeby

It is nearly fifty years since I went as a young, very English missionary to China. I went with others to “pick up the pieces” after a “spot of bother” with Germany and Japan. We went “to get things back on the rails again”—the old rails. “We” had won the war. Right had triumphed, and British missions were free again to take up where they had been interrupted in their splendid work. The aircraft carrier in which we traveled to Hong Kong had called at Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said, Aden, Bombay, Colombo, Penang and Singapore—all, in various ways, controlled by Britain. Then, finally, there had been a pleasant sail by British ship from Hong Kong to Amoy, where British planes were defeating Chinese mosquitoes by spraying the place with DDT. Admittedly, it was the French who ran the Chinese post office, but the British ran the customs. There was a British consul on Kulangsu, and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank was functioning as it should.

The “white man’s burden” might have slipped a teeny bit since 1939, but it was still in place. British missions were back in business, God was in his heaven, and all was right with the world. “We” (and God) were back to normal. Of course, like everybody else in South China, we heard of rumbles up north, but we were not greatly troubled. Was not Chiang Kai-shek’s father-in-law a Methodist preacher? Old Chiang would take care of things. Nothing to worry about.

Now, as I reflect on those sunlit days of callow innocence, two thoughts are uppermost in my mind. First, I ask how is it possible that so much could have happened and so many changes have taken place in under fifty years? That thought is neither original nor surprising. Perhaps my second one is at least surprising because it comes wrapped in a deep conviction—a conviction that as a European white man, I still carry a very great burden.

Although traditional religions were opposed to Christ, the worldview categories demanded by Christianity were all there.

have regrets, shame, and remorse because I am human, but my guilt has been borne away. My burden is quite, quite different. I want to discuss it in the hope that it might be shared; if it is not already shared, I would like it to be.

Questions That Summarize the Burden

At various times I took three questions overseas. I thought about them mainly in South Korea, China, and Taiwan, but what I learned would have been much the same in Hong Kong, Singapore, and the Philippines. Perhaps also in Kenya, Ghana, Chile, and elsewhere. The questions are:

1. Why are European churches, which have been so successful in “foreign” missions in the past, almost helpless when it comes to home mission in the present?
2. If European churches are sick, will the sickness spread to the flourishing churches to which Europe helped give birth in Asia, Africa, and the Americas?
3. Assuming that there is a sickness and it is not terminal, how do we cure it?

European missionaries in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries went to traditional cultures that almost without exception were opposed to the Christian message. Conversions to Christianity did not come easily. Why should they? The people were religious and had their own religion. Temples, shrines, idols, priests, and shamans were everywhere. Food, maybe, was scarce, but there was no scarcity of divinities and incense to burn to them. The world’s religions had their revelations and scriptures, their gods and goddesses, their heavens and hells. There were lords and evil spirits in abundance. There were places of worship, and every kind of worship was found in them. The people were clear about what was right and wrong, good and bad, true and false. They knew what was permitted and what was taboo, and they had a pretty good idea of what was “the done thing” in every circumstance. What need had they of the god of the white man?

But the preachers preached, and slowly converts came, despite all opposition. Why did converts come? For many reasons of course, but let me attempt an answer that focuses on the worldviews of traditional societies. I believe worldview is near the nub of my three questions and indeed is a clue to most of the answers.

The traditional divine revelations were opposed to Christ, but the culture did not deny revelation. The gods were different and inimical to Christ, but the culture did not deny that there was an all-powerful heaven. History, inasmuch as the idea existed, was not controlled by Christ, but nevertheless it was understood to be controlled by forces outside itself and beyond human existence. The demons were not Satan and the protective forces were not angels, but the places that Satan and the angels occupied were firmly established. The categories demanded by Christianity were virtually all there.

In other words, although the cultural opposition was very strong, it was “surface” opposition. Deep, deep down the cultural door was ajar, and the Gospel entered and flourished, and it is still flourishing.

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But will it continue to flourish? Will those churches throughout the so-called developing world continue to develop? Will their cultures in fifty or a hundred years' time still permit the Gospel to enter? Will the necessary categories still be there, or will they be precluded?

The Problem: Western Culture

Increasingly the world's culture is Western. The "pluralism" that exists is being forced into an ever-narrowing private sphere, while the public domain becomes more and more the same; that sameness is Western sameness.

The world is becoming Western or modern—even postmodern—not primarily because of imperialism but because it wants the things Westernization can give it. All countries want a higher standard of living, welfare states, stock exchanges, BMWs, and so forth. Supermarkets, department stores, and factories are identical with those in the West. Schools and text books assume what Western counterparts assume. Universities teach with the same post-Enlightenment presuppositions that are found in the West.

This does not happen without regret, even self-hatred, as people see their own cultures being gradually transformed into Western culture. But a process that provides what the vast majority want will not be stopped by nostalgia and a little self-hatred. Humanly speaking, the world is heading for a monolithic, West-engendered future.

So, what has this to do with churches growing or not growing? The churches in the homelands of those early European missionaries are now sick and in their dotage. When Christians from the "younger" churches visit their "mother" churches, they are frequently shocked and puzzled. They often ask, "Why are we, the offspring of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European schools and universities, our factories and farms, our banks and politics—almost everything public—function without reference to revelation, deity, heaven, creation, redemption, miracle, prayer, worship, judgment, confessed absolutes, and eternal life. If the deep-down door of the European mind has been closed and has shut out the Gospel, will the same happen in the rest of the world—in Korea, Taiwan, Kenya, Papua, and the uttermost parts of the world?

Are we facing one world with one culture, and that culture Western secular culture? And will that culture be totally devoid of the categories that are integral to Christian belief? Will it preclude at the deepest level the dimension that, to the Christian, is the ground of all existence and meaning, all morality, truth, and hope—the dimension of a creating and redeeming Trinity?

What Can Be Done?

The questions I took overseas are still with me and will remain with me. I found no simple answers, but I did find a growing certainty that they are some of the right questions and that something can be done about them.

Our European churches will continue to decline and shrink into the margins of life unless we grasp the need for mission to Western culture. In the last two hundred years we have accepted the disastrous separations of public and private, of fact and value, of faith and knowledge, and of subjective and objective. We have accepted pluralism without detecting polytheism, made gods of toleration and ever-growing economies, talked of secularism, atheism, agnosticism, and materialism without seeing them as camouflage for idolatry. We have gelded the faith and expected our mission to be fruitful.

There is a sickness, and it is infectious. Along with the Gospel that we preached, we helped take overseas the germs that may eventually stifle its growth. In some of the younger churches there are already signs that the disease is beginning to spread. Our mission schools, unknowingly, planted roses that already had the worm in them.

Is there anything that we, the descendants of the early missionaries can do, apart from talking about sharing, partnership, and interfaith dialogue? We have a mission to warn—to ask the world's church to see where we have failed, failed to see how we were so unprepared for the worm in the rose. We have a mission in Christ's name to beg the churches of the wider world to prepare for the assault on Christian faith that will come from Western culture.

But we are not only missionaries, we are men from Macedonia. We stand in Europe in the midst of a faltering church and say, "Come and help us." We who would evangelize Europe, who so little understand our own culture, ask you to help us understand. Perhaps you who, wisely or unwisely, are adopting our culture will see more clearly its true nature, its good side and also its destroying side. Come and help us understand this global culture with its closed doors and missing categories and help us learn how to "save" it with the power of Christ. Help us with your clearer eyes, with your stronger faith and confidence. The wonderful boat of modernity that looks unsinkable might be another Titanic, and we are all in it together.

Burdensome Questions, 1994

So, this white man's burden of 1994 is a double one. It is the burden of a present declining church in the West and the possibility that sometime in the future similar decline will affect churches throughout the world that are now growing and triumphant. A double burden, and yet a single major problem, the solution of which demands a mission to culture.

If interest and support are forthcoming, I want to go back to the Far East (the new West?) and ask some more questions in seven countries: South Korea, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong,
Singapore, the Philippines, and Japan. This time I wish to ask a few church leaders, who will have been briefed a little and who are prepared to be pestered, the following:

1. To what extent is your church aware of cultural changes in your society at the deepest presuppositional level?
2. Is it possible that the traditional assumptions, axioms, and beliefs of your society are being gradually supplanted by those of the modern and postmodern West?
3. Are you aware of the rapid decline of the traditional churches of the West and, if so, do you agree that a major factor in that decline is the European cultural revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
4. Is it possible that the cultural impact that has affected unprepared Western churches might in the future affect yours in a similar way, and if so, are you willing to consider means of resisting such an effect if and when it comes?
5. If the problem of declining Western churches and the possible threatened decline of your church are intimately related because of an increasingly common culture, would you share in an ecumenical movement to investigate the issues involved and to make proposals for a joint mission to culture, should one be started?

If the journey is made and the questions asked, more journeys might follow and (who knows?) proposals may be made for new missions—missions to Western culture—initiated, funded, and sustained by the old “mission fields” now become the “new West” and the new “sending churches.”

Encounters with “Culture” Christianity

Wilbert R. Shenk

The relationship of Christian faith to culture is a lively concern today. By virtue of its role in extending the faith worldwide over the past two centuries, the modern mission movement helped thrust the issue before the entire church. The appropriation of the Gospel by an ever-growing variety of peoples has reinforced the conviction that every people has the right to hear, embrace, and live out the faith in its own cultural idiom. Perforce this puts before us with new urgency what the proper relationship is between faith and culture. It is being raised with particular insistence with regard to Christian faith and modern or Western culture, for this is the only culture historically to be distinguished from society. Citizenship in society was synonymous with membership in the church, and baptism was a religiopolitical rite. It is quite another matter to judge the extent to which this religiocultural amalgam is truly Christian and can be deemed a faithful instrument of the reign of God in the world.

It is salutary to recall that long before these signs of eroding influence were patent, there were those who questioned the aptness and utility of claiming that Western culture was Christian. Since the Protestant Reformation it has been accepted that a tributary of minority dissent has established itself over against the ecclesiastical mainstream precisely at this point. Such dissenters were typically stigmatized as being sectarian. But there has also been significant dissent within the established or mainstream churches, directed at the fundamental issue of the nature of the church in relation to the world. This witness has typically been rebutted and squelched.

A Christian Culture?

People speak rather easily of “Christian” culture as though its meaning is self-evident. It is an ambiguous notion. The New Testament gives us no framework for thinking in these terms. There the emerging messianic community seeking to be faithful to the reign of God revealed in Jesus the Messiah continually encounters the other kingdom, which is not submitted to God’s will. The whole of the New Testament is shaped by this reality.

The faithful community is given no license to believe that its future will be secured by any power other than the power God demonstrated in the crucified and resurrected Messiah. Already in the Old Testament the reader has been amply warned against putting confidence in a religiocultural synthesis based on political power as a way of guaranteeing fidelity to God. On the contrary, the prophets preach about an unconventional order which Christianity gained recognition as the religion of state, which Christianity was described as Christian culture. Yet today it is clear that Christian faith continues to lose authority in what has been its heartland for more than fifteen hundred years.

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The Unfinished Task: Christian or Christendom?

Stephen Neill

5. If the problem of declining Western churches and the possible threatened decline of your church are intimately related because of an increasingly common culture, would you share in an ecumenical movement to investigate the issues involved and to make proposals for a joint mission to culture, should one be started?

If the journey is made and the questions asked, more journeys might follow and (who knows?) proposals may be made for new missions—missions to Western culture—initiated, funded, and sustained by the old “mission fields” now become the “new West” and the new “sending churches.”

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and culture. Again, this achievement came at the end of a long buildup and was followed by disintegration. With such a paucity of historical cases at hand, Neill does not advance his case with any self-confidence.

He then turns to the question: How “Christian” was England, one of the leading powers in later Christendom? Neill argues that at most one can speak of a “near synthesis” in two brief periods. The first of these occurred during the second half of Queen Elizabeth’s reign in the sixteenth century, when there was a rapid diffusion of the Bible among the English people. A second near-union happened during the Victorian Age, when the impact of the Evangelical Revival was felt in many ways, including the spread of education among the masses, so that most villages and towns had primary schools with the Bible as the basis of education. Church attendance was at a peak, and people were hearing the Bible read regularly. It is noteworthy that in both of these instances the Bible was the active agent in bringing Christian influence to bear on the wider culture.

The rapid decline of religious influence in English culture can be linked to the rise of a new generation of writers and novelists—including George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, and John Galsworthy—who were either ignorant of the Bible and the Christian tradition or hostile to it. Recently it has been observed that British high school students who today understand Milton and Dante are not the direct descendants of the Anglo-Saxons but the sons and daughters of recent Muslim immigrants. Religious language and symbols out of monotheistic faith traditions continue to function in their universe of discourse.

A leitmotiv running through the modern period is the bankruptcy of Christendom as an expression of Christian reality. It shows up in studies of literature, history, theology, and sociology. What follows are vignettes of people from other periods who perceived that a more fundamental question begged to be addressed. The voices we will hear are not those of Dissenters and Nonconformists, whose identity was staked on their critical reaction to Christendom, and who could therefore be dismissed as sectarianists. Rather, we will pay particular attention to a series of witnesses who saw themselves as loyal members of the established church but believed that that very fealty required them to inveigh against its captivity to the status quo.

Stephen Neill saw signs of a “Christian culture” only twice in the past two thousand years.

John Wesley and the Working Masses

On August 24, 1744, John Wesley preached at the University of Oxford. On average, as a fellow of Lincoln College of the university, he was called upon to preach every three years and had a reputation for drawing larger-than-usual audiences. On this occasion he took as his theme “Scriptural Christianity.” He had not come to tickle the ears of his auditors. Indeed, he felt compelled to confront a situation he deemed intolerable.

Drawing a sharp contrast between the lifestyle of University of Oxford men and the life of true Christian piety as set forth in the Scriptures, Wesley characterized his audience—both faculty and students—as being guilty of gluttony, avarice, luxury, sensuality, drunkenness, and pride. As he reached the climax of his argument, he posed several rhetorical questions: “Where does this [Scriptural] Christianity now exist? With what propriety can we term any a Christian country, which does not answer this description?” Wesley exhorted his audience: “Why, then, let us confess we have never yet seen a Christian country upon earth.”

Retribution came swiftly. The university vice-chancellor immediately sent for Wesley’s sermon notes, a signal that his sermon was being officially reviewed. Wesley had breached all etiquette. Never again would he be invited to preach at Oxford.

When Wesley was born in 1703, the nation was in crisis. Britain was still in the aftermath of its civil war. The feudal system, at the heart of which was the intertwining of church and state, was crumbling. The Enlightenment dynamic was permeating all areas of human existence, unsettling established ways and encouraging people to pursue new ones. Eighteenth-century society was undergoing many changes, and the culture was in upheaval. The industrial revolution was gaining force, and as the century wore on, the privileged few would enjoy unprecedented prosperity while the masses sank ever deeper into poverty.

The Church of England’s Convocation, the official assembly where affairs of church were dealt with, had long been suspended. The church was quite unprepared to respond to the changing situation with its pressing new pastoral needs. The hierarchy refused to adjust the outdated system to accommodate itself to the pastoral challenge of the thousands of people who were drawn to the growing urban centers.

Wesley deliberately directed his ministry to the masses beyond the pale of the church, fully conscious that the church had neither the will nor the imagination to go to the people. In this Wesley presents an important contrast with his fellow evangelists. George Whitefield and many others evangelists of the eighteenth century chose not to challenge church structures to the extent Wesley did. They found their audiences largely among the rising middle class and the lesser nobility.3 No other movement in the eighteenth century reached the working class as did Wesley’s.

Other features of John Wesley’s strategy for breaking free from the bonds of Christendom in order to reach the masses who were alienated from the Christian faith are worth noting. Wesley insisted on a plain, direct style of communication so as to be fully accessible to ordinary people.4 In contrast to the church, which refused to make structural adaptations, he organized new believers into cell groups or class meetings to provide spiritual nurture and social support. Wesley quickly became an advocate for the working class, writing many letters to newspapers commenting on oppressive social and economic injustices. In 1772 he wrote a letter that appeared in several newspapers on the causes of unemployment and rising prices: “Why are pork and poultry and eggs so dear? Because of the monopolizing of farms, as mischievous a monopoly as was ever introduced into these kingdoms. The land which was formerly divided among ten or twenty little farms enabled them comfortably to provide for their families but is now generally engrossed by one great farm . . . . How can the price of wheat be reduced? By prohibiting for ever that bane of health, that destroyer of strength, of life, and of virtue, distilling.”5 Because of Wesley’s peripatetic life, he was undoubtedly one of the best-informed observers of life in the British Isles in his day. His words carried authority.

If we compare the lifework of Wesley and Whitefield, an important contrast emerges. Whitefield was noted for his flam-
boyant style and powerful preaching, but in retrospect his impact must be judged more ephemeral. In failing to contest the ecclesiastical structures, Whitefield showed how conventional

Wesley reached thousands for whom the established church was not an option.

he was. His influence was felt primarily within the church. Wesley reached thousands for whom the established church was not an option by effectively constructing an alternative community of social and spiritual welfare.

Søren Kierkegaard’s Attack on Christendom

Few can match Kierkegaard for his impassioned critique of Christendom, especially in his writings from the last two years of his life, 1854-55. Like Wesley in England, Kierkegaard was thoroughly offended by the hypocrisy of the hierarchy of the Danish state church, the mechanical routine of church religion, and the subservience of the church to culture. He decried “this prodigious castle in the air: Christian states, kingdoms, lands; this playing with millions of Christians who reciprocally recognize one another in their mediocrity, yet are all of them believers . . . Christianity simply does not exist . . . . The sort of men who now live cannot stand anything so strong as the Christianity of the New Testament.” Kierkegaard insisted that “Christendom” rested on two lies: it domesticated Christianity to worldliness, and then it interpreted the absence of all persecution of the faith as progress. “The fact is,” he said, “that there is nothing to persecute.” Kierkegaard’s legacy is that of a powerful if solitary voice that turned the spotlight on the state of the church of Christendom. In his own time he had little impact on the church.

A. F. Winnington-Ingram: Mission to East London

During Easter term of 1895, Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram, head of the Oxford House in East London, delivered six lectures on pastoral theology in the Divinity School, Cambridge University. His presentations included an appeal on behalf of the Anglo-Catholic Mission to East London, a work that dated from 1856.

Winnington-Ingram, subsequently bishop of London, 1901-39, was not a profound thinker, but with a pastor’s passion he described conditions in East London at the end of the nineteenth century. East London left the observer with the overwhelming impression of overcrowding. It was reported that housing was in such short supply that typically a worker, his wife, and several children had to make do with a single room. A four-room house would be occupied by four families, who had to share cooking and toilet facilities. For the church this meant that parishes were too large to allow for adequate pastoral care. Besides the masses of working-class people, other classes inhabited East London, and the sense of class divisions ran deep.

This had direct implications for the church. Winnington-Ingram was well aware that “mixed up with this class feeling, there is the feeling against the church . . . the Church is largely looked on still as the Church of the higher class, and as being always conservative.” This left the church effectively marginalized from the masses. Winnington-Ingram reported that city dwellers were a “hotbed of all kinds of curious opinions,” by which he meant secularism and unbelief. Often enough people embraced esoteric ideas as a way of acting out their antipathy for the church.

In Winnington-Ingram and his cohorts one meets deep empathy for the people of East London, counterposed to their own deep-seated pride of class. He argued that it was as unreasonable to try to “convert” working-class people to “Church ways” as it was to expect such people, who worked ten- to fourteen-hour days, six days a week, to turn out on Sunday morning to attend mass. And yet essentially he and his Anglo-Catholic Mission offered to East London the standard church program.

In making his appeal to Cambridge students to join the mission, Winnington-Ingram emphasized that this was a true frontier of “new country and treading fresh ground: It is not that the Church of God has lost the great towns; it has never had them.” In Winnington-Ingram one meets heroic compassion and pastoral concern.

East London attracted missions from both Anglo-Catholic and evangelical Anglicans. An impressive outpouring of people and other resources continued for more than 100 years. Those who have evaluated it, however, judge it to have been a remarkable failure. This missionary effort failed precisely where Wesley had succeeded. It never successfully engaged and responded to the class barrier. The missions continued sending in “gentlemen” and “ladies” whose goal it was, like that of Henry Higgins, to transform all the Eliza Doolittles of East London into proper English ladies and gentlemen.

Winnington-Ingram said that the church had not lost the great towns; it never had them.

Emergence of the Working Class

The foregoing summary of the mission experience in East London is better understood if set within a wider frame of reference. A European working class with its own identity was fully formed by the end of the nineteenth century. Religion played an uncertain role in working-class life. In some areas religion was an important part of identity, but more typically the working-class ethos was at odds with church, state, and employer. In other words, the working-class ethos was a mechanism for coping with the powers of the larger society.

The city was the scene of overt “dechristianization.” But we will be misled if we treat the process as a simple, straightforward development; in fact, it consisted of several strands. Several models are required if we are to understand the varieties of dechristianization. One model describes groups that were not Christian in their traditional villages and who remained outside the church after moving to the city. A second group consisted of working-class people who in the city were increasingly alienated from their traditional moorings in the church. Some of these people moved into the political left-wing. Third, the French Revolution of 1789 directly encouraged working people to embrace democratic and egalitarian ideals. These ideals were more easily joined to humanist philosophy than to the traditional church. Secularism had particular appeal in this circumstance. In
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all three cases, the city provided little, if any, incentive to the working class to consider the church.

Where the dechristianization process was an important force, the church remained largely unadapted to the urban milieu. As emerging political ideologies emphasized class, it became increasingly difficult to bridge class differences in the church. This further weakened the church’s credibility in modern society.

As the twentieth century began, a new sense of crisis marked Western culture. The German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche gave a particularly gloomy prognosis and propounded the philosophy of nihilism. World War I only compounded the disillusionment over the failure of the doctrine of unlimited evolutionary progress. Because the church of Christendom was so deeply implicated in modern culture, few loyalists saw any alternative except to stay aboard the sinking ship. There were a few visionaries, however, who are worth paying attention to.

Walter Hobhouse’s Call for a Missionary Ecclesiology

One of the most remarkable treatises on church and world in the early twentieth century is that by Walter Hobhouse, The Church and the World in Idea and History, which he delivered as the Bampton Lectures for 1909 in Oxford. Hobhouse left no doubt that he considered the present crisis in the church to be the direct result of the fundamental compromise the church had entered into, beginning with the conversion of Constantine. Hobhouse offered an elaborate analysis of the historical outworking of this primal compromise and proposed that reform of the church must begin with repentance of this ancient error, combined with a recovery of the original missionary character of the church. Hobhouse argued that the missionary character is normative for the church.

In important ways this was a more constructive, if less forceful, “Attack on Christendom” than that of Kierkegaard. But no one was listening, and Hobhouse’s witness seems to have had no impact on his own Church of England or the wider Christian movement.

Karl Barth’s Conversion from Culture Christianity

In 1909 the young Karl Barth completed his theological studies at Bern, and he became pasteur suffragant under Adolf Keller in Geneva, in the very church in which John Calvin had held forth. Barth quickly noticed that hardly any one attended worship. He often preached to no more than a dozen parishioners. One day Barth visited a sick, elderly man in the parish. When Barth asked him to which church he belonged, the man responded resentfully: “Pastor, I’ve always been an honest man. I’ve never been to church, and I’ve never been in trouble with the police.” Barth recognized instantly that this man was representative of vast numbers of people in that society. When he became pastor at Safenwil in 1911, Barth found the same basic pattern of scant attendance at worship services and disinterest in church religion. In this context Barth was forced to reconsider the “culture Christianity” represented by the liberal theology in which he had been trained and to struggle to recover an experience with the God who transcends culture but meets us in our cultures. Barth’s later passionate opposition to German National Socialism and his sensitivity to the demonic dimensions of modern culture can be fully understood only in light of his personal encounter with the bankruptcy of Christendom.

Cardinal Suhard and Mission to Modern Culture

When Emmanuel Suhard became archbishop of Rheims in 1930, he observed the social and spiritual conditions of the proletarian class with alarm. He concluded that the church must respond to two overriding issues: (1) the challenge of modern thought to faith, and (2) the social and spiritual poverty that pervaded the lives of peasants and workers. Suhard resolutely rejected the view that European culture was Christian. He believed that the masses were largely outside the church, but he recognized that the traditional methods on which the church had long relied were discredited precisely with these people. He commissioned surveys that showed plainly that France contained regions that were totally unchurched and resistant to the church, although the adjoining province or region might be a stronghold of traditional Catholic religion. He learned that behind these contrasts lay important historical developments. Regions resistant to Christianity were often those that had been forcibly Christianized. In the modern era they had reasserted their true colors. Their resistance was rooted in deep resentments over these ancient happenings in which they had been victimized by church and state.

When Suhard was made cardinal archbishop of Paris in 1940, he immediately turned his attention to the spiritual and social conditions of the great metropolitan area. He was shocked by the evident dechristianization of the metropolis. In 1942 Suhard founded the Mission de France with the intention of training missionaries for service in France. He encouraged Abbe Godin to get on with what eventually became the worker-priest movement. Godin was coauthor of the controversial book France, a Mission Land? (1943), which put forward a vision, shared by Cardinal Suhard, for primary evangelization of France.

Suhard of course could not find such a mission without approval from the Vatican. And the Vatican was not happy with these initiatives and later would throttle the worker-priest movement. To have endorsed them would have been to admit that Europe was indeed not Christian. On Suhard’s deathbed in May 1949, he received from Pius XII provisional approval of the constitution of Mission de France. Suhard had challenged the central assumptions of Christendom; the Vatican dampened this initiative.

A footnote to this episode may be added. In 1948, Jesuit P. Ivo Zeiger, inspired by the Godin-Daniel book, proposed that German Catholics adopt the slogan “Germany a missionland.” But German Catholics declined, arguing that Germany could not be compared with France. But not all Germans in the period after World War II agreed with this assessment. At the 1956 Special Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany, Superintendent Guenter Jacob said: “Alert minds characterize the Christian situation in Europe today in this way: that the end of the Constantinian age has arrived . . . . The Constantinian alliance marked the betrayal of the genuine style of the Church of Jesus Christ, which according to the view of the New Testament is to be in this world a course of suffering from the contradiction and resistance of the world. After the end of illusions about the Constantinian era, and in return to the early Christian witness, we have no right to appeal
to the state for privileges and monopoly in support of the Gospel." This remained a minority viewpoint, however.

A range of issues begs to be explored. Certainly one of the most important is that of evangelism in modern culture. In Stephen Neill’s study referred to earlier, he makes an important observation. Evangelists such as D. L. Moody, R. A. Torrey, and others could assume their audiences had a certain amount of background in the Christian faith. Their main task was to awaken personal response and lead people to make a commitment. But it is impossible to operate on such an assumption today. Neill uses the Billy Graham crusades as his example. He is careful to give Graham full credit and expresses his appreciation for Graham’s ministry. He notes that the vast majority of those who attend his crusades and respond have some connection with the church and the Gospel already. But Neill argues that Graham’s message and method cannot be the answer for reaching the masses of people who have no personal acquaintance with the church or things Christian. In this sense the church in the modern world is facing a situation for which there is no historical precedent.

**Summary Observations**

Running through these vignettes is the theme—in the phrase of Hans Hoekendijk—of “morphological fundamentalism.” That is to say, since the sixteenth-century Reformation, the church has strongly resisted adaptation to its changing environment. Especially since the emergence of the Enlightenment, the church has been on the defensive and reactive. And yet this has been a period of extraordinary intellectual, technological, political, and economic development. The only point at which the church has attempted to sustain major initiative has been on the international scene through the modern mission movement. “Morphological fundamentalism” remains a present reality.

It is noteworthy that Scripture has played a crucial role in the vitality and renewal of the church. We do not have an adequate assessment of what this has meant in the past, but we are aware of the steady decline in biblical literacy in the present generation. It will be a special challenge to learn what the possibilities are for a recovery of Scripture in a media-dominated culture. But it clearly is an issue we cannot ignore.

Fundamental change happens in a context of profound cultural and socioeconomic crisis. The Reformation in the sixteenth century took place in a time of profound crisis. John Wesley’s time was marked by crisis. Kierkegaard’s Europe was still quaking from the challenge of the French Revolution. The twentieth century has been a period of sustained, multidimensional crisis.

Crisis occurs when the convicitional center is gone. In the words of W. B. Yeats, a culture is in crisis when “the centre cannot hold.” If the source of coherence and legitimation is weakening and disappearing, the whole culture falls into disarray.

One manifestation of this crisis for the church is the progressive marginalization of the church over the past three centuries. In other words, as the worldview that defines modern culture has been modified and religion/church has been pushed to the periphery, the church has lost its bearings. The overwhelming urge has been to make peace with the culture in order to preserve a place in it. Every evidence is that this compromise is proving fatal. John Wesley rejected the way of compromise, and the result was remarkable innovation that had spiritual, social, political, economic, and cultural consequences.

Lesslie Newbigin’s challenge to the church seems to me to be fundamentally right. The reign of God always poses radical questions to the plausibility structure that shapes a culture. Unless the contemporary church learns to understand and challenge the reigning plausibility structure of modern secular culture, it will be engulfed by that culture and consigned to irrelevance.

**Notes**

5. Ibid., p. 6.
7. Ibid., pp. 277, 279.
11. Ibid., p. 22.
12. McIlhaney, Gentleman in Every Slum, chap. 5.
14. A thorough study of this crisis is that by Dutch historian Jan Romein, The Watershed of Two Eras—Europe in 1900, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1978), chap. 32, ”Babel and Bible,” which ends as follows: “The religious crisis at the turn of the century produced two failures. The first, the failure of modernism, led to a permanent decline of faith in the absolute authority of the churches; the second, the failure of the church to identify itself with the social reform movement, has, on the contrary, helped it to remain an important social factor to this day” (p. 493).
18. Reported by Gustave Bardy in his foreword to Menschen werden Christen: Das Drama der Bekehrung in den ersten Jahrhunderten (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1988). I express thanks to Alan Kreider for bringing this work to my attention.
Protestant Theological Education in the Former Soviet Union

Mark Elliott

Little can be said on the subject of formal Protestant theological education for most of the Soviet era because, for almost the entire history of the USSR, it did not exist. Between 1917 and 1928 Soviet authorities closed all fifty-nine Russian Orthodox seminaries and the four Orthodox academies. Between 1944 and 1947 eight Orthodox seminaries and two academies reopened, but only three seminaries and the two academies survived the Khrushchev antireligious campaign of 1959-64. Following the wartime Soviet annexation of the Baltic States, western Ukraine, and western Belorussia, the Kremlin closed almost all Catholic seminaries, allowing only one in Lithuania and one in Latvia to remain open.1

As for Protestants, the Evangelical Christians and the Baptists jointly operated two Bible schools in Leningrad and Moscow from 1924 to 1928, while Adventists maintained two Bible schools in Kiev (1921-29) and Rostov-on-Don (1925-29). Also, in the 1970s and 1980s Lutherans had use of a small theological institute in Tallinn, Estonia. Prior to glasnost, that was the sum of the story.2

For many decades the only training available to would-be evangelical pastors was trial-and-error pulpit practice and pastoral apprenticeship under a senior presbyter. Even tutorial reading programs were extremely difficult to manage because of the scarcity of Christian literature.

In 1945 newly united Evangelical Christians-Baptists (ECB) gained permission to publish Bratskii vestnik (Fraternal herald), the first Protestant periodical since the 1920s. General Secretary Alexander Karev and Assistant General Secretary A.I. Mitskevich saw to it that this sole publication for the ECB faithful included a maximum of didactic articles for the instruction of pastors. The initial monthly print run of 3,000 increased to 6,000 in 1974, and to 10,000 in 1978. Since for decades the circulation was too small even to provide every pastor with a subscription, each copy circulated widely. Also, it was not uncommon for Bratskii vestnik to be read from the pulpit prior to services.3

A number of ECB pastors from the Baltic States who had received Bible school or seminary training prior to Soviet annexation of their countries made significant contributions to Bratskii vestnik and hence to informal theological education. Estonian Oswald Tiark, with a master’s of theology degree from New York’s Columbia University, not only contributed to Bratskii vestnik but organized seminars and correspondence courses and wrote commentaries on Mark, Romans, and Ephesians, which circulated in Russian as well as Estonian.4

Four pastors studied at a Baptist college in England, 1957-59, and twenty-three others studied abroad in England, Germany, Sweden, and Canada from the late 1960s to 1976. But these few allowed to study abroad could in no way satisfy the huge need overall for evangelical theological education.5

In the 1950s the All Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (AUCECB) quietly prepared eight mimeographed courses, which circulated secretly among selected pastors.6 Later, in the 1960s, General Secretary Karev commissioned Alexei Bychkov, a construction engineer and future AUCECB general secretary, to translate into Russian additional materials for correspondence courses.7 Finally, the Kremlin gave permission in 1968 for the AUCECB to launch a correspondence program. This new possibility, clearly a carrot thrown to registered churches even as dissident Baptists were feeling the stick, proved to be a major step forward however modest it might appear from a Western perspective. Texts for the new program came from the 1950s courses, from Bychkov’s translations, from mimeographed Bratskii vestnik articles, and from Moody Bible Institute (MBI) courses.8

Materials from this Chicago-based institution made their way to evangelical Christians in the Soviet Union in 1961 via, of all places, Argentina. The first Russian Bible Institute in the West, which began in Benito, Manitoba, in 1942, and transferred to Toronto, Ontario, in 1943, helped launch a sister school in Rosario, Argentina, in 1944 because of the presence of three to five million Slavic immigrants in the La Plata republics (Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay). Konstantin Lewshenia and Mary Beechik Fewchuk, graduates of Moody Bible Institute who were teaching at the Latin American Russian Bible Institute, and Slavic Gospel Association missionaries Andrew and Pauline Semenchuk, translated MBI correspondence texts for use with their students. Here is the explanation for how essentially Arminian Evangelical Christians-Baptists came to rely heavily on works of a dispensational school for their theological education.9

Authorities limited correspondence enrollment to 100 per year until 1976, when the number increased to 150. By 1979, a total of 272 pastors had completed the correspondence program in dogmatics, exegetics, the Bible, pastoral theology, homiletics, church and ECB history, and the USSR constitution.10 Nevertheless, modest state concessions to registered churches in the 1960s and 1970s could not begin to satisfy pastors’ needs for a better understanding of the Bible and evangelical faith. Only in 1987 did Adventists, through arduous negotiations, secure state permission to establish a residential theological studies program.11 Evangelicals’ pent-up frustrations over seven decades of varying combinations of persecution, repression, and discrimination exploded between 1990 and 1992 in a frenzy of activity leading to the founding of some forty-four additional programs of theological education.12 With few exceptions these Protestant Bible schools and seminaries still lack texts, libraries, permanent faculties, and permanent facilities. Nevertheless, they possess staff with exceptional dedication, infectious enthusiasm, and high hopes, and their students are extraordinarily eager to learn. Many Western

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Between 1990 and 1992, evangelicals in the former Soviet Union founded forty-four new Bible schools and seminaries.
seminaries, with incomparably greater material assets, would be justified in being envious.

Profile of the Present Situation

Nineteen Protestant residential Bible schools and seminaries report 1,667 students currently enrolled in programs of at least one year in length. The eight largest institutions have 100 to 220 students each, while the next eleven in size enroll 18 to 75 students each. (See Appendix.) These figures do not account for scores of institutions for which enrollment data are not yet available. Nor do they include well over 1,000 students receiving instruction in three-week to six-month courses (Victory Bible Institute and Korean Methodist Bible School). And they do not include three thousand pastors studying by correspondence in at least five programs.

The level of instruction in the new residential schools, in the majority of cases, approximates that received in Western, freshman-level college or university courses, simply because few believers under Communism had a chance to receive a university-level education. An increasing number of new believers with higher education may change this, as seems likely, they enter seminaries in increasing numbers.

Protestant theological programs, not surprisingly, tend to be concentrated in larger cities, with the capitals of Moscow, Kiev, and Riga having especially strong enrollments. Several programs have moved, or are moving, to St. Petersburg and Kiev from smaller cities: Logos from Belorechensk to St. Petersburg; St. James from Koresten to Kiev; and Donetsk Bible College from Donetsk to Kiev.

Ukrainian institutions command attention because of their disproportionately large number and size. Ukrainians in the former Soviet Union number 52 million, whereas Russians number 147 million, yet Ukraine has slightly more Protestant seminary students than Russia (606 versus 595). Also, Kiev, which is a fraction of Moscow's size, has a third more Protestant seminary students (381 compared to 281, if the Donetsk school, which is moving to Kiev, is counted in the totals). And Moscow's largest Protestant institution is only the eighth largest in the former Soviet Union.

Before the breakup of the USSR, the strength of Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant churches in Ukraine led William Fletcher to label it the Bible Belt of the Soviet Union. For example, nearly 50 percent of Adventists in the former USSR reside in Ukraine, versus 21 percent in Russia; 50 percent of Evangelical Christians-Baptists reside in Ukraine, versus 33 percent in Russia; and 67 percent of Pentecostals reside in Ukraine, versus 3 percent in Russia. Yet the striking concentration of believers in Ukraine is not matched with available Christian literature, either in terms of quantities published in-country or in terms of materials imported from the West. In 1987-88, for example, only 8 percent of the copies of Scripture published in, or imported into, the USSR were in the Ukrainian language. And in 1992 the United Bible Societies imported two and a half times as many Scriptures and Scripture portions into Russia as they did into Ukraine (1,999,581 versus 777,202). Assuming that Christian literature in general is being supplied in the same proportions, it is easy to see the added burden Ukrainian institutions face in procuring texts and in developing libraries.

As for denominational affiliation, the new schools include some 535 Pentecostal and 530 Baptist students. Lutherans, with over a half million members, would appear to have the least favorable ratio of seminarians to membership. Conversely, Adventists, with approximately 80,000 members, have the most favorable ratio of seminarians to membership.

Even though this investigation focuses on residential centers, it should be noted that a majority of pastors presently are receiving their training through correspondence courses, which will probably be true for several years to come.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correspondence Program</th>
<th>No. Enrolled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biblical Education by Extension (BEE), including 700 ECB pastors in the Russian Republic</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Correspondence Institute (Pentecostal)</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscow Correspondence Bible Institute</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran Theological Institute</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apocalypse (Logos-related interdenominational program in Krasnodar)</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventist</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Higher costs for residential programs, the size of the country, transportation problems, and the difficulty pastors with church and family responsibilities face in leaving home for extended periods necessitate the continuation of strong correspondence programs, at least in the near term. Still, residential programs are in great demand. Many schools can accommodate only a small portion of their applicants.

Priorities of National Seminaries

On February 11, 1993, the Overseas Council for Theological Education and Missions, Peter Deyneka Russian Ministries, and Wheaton College's Institute for East-West Christian Studies sponsored a conference in Moscow attended by thirty-eight Russians and Ukrainians representing twenty-two new Protestant Bible schools and seminaries. In that meeting, seminary delegates expressed more concern for quality, affordable course texts than they did for any other need. For example, Anatolii Glukhovskii of the New Life Theological School in Kiev reported that his students currently had texts for only seven of fifteen courses.

A number of challenges face those who would seek to remedy this shortage:

1. As yet, no single master list exists for Christian titles available in the various languages of the former Soviet Union.
2. Nor does a clearinghouse exist to provide bibliographic control for translations in progress. The potential for waste (and for confusion over copyright issues) was illustrated at the February theological education conference as two schools (Zaoksky and Odessa) reported that each recently had completed translations of William Sanford LaSor's Old Testament Survey.
3. Most titles available in translation are not presently in print, or available copies cannot begin to service present seminary needs.
4. Fewer than 400 Protestant works have been in print in Russian in recent years, and fewer than 100 Protestant titles in Ukrainian. Historians often note that the Reformation
had little or no impact in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Russia, with ramifications to the present day. For example, only in 1992-93 were such Protestant classics as John Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and John Wesley’s *Standard Sermons* being translated into Russian.²

5. Available titles would be suitable for only a limited number of classes, since most are devotional or evangelistic in nature.

6. A number of delegates at the February 1993 conference noted that the quality of translations too often is poor.

7. Many schools as yet lack a sufficiently broad exposure to the range of evangelical literature to ensure the choice of the best texts for varying purposes and levels of instruction.

If texts are in short supply, libraries must be but a dream. Compared with the St. Petersburg Orthodox Seminary and Academy Library, with 300,000 volumes, the largest Protestant collection is the Zoaksky Adventist Seminary, with 12,000 volumes.²³

Other collections presently exist only as projections, or number in the hundreds, or have hefty percentages of less accessible English-language works or less relevant nontheological titles.

If few pastors as yet have had the benefit of a seminary education, it is to be expected that individuals qualified to teach in Protestant seminaries would be especially rare. Consequently, for the time being, every Protestant seminary in the former Soviet Union is relying heavily upon instructors from the West. The vast majority of the guest lecturers teach through interpreters. According to seminary representatives at the February conference, in addition to this handicap, many Western instructors lack sufficient appreciation for Russian, Ukrainian, and Baltic history and culture, a problem that better orientation could help to correct.²⁴

For years to come a serious obstacle to contextualized Protestant theological education in the former Soviet Union will be the lack of indigenous believers qualified for seminary teaching positions. Consequently, the question of how best to prepare Russian, Ukrainian, and Baltic seminary faculty deserves careful study. In recent decades a lack of judicious screening of students for seminary study in Europe and North America has precipitated a crippling Third World theological brain drain. The percentage of seminarians not returning from study abroad is estimated to be as high as 75 percent from Colombia, 85 percent from the Caribbean, and 90 percent from India.²⁵ It is hoped that Western seminaries will keep this danger in mind as they accept students from Soviet successor states.²⁶

### Principles for Moving Forward

Many church leaders in the former Soviet Union already have concluded that lengthy study abroad may prove counterproductive, even assuming students return home. For example, in a recent survey of Protestant theological educators in the former Eastern bloc, World Vision Germany director Manfred Kohl discovered overwhelming support for training in-country and great wariness concerning the consequences of study abroad. (Of forty-eight respondents, twenty-three favored in-country residence programs, twenty-four favored correspondence courses, and only one favored study abroad.) In his 1992 interviews Kohl noted consistent opposition to theological training in the West, which was expressed “very politely, but very strongly.”²⁷ It thus behooves educators and church leaders, East and West, to proceed with caution.

The following six suggestions seem best to take account of present needs and also risks:

1. Encourage study abroad only for especially talented, mature, and dedicated pastors targeted for teaching positions, preferably those who would not bring their families with them to the West. The costs entailed in more trips home would be preferable to the financial and cultural costs of family residence in the West.

2. Utilize extension programs and competency tests to shorten the length of Western instruction.

3. Encourage completion of M.A. programs, rather than longer M.Div. programs or doctoral programs. Doctorates probably will be desired more than they will be needed for at least the first decade of residential seminary education in the former Soviet Union.

4. Encourage Western church and parachurch groups and seminaries and the churches of the former Soviet Union to join forces in establishing perhaps a single Russian and a single Ukrainian graduate-level Protestant theological program in order to foster the contextualization of seminary education and to minimize the theological brain drain.

5. Encourage Western institutions to work together in strengthening a few graduate-level programs in the former Soviet Union by means of coordinated faculty postings in the East and cooperative credit from Western degree programs.

6. Invest more resources in Western faculty teaching in the East, especially those with relevant language skills, and less in student scholarships for study in the West.

At the February theological education conference, seminary representatives emphasized their concerns for (1) an organization to facilitate ongoing sharing of information and coordination, (2) permanent facilities, (3) financial support, and (4) the establishment of seminary accreditation standards. Delegates hoped for help from abroad through a process of East-West interaction, rather than Western dictation. Indeed, the issue of outside assistance, and how best to effect it, is bound to loom large. Comments to this effect in Kohl’s theological education survey make this clear:

- We want to know what is going on . . . what is available.
- How can we become part of the loop?
- We are hungry and thirsty for information and fellowship.
- We do not want everything to be given to us, but we must know what is available.
- We do not want ready-made Western Christianity to be dumped on us. We would love to have the tools, and then we will work it out for ourselves.²⁸

Prudent assistance from abroad will focus on aid that will minimize long-term dependency. To date, unfortunately, only Adventists seem to have taken this concern to heart. Their Zaoksky Seminary includes a fifty-five-acre farm, greenhouses, a canning plant, and a printing press, which not only supply the needs of their community but produce revenue for the support of the institution. Most theological education programs not only lack income-producing auxiliary services but also feel obligated to abide by the long-standing, even pre-Revolution, custom of awarding student stipends above and beyond the Western practice of tuition scholarships. The lack of part-time or summer employment for students, compounded by growing unemployment and inflation, does not help the problem.²⁹
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Information sharing and greater coordination will be vital if evangelical Christians are to avoid working at cross-purposes, as in the case of indigenous versus Western study, and to avoid needless duplication, as in the case of the two translations of the same Old Testament textbook. Yet meaningful cooperation will be a daunting task, even assuming that both parties, East and West, see the benefit. To start with, the numbers alone compound the challenge of working together. Twenty-five indigenous Protestant denominations and close to a thousand indigenous parachurch missions and charities now function in the former Soviet Union. Also, approximately 700 Western church and parachurch ministries currently work in East Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. No less than fifty Western organizations are assisting new Protestant schools. At the Moscow theological education conference alone forty-six representatives of twenty-seven different Western church and parachurch bodies gathered for the day.

The February meeting provided a helpful illustration of evangelical, but otherwise doctrinally diverse, groups working together. Evangelical Christian-Baptist, Pentecostal, Mennonite, Adventist, and Presbyterian delegates chose to stress their common concerns for training and equipping leaders rather than their theological differences. And Western participants chose to listen at length to the priorities of Russian and Ukrainian representatives rather than recite what the West thought best.

Indigenous and Western leaders working together took the following concrete steps:

1. National delegates formed four committees to continue discussions on literature development (for course texts and libraries), faculty development, a future theological education conference, and information sharing and coordination.
2. Delegates appointed a small group of Russians and Ukrainians to work with Dr. Peter Kuzmic of the Evangelical Theological Institute, Osijek, Croatia, to help organize a 1994 conference on theological education in East Central Europe and Soviet successor states.
3. Peter Deyneka Russian Ministries volunteered to organize a representative committee to select twenty texts already available in Russian that would be reprinted for 1993-94 classes. (The Overseas Council will administer a grant awarded in June 1993 for the purpose of launching the reprint project. Full funding would involve the reprinting of twenty texts per year for five years.)
4. Peter Deyneka Russian Ministries agreed to coordinate a comprehensive Christian literature survey project, including evaluations, with the assistance of David C. Cook Foundation, Mission Forum’s Literature Information Service, and Wheaton College’s Institute for East-West Christian Studies.
5. The Christian Resource Center, Moscow, agreed to provide administrative oversight for a projected theological library that would not be associated with any one denomination but would be open to all seminary students, includ-

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Noteworthy

**Personalia**

We are pleased to announce the appointment of Tite Tienou as a contributing editor of the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research.* He is President and Dean of the Faculté de Théologie Evangélique de l’Alliance Chrétienne in Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire. Earlier he served for four years as founder and director of Institut Maranatha in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkino Faso, and for the last nine years (1984-1993) as professor of theology and missiology at Alliance Theological Seminary, Nyack, New York. Dr. Tienou is an ordained minister of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

Walter Riggans will become the General Director of the Church’s Ministry Among the Jews (CMJ) effective August 1, 1994. From 1977 to 1981 he served as the Church of Scotland minister in Tiberias, Israel. From 1981 to 1986 he was a member of the CMJ staff in Israel, serving as a pastor at Christ Church, Jerusalem, and as the director of the Hebrew Language Study Centre at Immanuel House, Jaffa. Since 1986 he has been the Tutor in Biblical and Jewish Studies at All Nations Christian College, Hertfordshire, England.

James T. Laney, President of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, has been appointed by President Bill Clinton as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea. Laney, a United Methodist minister, began his career as a missionary in South Korea.

The United Church Board for World Ministries (successor to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) has elected David Y. Hirano as executive vice-president. Hirano, a product of the mission of the American Board, is the first Asian American to head the denomination’s world ministries board. He succeeds Scott S. Libbey who retired December 31, 1993.

Katherine B. Hockin, missionary leader in the United Church of Canada, died on April 24, 1993. She was 83. Born to missionary parents in Western China, she was raised in China and also served there as a United Church worker in the 1940s. Later she worked with the Student Christian Movement, the Canadian Council of Churches, and the United Church of Canada. The *International Bulletin* published her autobiographical reflections “My Pilgrimage in Mission” in January 1988.

**Announcing**

The long-awaited *Index 1912-1990* to the *International Review of Mission,* compiled by A. Christopher Smith, has been pub-
ing Orthodox and Catholic, as a means of bridge-building. Copies of works collected in the Russian Ministries survey project would be deposited in the new Moscow library, at an as yet undetermined institution in Kiev, and in the Billy Graham Center Library at Wheaton College. (A grant proposal is pending for development of the Moscow and Kiev theological collections.)

**Projections**

Finally, a number of projections would seem reasonably safe to make, notwithstanding the fluid and volatile politics and economics of Soviet successor states.

1. In all probability, correspondence programs, as noted, will continue to service many students, especially if economic conditions continue to deteriorate.
2. Continuing political decentralization and fragmentation and growing nationalism will make it increasingly problematic for individual seminaries to draw students from many republics. Simply put, crossing borders may grow ever more difficult. The Russian Orthodox Seminary and Academy in St. Petersburg and the Zaoksky Adventist Seminary already see this as a significant problem.
3. The need for more Christian literature in Ukrainian will increase. Even if 21 percent of Ukraine's population is Russian, and even if a majority of students in Ukraine can study in Russian, will they want to? Should they have to? Over time, will it be politic for schools there to depend on Russian-language instruction?34
4. For better or worse, assistance from abroad will prove vital in the development of residential programs (which require literature, libraries, faculty, and buildings), just as it was vital in the development of correspondence programs earlier.
5. Generational tensions in church leadership likely will be heightened with better-educated younger pastors and laypeople seeing church life differently from older leaders and laity, who outlived the state assault without benefit of education.
6. Finally, nondenominational schools (with an enrollment of 366 at present) are likely to grow in importance as Western and indigenous parachurch groups plant more and more churches that are neither Baptist nor Pentecostal, per se.35

Protestant theological education is emerging in the former Soviet Union in a manner unique in the history of Reformation churches. Never before, and nowhere else, have Protestants launched as many formal theological training programs as rapidly as they have in Soviet successor states—and what is doubly unprecedented, they started from a base of zero. Much that is positive can be said for the vision, enthusiasm, and energy of the new theological educators in the East, and for the willingness of an array of Western evangelical church and...
Protestant theological education is emerging in the former Soviet Union in a manner unique in the history of Reformation churches.

money and what both entail. Western involvement could sap vitality, foster dependency, and replicate the debilitating Third World-First World theological brain drain, if assistance is not measured, culturally nuanced, and carefully coordinated.

The February 1993 Moscow Conference on Theological Education offered encouraging evidence of a spirit of cooperation, both among indigenous churches and seminaries, and between them and Western participants. That spirit will need to be translated into many concrete, collaborative efforts if evangelical Christians in the former Soviet Union are to see lasting growth fostered by its first generation of theologically trained leaders.

## Notes

The author's notes from meetings and interviews held in February and March 1993 proved helpful at a number of points. Sources include Peter Deyneka, Jr., Anatolii Glukhovskii, Ludmilla Gorbuzova, Jack Graves, Terry Henshaw, Manfred Kohl, Mikhail Kulakov, Jr., Anne Kull, Peter Penner, Heigo Ritsbeker (November 14, 1991), Terry Schnake, Andrew Semenchuk, Igor Tsiupak, and Charles Warner.


4. Ibid., p. 331.
5. Ibid., pp. 330-31; Alexander de Chalandeau, “Theology of the

## Appendix

The following table lists the nineteen Protestant Bible schools and seminaries known in the former Soviet Union that currently offer a training program at least one year in length.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Date of Founding</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calvary Bible Institute</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Jan. 1991</td>
<td>Riga, Latvia</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaosksy Theological Seminary</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Apr. 1991</td>
<td>Zaosksy, Russia</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odessa Bible College</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Oct. 1991</td>
<td>Odessa, Ukraine</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James Bible College</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Apr. 1994</td>
<td>Kiev, Ukraine</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist Theological Seminary</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Oct. 1990</td>
<td>Kiev</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logos Christian College</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Oct. 1991</td>
<td>St. Petersburg</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riga Lutheran Seminary</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Oct. 1991</td>
<td>Riga</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victory Theological Institute</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Nov. 1992</td>
<td>Moscow, Russia</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible Training School</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Jan. 1991</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran Theological Institute</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Oct. 1991</td>
<td>Tallinn, Estonia</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theological Seminary of Christians</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Apr. 1991</td>
<td>Temropol, Ukraine</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Life Theological School</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Aug. 1991</td>
<td>Kiev</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donetsk Bible College</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Apr. 1991</td>
<td>Donetsk, Ukraine</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscow Baptist Seminary</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Oct. 1991</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist Training Center</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Jan. 1991</td>
<td>St. Petersburg</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theological Faculty, University of Tartu</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Oct. 1991</td>
<td>Tartu, Estonia</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvian Baptist Seminary</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Oct. 1991</td>
<td>Riga</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonian Baptist Seminary</td>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Oct. 1991</td>
<td>Tartu</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,667</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* a Denominational affiliations are as follows: A = Adventist, ECB = Evangelical Christian-Baptist, L = Lutheran, N = Nondenominational, and P = Pentecostal.

b Represented at the Moscow conference on theological education, February 1993.

c Sponsored by Bethany World Prayer Center and Gulf States Mission Agency.
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Chuck Schwartz, BEE, speaking at Moscow Theological Education Conference, February 11, 1993; fax from Beth Yost, International Correspondence Institute, March 17, 1993; author's notes from reports at Moscow Theological Education Conference, February 11, 1993; interview with Anne Kull, Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago, March 29, 1993; Kohl, "Towards Globalization," pp. 17, 24-25. Mikhail Kulakov (February 15, 1993, interview) noted that 500 Adventists also were studying theological education by extension at three sites.

Fourteen of twenty-four respondents listed the need for texts as the most urgent. See Jack Graves, "Report of the Conference on Theological Education in the Former Soviet Union, Moscow, Russia, February 10-12, 1993," Overseas Council for Theological Education and Missions, February 24, 1993, p. 2.

Author's notes from February 1, 1993, Moscow Conference. The Orthodox have had to contend with the same shortage. See Ellis, Russian Orthodox, p. 108.


Books Translated from English to Eastern European and CIS Languages (Elgin, Ill.: David C. Cook Foundation, 1992) includes 370 Russian titles and 51 Ukrainian titles.

Christian Bridge, Carol Stream, Ill., translated into Russian H. Henry Meeter's Basic Ideas of Calvinism and is overseeing the Russian translation in Moscow of The Golden Book of Calvinism, an abridgement of the Institutes. Funders include the Christian Reformed Church World Literature Ministries and the Back to God Hour. Calvin's Institutes previously did circulate in East Central Europe in Latin. Rev. George Rodonaiia, a United Methodist pastor in Houston, Texas, originally from Soviet Georgia, translated the Standard Sermons, which may be published in Moscow by Golden Age Publishing House.

Author's conversations with St. Petersburg Vice-Rector Veniamin, February 8, 1993, and Adventist seminary president, Mikhail Kulakov, Jr., February 15, 1993. See also Ellis, Russian Orthodox, p. 107.


Students from the former Soviet Union currently are enrolled at Asbury Theological Seminary, Dallas Theological Seminary, Denver Conservative Baptist Seminary, Fuller Theological Seminary, Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary, Moody Bible Institute, Southern Baptist Seminary, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, and Wheaton College.


Ibid., pp. 20-21 (text).


Author's conversations with Dr. Sharon Linzey, Moscow State University visiting professor, February 15, 1993.

Sharon Linzey, Holt Ruffin, and Mark Elliott, eds., East-West Christian Organizations Directory (Evanston, Ill.: Berry Publishing Services, 1993), includes 687 entries. The author has files on an additional 35.


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"How to" books are abundant and often not very practical. This book is different - it is an exception in its category and very practical. George Patterson, formerly a Conservative Baptist missionary in Central America, has coached church planters in different cultures, and helped develop TEEE - Theological Education and Evangelism by Extension. Richard Scoggins coordinates the Fellowship of Church Planters, committed to reproduce disciples and networks of new churches and church planting teams.
The two sections address the areas of Church Multiplication Arising From Obeying Jesus’ Command, and Church Reproduction from Ten Viewpoints.
Dr. Ralph D. Winter, President of William Carey International University, says of the book “This has got to be one of the most exciting documents I have ever held in my hands. Here [George Patterson], one of the two or three world experts in the growth of the church shares in both diagram and illuminating discussion some of the most important insights of his career. Robert E. Logan, of Church Resource Ministries, notes “The Church Multiplication Guide provides an effective framework for raising up leaders and reproducing at every level—disciples, cell groups, and churches. I highly recommend it.”
WCL245-X Retail $7.95
Special Postpaid Discount $6.25

MEDIA IN CHURCH AND MISSION
Communicating the Gospel
Viggo Sogaard
1993, paperback, 304 pages.
Viggo Sogaard, a native of Denmark, is Associate Professor of Communications at Fuller School of World Mission, and Media Consultant for the United Bible Societies, offers a highly readable and practical synthesis of what has been learned through the new wave of thinking about communications. His Thesis is a simple one—we cannot communicate effectively and create understanding unless we take the audience seriously. If this is not done, well-intended Christian communication will be avoided, misunderstood, or ignored. The 16 chapters are broken down in three sections: Foundational Principles for Use of Media in Church and Mission, Selected Media Descriptions, and Practical Guidelines for Media in Church and Mission.
Dr. Bruce Larson, Dean of the International School of Christian Communications says of the book “Much of the secret of communicating the gospel effectively is knowing and understanding your audience. [The author] has written a book from a lifetime of study that will help anyone rethink what they say and how they say it.”
WCL242-5 Retail $7.95
Special Postpaid Discount $7.50

WORKING YOUR WAY TO THE NATIONS
A Guide to Effective Tentmaking
Jonathan Lewis, Editor
1993, 8 1/2 x 11 paperback, 204 pages.
A “First of its kind” book of essays on effective tentmaking by experienced and knowledgeable missions specialists from around the world. Sponsored by the World Evangelical Fellowship Missions Commission, under the direction of Dr. William Taylor, this manual is an important step in identifying and clarifying the “tentmaking” concepts in today’s world. Dr. Jonathan Lewis, author and compiler of the widely used 3-volume set WORLD MISSION; An Analysis of the World Christian Movement has given the church a valuable new tool for understanding tentmaking. Authors and titles of the 12 chapters are:
Don Hamilton - Planning for Success
J. Christy Wilson, Jr. - Getting Perspective
David Tai-Woong Lee - Cross-Cultural Servants
Jonathan Cortes - Critical Considerations of Deployment
Joshua Cortes - Biblical and Doctrinal Foundations
Joshua K. Ogawa - Biblical and Doctrinal Foundations
Elizabeth Vance - Personal Readiness
Jim Chew - Two Essential Skills
James Tebbe - Team Dynamics and Spiritual Warfare
Elizabeth Goldsmith - Understanding the Host Culture
Carlos Calderon - Dealing With Stress
Marcelo Acosta - Becoming a Belonger
Appendices are A Personal Action Plan and Resources
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## Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 1994

### David B. Barrett

The table opposite is the tenth in an annual series describing statistics and trends in world mission. This year we focus on the question, What significance do these global statistics have?

### Statistics Are Universal

In almost all walks of life statistics have become indispensable. George Kurian’s *Sourcebook of Global Statistics* (1985) describes 400 statistical yearbooks in which eighty international organizations enumerated 100 major subjects as population, health, money, food, crime, narcotics, steel, aviation, trade, tourism, and so forth. His 1994 edition will show that many figures have doubled in the last decade. Macmillan’s best-seller *The Baseball Encyclopedia* for 1993 has 2,857 large pages of solid, small-type statistics incomprehensible to most readers of the *International Bulletin* but the daily bread of life to hundreds of thousands of sports fans.

The basic trend underlying most of our religious statistics is that the demographics are continuing to explode, day after day, and year after year. Every year the challenges for Christians get bigger. Thus 1994 will see a world of 5.7 billion persons, 370 megacities, 780 million urban slum dwellers.

### Magic Numbers

One very common reaction on the part of Christians is to see some disease. Magic Numbers

Statistics Are Universal

Global totals are significant only as we look past them to see the big picture—the degree to which Christians are tackling their responsibilities. Consider the United Nations’ projected world population for A.D. 2150. The most frightening scenario, based on human fertility continuing throughout 1990-2150 at the same level as today (4.3 children per woman), foresees a world population in 2150 of 694 billion, a population density 122 times today’s!

### Daily Avalanche of New Statistics

All global totals are made up of vast numbers of smaller component statistics. These keep coming at us from all directions, day after day. The secret for followers of Christ, says Prior Schutz of Taizé, is to treat each as a word from God: “Statistics are signs from God.” Here is a selection of such “signs” produced over the last year:

**Negative**

- 20 percent of the world—over 1 billion persons—suffers from disease.
- People living without sewage systems: 2.2 billion.
- Rats in Bangladesh: 1 billion (10 for every human being).
- Prostitutes younger than sixteen in Thailand—350,000; in Brazil—500,000.
- Megacity street children: 100 million, rising to 800 million by A.D. 2200.
- Female urban slum dwellers: 320 million; 2,250 million by A.D. 2200.

**Positive**

- Independent Charismatic Christians worldwide (originally from mainline denominations) now number 75 million.
- Viewers of the *Jesus* film (Gospel of Luke): 10 percent of world.
- Within some thirty language groups, virtually everyone has now seen this film.
- During the last year, 120 million unevangelized persons have been evangelized for the first time.

The study of statistics will be of value only if we take each particular statistic and deliberately think what it implies for the Christian concerned to serve the world in the name of Jesus Christ. Only then do global statistics take on global significance.

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### Notes

Methodological Notes on Table (referring to numbered lines on opposite page). Indented categories form part of, and are included in, unindented categories above them. Definitions of categories are as given and explained in *World Christian Encyclopedia* (WCE, 1982), with additional data and explanations as below.

1. Widest definition: professing Christians plus secret believers, which equals affiliated (church members) plus nominal Christians. World C is the world of all who individually are Christians.
2. Total of all non-Christians (sum of rows 12-20 above, plus adherents of other minor religions). This is also the same as World A (the unevangelized) plus World B (evangelized non-Christians).
3. Church members involved in the Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal. Totals on lines 24-26 overlap with those on lines 28-34.
4. Active church members who take Christ’s Great Commission seriously.
5. World totals of current long-term trend for all confessions. (See *Our Globe and How to Reach It*, Global Diagram 5). The 1994 figure reflects the collapse of Communism.

### World Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>mid-1994</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Total population</td>
<td>1,619,866,800</td>
<td>3,697,849,000</td>
<td>5,672,615,000</td>
<td>6,260,800,000</td>
<td>8,504,223,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Urban dwellers (urbanites)</td>
<td>232,694,900</td>
<td>1,352,449,000</td>
<td>2,694,587,000</td>
<td>3,197,679,000</td>
<td>5,492,874,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rural dwellers</td>
<td>1,387,191,900</td>
<td>2,345,400,000</td>
<td>2,978,228,000</td>
<td>3,063,121,000</td>
<td>3,011,349,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Adult population (over 15)</td>
<td>1,025,936,800</td>
<td>2,311,598,800</td>
<td>3,857,314,800</td>
<td>4,294,900,000</td>
<td>6,420,848,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Literates</td>
<td>286,705,000</td>
<td>1,479,980,000</td>
<td>2,445,644,000</td>
<td>3,042,072,000</td>
<td>5,250,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nonliterates</td>
<td>739,233,000</td>
<td>831,176,000</td>
<td>1,411,850,000</td>
<td>1,252,836,800</td>
<td>1,170,688,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### World Population by Religion

1. Atheists
2. Buddhists
3. Hindus
4. Nonreligious
5. New-Religionists

### Status of Global Mission, 1994

#### Membership by Ecclesiastical Bloc

1. Anglicans
2. Catholics (non-Roman)
3. Marginal Protestants
4. Nonorthodox Indigenous Christians
5. Orthodox
6. Protestants
7. Roman Catholics

### Membership by Continent

1. Africa
2. East Asia
3. Europe
4. European Asia/Eurasia (formerly USSR)
5. Latin America
6. Northern America
7. Oceania
8. South Asia

### Christian Organizations

1. Service agencies
2. Foreign mission sending agencies
3. Standalone global monoliths

### Christian Workers

1. Nationals (all denominations)
2. Affiliated church members
3. Practicing Christians
4. Pentecostals/Charismatics
5. Great Commission Christians (active)
6. Average Christian martyrs per year

### Christian Literature

1. New commercial book titles per year
2. Christian periodicals
3. New books/articles on evangelization per year

### Scripture Distribution (all sources)

1. Bibles per year
2. Tracts per year
3. Scriptures, including gospels, selections, per year

### Christian Broadcasting

1. Christian radio/TV stations
2. Total monthly listeners/viewers
3. Over Christian stations
4. Over secular stations

### Christian Urban Mission

1. Non-Christian megacities
2. Non-Christian urban dwellers per day
3. Urban Christians

### Christian Evangelism

1. Evangelism-hours per year
2. Discipline opportunities per capita per year

### World Evangelization

1. Unevangelized population (= World A)
2. Unevangelized as % of world
3. World evangelization plans since A.D. 30

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25
My Pilgrimage in Mission

Charles W. Forman

In recent generations the missionary movement has itself been on pilgrimage; looking back, I can see how my own pilgrimage has in many ways paralleled that of the movement. Presumably most lives are of this kind, individual variations on broad social themes.

I was born in India in 1916 of missionary parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. I myself, however, never considered a missionary vocation as I was growing up. Not until after I finished my doctoral studies in history at the University of Wisconsin and entered Union Seminary in New York with a view to going into seminary teaching did the thought of seminary teaching as a missionary overseas dawn on me with a burst of sunlight, literally and figuratively.

Union was then at the high tide of neo-orthodoxy, and I was captivated by this new thinking, which dealt with human life at so much deeper and more tragic levels than did the self-confident and optimistic liberalism that had been in ascendency for a generation. I admired and felt much affection for my teacher in missions, the famous Daniel Johnson Fleming, but he was of the old school, and his genial liberal outlook seemed quite inadequate during a time when Naziism and world war were filling our horizons.

My own reaction to the threat of war, however, had been shaped long before I entered Union. For a decade I had been ardently and confidently active in the peace movement and had become president of a national peace organization, the Youth Committee Against War. It never occurred to me that our peace advocacy and that of our companions in Britain and France were leading to a series of concessions to Hitler, enabling him to reach the point where he was militarily powerful enough to make war. We had produced just what we opposed. Since realizing this, I have not been so blandly confident about the ability of human actions, even missions, to produce what they intend

India and Indian Independence

Happily, at Union I met a young woman, Janice Mitchell, who was also applying for mission service. Near the end of our studies we were married and in 1945 launched out for India to teach in a small school with a big name, the North India United Theological College. We worked there for five years, and then, after a short hiatus, I served for thirty-four years as Professor of Missions at Yale Divinity School, so theological education has been practically my only field of work.

Our years in India spanned the end of British rule and the beginning of Indian independence. Most young missionaries of that time, unlike many of their predecessors, had a strong opposition to imperialism, and we were no exception. The British government required that missionaries make a statement forswearing political activity, yet, at the same time, agreeing to exercise their influence so far as appropriate in favor of the constituted authorities. We informed our Presbyterian mission board before we set sail that we could make no such statement. The board relieved us by saying they would take responsibility before the British government for our actions and we would not need to sign anything. Independence came so soon after our arrival that we had no occasion to embarrass our board.

We experienced firsthand the terrible cost of independence, since our school was located on the borders of the Punjab, where the dividing line between two nations was drawn and where the greatest killing and driving-out of populations took place. I offered to go into the riot areas, quietly hoping that my offer would not need to be accepted. But it was, and then, despite my wishes, transportation miraculously appeared to get me into one of the most embattled districts, where I worked with and supported two isolated medical women members of our mission. The traumatic experience of the country did not shake my assurance, or that of any missionaries I knew, that independence was the way to go.

Return to America

At the end of our term in 1950, we returned to an America that was suffering from an anti-Communist phobia. Fears were perhaps understandable in light of the fact that Communism had recently swept over all of Eastern Europe, China, and North Korea and was trying to engulf South Korea. Missionaries in many lands were wondering what they could expect and how they should plan. Our mission board decided to hold a one-semester seminar in New York on Communism (later repeated and taken on by the National Council of Churches) with one representative from each mission field in attendance, and I was asked to be in charge. I was not the most unbiased person to lead the group, since I had been involved in many cooperative efforts with Communists in the peace movement during my graduate and undergraduate days and had gradually learned their ways of dominating rather than cooperating and their skill at destroying what they could not dominate. But, thankfully, the seminar’s emphasis came to be on the need for social justice, not so much to forestall Communism as to follow the teachings of the prophets of ancient Israel.

After this, the missions professorship at Yale Divinity School opened up, and I was surprised to be invited there as successor to Kenneth Scott Latourette. I accepted the post, though not for the reason that an overly helpful mission board member suggested, namely, that because I had not sought the job, I should take it! In my new position I soon learned that what was happen

Charles W. Forman was born in 1916 in Gwalior, India. He has taught in India and at Yale Divinity School. He retired in 1987 and lives in Bethany, Connecticut.
ing in missions generally was often reflected by the scene at Yale, and certain developments and trends at Yale that mirrored the broader stage are worth mentioning.

Decline in Missionary Vocations

One was the gradual decline in the number of students training for missionary service. In the 1950s there was always a lively group of a dozen or more future missionaries at Yale who met weekly and stirred interest on the campus. They were usually top-caliber people, and some are still giving sterling service around the world. Decline in their numbers set in with the turbulent 1960s and can be attributed to at least two causes. One was the fact that mission-sending bodies believed strongly that indigenous people should carry on the work that was begun by missions; therefore they put major resources into training national leaders and sent out fewer missionaries. Since there were fewer mission jobs, there were fewer students hoping for those jobs. And there was, as another cause, an increasing relativism in society, a stress on "doing your own thing," which affected Yale students. Many students would have consigned themselves to perdition before they would even have suggested what other peoples should believe or do. Naturally, then, they questioned the missionary enterprise. Student interest in missions-related courses continued, but my classes were filled with young people wanting to know about the worldwide church, its history and problems, with only a few who were intent on missionary service. These changes were certainly part of the pilgrimage of missions, learning, first, the importance of native church leaders over foreign missionaries, and then learning also to respect the views of people of other faiths. My hope is that this respect can be combined with a sharing of the joy and confidence that comes from the self-giving love of God expressed in Jesus Christ. The combination seems like a natural one.

As interest in missions declined, interest in ecumenics rose. I had worked two years for the National Council of Churches before teaching at Yale, and from the start of my teaching I included a course on the ecumenical movement. Those were halcyon days for ecumenical enthusiasts like me. Most theological administrators and teachers were actively interested in ecumenical life and thought. The World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches, which had just been formed in 1948 and 1950, were seen as marking the directions for the future. Seminaries began appointing professors of ecumenics, and I attended a few of their meetings, where I was a little taken aback by their grand assumption that those who taught missions were passé, while their own group would grow and prosper. The long-term development has been almost the reverse; there is still an abundance of professors of missions, while professors of ecumenics have practically disappeared. This reflects a decline of ecumenical commitment and interest in recent years that has been a matter of perplexity and disappointment for those of us who lived through the 1950s and 1960s. It is epitomized in the failure of the Covenanting Proposals in England in 1983, the difficulties being faced by similar proposals in America now, and the reduction in staff and program of the major ecumenical agencies. It seems that the churches have lost some of their nerve in these matters and are looking backward for preservation of their identity rather than forward to their calling. The decline in membership in most of the mainline Protestant churches may explain this defensive attitude.

Theological Education Fund

I have mentioned that one reason for sending fewer foreign missionaries was the devotion of major resources by mission agencies to the training of indigenous leaders. This was a new direction into which I was quickly swept. The education of indigenous church leaders had long been neglected by the missions. The great meeting of the International Missionary Council (IMC) in Madras in 1938 had called attention to the inadequacy of ministerial training as the greatest weakness of the missionary enterprise, and it was because of this line of thinking that, when I had gone to India, I had chosen to teach in a seminary rather than a mission college, for which my training would have been more appropriate. Now, at the end of the 1950s, it appeared that something spectacular was to be done about this problem. The IMC launched, with Rockefeller and church funding, a four-million-dollar Theological Education Fund (TEF), and I was asked by its director, Charles W. Ranson, to serve as his assistant, traveling the world for a year and a half to examine the needs of theological education. Liston Pope, the dean at Yale Divinity School, believed that this experience would benefit not only me but the school, so I was given a leave. The most memorable event of my subsequent travels came when the small plane I was in crashed in the jungles of Brazil. I was marooned with the pilot for three days before being found and rescued. After that I did not take my life quite so much for granted.

Later, after serving as staff, I was made chairman of the TEF Committee, now part of the World Council of Churches, and I continued to work for the improvement of seminaries around the world. A six-year stint as chairman of the Presbyterian mission board, renamed the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, and nineteen years as chairman of the Foundation for Theological Education in Southeast Asia provided further opportunities to work on the same task. As I look at the Third World seminary scene today, I am amazed at the total transformation that has taken place. All the theological institutions have raised their standards enormously. They have become almost totally indigenous, not only in their staffing but increasingly so in their outlook and, in a good number of cases, provide an education equal to or better than that of many seminaries in America and Europe.

During my last dozen years at Yale my wife and I decided to live in the inner city of New Haven, a ghetto for poor black and Hispanic peoples. She taught in the local school, and we both tried to improve the life of the community by work in a succession of neighborhood organizations. Somehow, through in-fighting or corruption, the organizations successively met their demise. The only one to survive was one that was a tool of city hall, advocating the cause of the poor insofar as this brought votes for those in power. Four years in which I was treasurer of the official antipoverty agency of the city also served to reveal to me the political machinations that permeate antipoverty programs. Despite all our efforts, we did not accomplish much, if anything,

Today there is an abundance of professors of missions, while professors of ecumenics have practically disappeared.

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in the way of improvements, but we did make some wonderful friends, whom we would never have known had we stayed in our suburban habitat.

During the course of my TEF travels, I was brought in a surprising, perhaps providential, way to the seminaries of the South Pacific islands. I was not sure there were any such institutions, but I was looking for an alternate route back to America after my 1959 study of seminaries in East and Southeast Asia. I discovered on that alternate route an array of island churches and seminaries that were all but unknown in most of the world. I was immediately fascinated by them. Here the national movements into Christianity that had characterized medieval Europe had been repeated in modern times. Here the ideal preached by Bruno Gutmann in Africa of a unity between the church and the primal community as the work of God had been realized to an extent unknown in Africa.

The Legacy of John Philip

Andrew C. Ross

In 1819 the Reverend Doctor John Philip, a tall, dark, strongly built Scots Congregationalist minister, began a career as resident director of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in South Africa. It was a career that would make him the missionary, in addition to David Livingstone, that any South African, white or black, could name. Indeed Philip has become so much part of the South African historical memory that Prime Minister Johannes Strydom could use his name as an immediately recognizable symbol. When, in 1955, he warned missionaries and other clergy not to imitate Fr. Trevor Huddleston, he told them not to “do a Philip.”

The Scottish Years

John Philip was born in Kirkaldy, Scotland, on April 14, 1775, the son of a handloom weaver. At that time Scotland was going through a period of far-reaching economic and social change. Having survived for centuries as a poor agrarian society with a small urban periphery, after 1760 it was rapidly transformed into a comparatively wealthy society with a developing urban sector. Like the vast majority of the handloom weavers of the time, John’s father was both literate and able to sustain his family comfortably above the poverty line.

Although his parents were members of the Church of Scotland, when John was converted as a young man, he became a member of an Independent chapel. He was converted during the evangelistic campaigns of the brothers Robert and James Haldane, whose efforts created many Independent chapels, some of which went on to form the Congregational Union and others to swell the ranks of the Scottish Baptists.

Philip conducted Bible studies for young people in a manner very different from what was usual at the time.

John became first a clerk in, and then the manager of, a new spinning mill in Dundee, but this transition from artisan to middle-class status soon ended when he resigned in a dispute with the owners over child labor and inadequate wage rates. He was not back as a weaver for long when, in 1799, he went off to Hoxton, the Congregationalist academy of England, to train for the ministry. At the end of his three-year course at Hoxton, Philip went as the assistant minister of the congregation at Newbury, Berkshire. He was there for barely two years when he received a call from Belmont Church of Aberdeen. This one of the oldest of the congregations that later formed the Congregational Union of Scotland.

Philip very quickly established himself as the leading evangelical preacher in the northeast of Scotland. He was in great demand in Church of Scotland kirkis that were ministered to by members of the “popular party” as well as in Seceder kirkis and Independent chapels. He was particularly effective in reaching young people, and in the university town of Aberdeen he always had round him a strong body of young women and men. He made his manse a meeting place for these young people and organized a series of Bible studies for them each year. These were conducted in a manner very different from what was usual at that time. In the first place, young women were encouraged to attend. Equally striking was his encouragement of the members to initiate topics themselves and to propound their own ideas. “It was customary for members of the class to propound questions,
or to state difficulties arising in the course of Bible study. After hearing various opinions expressed by members it was no uncommon thing for Dr. Philip to turn to Miss Paul, before solving the crux himself and ask, 'Well, Margaret, what have you to say to this?' " This was in a day when preacher and professor alike were used to being solo performers from pulpit or rostrum, from whence they pronounced on all matters with unchallenged magisterial authority.

In 1809 Philip married Jane Ross, who not only became a loving mother and powerful influence on the three daughters and four sons she bore him but also was his secretary and personal assistant throughout their life together in South Africa. Without any of the opposition that would certainly have occurred in the later nineteenth century, Jane simply took over the LMS office when John was away on one of the many long and arduous tours he undertook in South Africa. In addition, from 1830 until her death in 1847, she was, in her own right, the official agent of the Paris Evangelical Mission in South Africa.

The attitude toward women was typical, in the first half of the century, of the tradition of evangelicalism to which he belonged. It was that of Finneyite revivalism in America, which made Oberlin a coeducational institution where the first women were trained for the ministry in mainstream Protestantism. Again Philip’s evangelicalism was like that of the Finneyite movement in his lack of concern for the classic differences between the denominations. In Scotland Philip was one of the main propagandists for the LMS, with its message aimed at bringing about in the individual a warm personal faith in Jesus as Savior and a commitment to spreading this good news about redemption from the power of sin and death to all humankind, scorning denominational difference as a hindrance to the task.

Good relations with the government ended when Philip stood by his friends in the struggle for freedom of the press in South Africa.

Our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government about which there may be differences of opinion among serious Persons, but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen: and of God. of Persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God. 2

Called to South Africa

Although an ardent supporter of the LMS, Philip had not seen his ministry as lying with them. However, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the work of the LMS in South Africa, within the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and among the tribes beyond its frontiers, was in disarray. The solution to these problems, the board of directors decided, was to send two of their number to review the work and recommend reforms, and for one to remain as resident director to ensure that the reforms were carried out. Two Scots were chosen to perform this task, John Campbell and John Philip, with Philip designated to become the resident director. Philip’s congregation in Aberdeen was very loath to let him go. It took a great deal of persuasion and diplomacy on the part of the LMS board before they released him at last, albeit grudgingly.

Together with his wife, Jane, and their four children, Mary, Elizabeth, William, and John, the new resident director of the society arrived in Cape Town in 1819. A further three children, Durrant, Margaret, and Wilberforce, were born in South Africa. William and Durrant went on to become ministers of Coloured congregations in South Africa,1 while Elizabeth married John Fairbairn, her father’s friend and ally, the editor of South Africa’s first newspaper, the Cape Commercial Advertiser.

Fairbairn’s paper was the vehicle for liberal political opinion in South Africa for all his long tenure of the editorship, and he, together with his father-in-law and Andries Stockenstrom, can be seen as the founding fathers of South African liberalism. Without them there would not have been the non-racial franchise for the Cape Parliament, which lasted from 1852 until 1910, when it disappeared with the creation of the Union of South Africa.

South Africa: The First Phase

The South Africa to which Philip came was divided into two. First there was the colony. It had been ruled by the Netherlands East India Company until the Napoleonic Wars, then by the Batavian Republic, and in 1815, by the British, whose authority was made permanent by the Treaty of Vienna. Ninety percent of the white inhabitants were what the British have traditionally referred to as the Dutch or the Boers, people who prefer to be called Afrikaners.4 The first sizable influx of British settlers arrived in a mass emigration scheme in 1820, which brought the white population to about forty thousand persons.

The indigenous population of the colony were the Khoi, referred to by Afrikaner and Briton as Hottentots and some as Bastaards, since many were of mixed Khoi-white ancestry. The colony also contained slaves, whose number, at about twenty-four thousand, was roughly equal to that of the Khoi. They were mainly from Madagascar, Angola, and Mozambique, though there was a distinct group from Indonesia known locally as Malays.

The other division of South Africa was the area to the north and east of the colonial frontiers. To the east were the Xhosa people, who, by 1819, had effectively halted what once had appeared to be the inexorable advance of the Afrikaner cattle herdsmen. To the north were many Tswana and Sotho groupings, with a major center of power at the court of Moshweshwe of the Sotho. There was also a small Griqua state that, by 1819, was already on the way to becoming a “Christian” state. The Griqua were people drawn from many tribes, including runaway slaves and white Dutch army deserters, who had come to accept the leadership of two Christian Bastaard families. They had been welded into one community, with the church and school as its center.

Upon his arrival in the Cape, Philip immediately started to get the affairs of the LMS in order and build better relations with the English governor and his staff. So successful was he that the governor appointed him to head the relief committee set up to aid the 1820 British settlers who were in grave distress after two successive bad harvests. These good relations soon ended, however, when Philip stood by his fellow Scots, John Fairbairn and Thomas Pringle,5 in their struggle for the freedom of the press in South Africa. Worse was to follow. At least in the matter of the press, British settlers and some Afrikaners were on his side. But

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this was not to be so when he began to take up the issue of the status of the Khoi and other “free persons of colour.” Philip was content to leave the issue of slavery to Buxton and the Anti-Slavery Society in London, where alone abolition could be achieved. However, he had come soon to see that abolition was of little use if the slaves were to be freed only to join the Coloureds in their de facto slavery. In 1811 and 1812 the British had passed laws that gave the Khoi and other “free persons of colour” legal recognition as people. (They had had absolutely no existence in law under the Netherlands East India Company.) However, the British laws in effect placed upon every “free person of colour” the need to be the servant or dependent of some white. Of these laws Philip wrote “There is no tyranny so cruel (says Montesquieu) as that which is exercised under the pretext of law, and under the colour of justice; when wretches are, so to speak, drowned on the very plank to which they clung for safety.” The Coloureds were subject to many impositions that did not apply to whites, impositions that, as Philip came to believe, were deliberately created to provide a cheap labor pool for white farmers and traders. Such an imposition was the corvee. Philip complained of its effects in checking the attempts of some of the Christians at the mission stations to improve themselves. “If a Hottentot, possessing one wagon by which he is able to earn 76 dollars by one journey to Grahamstown, is liable to be dragged from his employment to serve for 4/- a day, the people liable to such exactions, labour under oppression.” Having campaigned vigorously but unsuccessfully for change, in 1826 he returned to the United Kingdom and at the Cape, it became mandatory in the colony for all His Majesty’s subjects to share the same civil rights. This, in effect, meant that Coloureds (as well as Xhosa and Tswana people when some were incorporated into the colony later) could buy land anywhere, buy a house in any part of town, and, when the vote came (in 1852), qualify for it in exactly the same way as whites. It meant equal pay for equal work, at least some integrated schools, and many other things peculiar to the colony, all of which began to disappear once the Union of South Africa of 1910 was consummated.

The Tribes Beyond the Frontier

On his return to the Cape, Philip became the focus of much bitter feeling on the part of Afrikaners and British settlers. This was made worse when he went again to the United Kingdom, taking with him several Coloured and Xhosa Christians to give evidence before the Aborigines Committee. Undeterred, he continued, on his return to the Cape, to supervise the missions of the society, traveling thousands of miles by oxcart, touching the whole colony and also visiting the Xhosa, Sotho, and Griqua beyond the frontier.

In the case of the peoples beyond the frontier, his approach was radically different from that which he adopted toward people within the colony. His constant plea was for more and more missionaries and honest traders to go and live among them, but equally for the government to prevent any encroachment by whites who sought permanent possession of the land. This policy has led some modern writers to insist that he was a forerunner of the doctrine of apartheid. In fact he had a two-pronged policy. On one hand, he sought integration within the area where whites owned most of the land and the European economy had taken over. On the other hand, where this had not taken place, he wished African societies to be left autonomous. Working within those African societies, missionaries and traders (what Livingstone called Christianity and commerce) would, he believed, help trigger spontaneous change and development of societies both Christian and African. He believed that this had happened already among the Griqua and was about to happen among the Basotho. After visiting the court of Moshweshwe, he wrote to Buxton, Moshesh the king of the Basutos, of whom James Backhouse and George Washington Walker give some account, is one of the most extraordinary men I ever met with, and I had almost said a miracle of a man, when his circumstances in Africa are taken into consideration, and the French mission among his people, present one of the loveliest pictures under heaven. Have I been permitted to visit that country, and to see the heavenly vision I have seen, merely to witness it and then be obliged to say it has fled forever!11

Why he feared that it had fled was that the Basotho, and all other peoples beyond the frontier of the colony, were threatened by the massive exodus of the Boers from the colony known as the Great Trek. Philip fought hard to persuade the British government not to allow this kind of settler expansion, but he failed completely, as the creation of Natal and the independent states of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal made only too clear.

Was John Philip primarily a social reformer? He would have been bewildered by the accusation. Everything he did was part of his service of the gospel message. His political work, which annoyed so many of the powerful, stole the headlines. Yet it was no more important than any other aspect of what he saw as his one task.

Every bit as important as his attempts to make the British government of South Africa the “regular and good government” that God demands was his persistent advocacy of what he called “native agency” as the key to the evangelization of Africa and his equally insistent attempts to persuade more and more missionary societies to come to southern Africa.

Just as the all-pervasive influence of new race theories affected British colonial policy increasingly after 1840, so, at first gradually, then with increasing pace after the coming of full-blown social Darwinism, the policy of missionary societies was affected also. (The most glaring illustration is seen in the tragic story of Bishop Adajii Crowther, not to be succeeded by another African bishop in the Anglican Communion till the mid-twentieth century.)

Before this philosophy created the crippling perception of the African evangelist as inevitably the missionary’s assistant, Philip insisted that only Africans could convert Africa and that an African ministry for an autonomous church must be created as rapidly as possible.

His attempt to bring more societies to come to work in South
Africa achieved greater success. The Glasgow Missionary Society (an associate society of the LMS) came and created Lovedale, the most important single educational foundation open to Africans in southern Africa until it was destroyed by the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Philip went to France and persuaded the Paris Evangelical Mission to send missionaries to work with Moshweshwe and his Sotho people, with extraordinary results. The Rheineschen Missiongesellschaft and the American Board were two other organizations brought to South Africa by Philip.

John Philip's last years were darkened by a great deal of sadness in his private life and by a sense of defeat over issues central to his life's work. In July 1845, his son William, pastor of Grace Church in Hankey, died. The same year, his daughter was killed in an accident. At the same time he felt, correctly, that the directors of the LMS in London no longer trusted his judgment or saw the problems of South Africa as he did. In addition he felt that so many missionaries of the LMS and of other societies no longer had a commitment to human equality.

In 1850 Philip retired from active service and went to live in the Coloured community of Hankey, where another of his sons was a pastor. He died there on August 27, 1851, and was buried by his beloved Coloured people in what was, until the abolition of apartheid laws, a Coloured graveyard.

**Troublemaker or Prophet?**

Among twentieth-century writers in Britain and South Africa, John Philip has provoked as sharp hostility as he did in his lifetime among British settlers and the Afrikaner herders. Even the entry in the modern evangelical *New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* says of him, "His aggressive and intolerant manner did harm, as did his unwillingness to admit mistakes and his unsympathetic attitude towards colonists." Wealth, land, and the support of the British authorities were on the side of the colonists who had stolen the people's land; what was Philip supposed to do? The Coloured people inside the colony, and the Griqua, Sotho, and Xhosa beyond, had a very different view of him, symbolically proclaimed by his grave, which is in what was, under apartheid laws, a Coloured graveyard.

Another picture of him in contrast with the negative was given by the young Eugene Casalis of the Paris Mission. He wrote about his arrival in South Africa:

Dr. Philip received us with a kindness truly paternal. He was entertaining at this time several missionaries, coming, one from the interior of Africa, others from India and Madagascar. We were struck from the first hour with the heartiness and good humour which reigned at his table. I had rarely heard men laugh so heartily. This shocked us a little at first, being still full of the emotions of a first arrival. Young recruits, we were entering the camp with a solemnity perhaps a little exaggerated.

John Philip has been honored by some in South Africa as the founding father of South African liberalism. This he was to a degree, but it was an incidental product of his devout evangelical claim of the sovereignty of God over all life. Today urgent debates go on about the priority of personal evangelism versus the seeking of justice for the oppressed. Philip saw no conflict between those two, which for him, were but two faces of the same coin.

He saw that the African church had to be African. Fully 150 years before the "Apartheid is a heresy" decision of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, he saw with utter clarity that discrimination was contrary to the Word of God.

**Notes**

2. Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors, May 9, 1796, LMS Archives.
3. The Cape Coloureds are the descendants of Khoi, slaves, and many offspring produced in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, when concubinage was common and interracial marriage not unknown. By the late 1840s they were one community whose language was what is now Afrikaans.
4. Afrikaners are the descendants of the farmers who settled in the Cape, some were Dutch, others were indentured German soldiers of the Netherlands East India Company, and still others were Huguenot refugees (hence names such as Malan, Retief, and deKlerk).
5. Thomas Pringle was a Scottish settler who came in 1820 and the first South African poet. He later became secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society.

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**Writings of John Philip**


**Works About John Philip**


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10. The Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements).
11. Philip to Buxton, November 22, 1842, SA Odds, box 3, folder 5, LMS Archives.
12. Between 1836 and 1840 about one-third of the Afrikaner people left the colony in an organized emigration, a form of "rebellion by removal" against British rule.
The Legacy of Donald Fraser

Jack Thompson

Deep in the bush of Malawi, Central Africa, on the edge of what is still the small village of Embangweni, stands a simple stone cross, inscribed with the words “In memory of Donald Fraser and Jonathan Chirwa.” Here, side by side, in what was the chief’s cattle kraal—the place of burial for those held in particular esteem among the cattle-herding Ngoni people—lie the Scottish missionary and his Malawian colleague. Fraser died in Scotland on August 20, 1933, following an operation for the removal of his gall bladder. He was cremated, and his ashes were brought back to Malawi by his wife for burial at the place of his missionary service. The positioning of the graves bears witness both to the respect with which the Ngoni people regarded Fraser and to the affection that he himself had for those among whom he worked.

Today Donald Fraser is not widely known outside Malawi and Scotland. Yet in his day he was both active missionary and internationally known mission strategist, friend and colleague of men like John R. Mott and Joseph H. Oldham, and many of his insights into both the theory and practice of mission remain valid, and valuable, for us today.

Early Development in Leadership

Donald Fraser was born on June 1, 1870, the fourth of eight children, at Lochgilphead in Argyllshire, Scotland, where his father, William, was the local Free Church of Scotland minister. Donald entered Glasgow University in 1886, at the age of sixteen but left without completing his M.A. to enter the Free Church Hall and study for the ministry.¹ In 1891, while attending the Keswick Convention for the first time, he had a deep religious experience during a student conference at Keswick attended by many who were later to become important figures in the missionary movement, including Joseph Oldham, Temple Gairdner, and Douglas Thornton. Following a speech by the young American Robert E. Speer on the “watchword” of the American Student Volunteer Movement—“The Evangelization of the World in This Generation”—Fraser was so affected that he spent the night in prayer and meditation at the nearby Castlerigg Stone Circle. One of his colleagues later remarked, “after that we all felt the prophetic touch of leadership was upon Donald Fraser.”² By this time Fraser had already helped to found the Student Volunteer Movement in Britain, having invited Robert P. Wilder to visit Britain in 1892.³ As a result of a series of meetings in both England and Scotland, the Student Volunteer Missionary Union of Great Britain and Ireland was founded in Edinburgh in April 1892, and in 1893 Fraser became traveling secretary for the British SVM.

In 1894 Fraser visited the conference of the American SVM at Detroit, where he discussed with John R. Mott the desirability of creating a world student body. The discussions were renewed at the Keswick student convention of 1895, when Mott and Luther Wishard were both present.⁴ In August of the same year the World Student Christian Federation was formed at a meeting at Vadstena in Sweden, and though Fraser was not present at its inauguration, his part in bringing it about was substantial.

In January 1896 the British SVM held a major conference at Liverpool with the theme “Make Jesus King.” Fraser was chairman of this conference, which was attended by over seven hundred delegates. In the 1890s the sight of a young man of twenty-five chairing a huge conference of this sort with verve and efficiency made a deep impression. Among the decisions of the conference was one to adopt the American SVM watchword:⁵

By this time Fraser had already applied to the Free Church of Scotland to go to Malawi (then British Central Africa) as a missionary. Before leaving for Africa in June 1896, Fraser undertook a tour of six European countries on behalf of the SVM, and on his way out to Malawi he stopped in South Africa, where he undertook a three-month tour of universities and colleges to promote and encourage the movement there. He also visited Lovedale, the great center of Free Church of Scotland educational work in Cape Province, from which several local evangelists had gone to work in Malawi.

In the early 1890s, then, Fraser’s impact on the student world in Britain, Europe, and South Africa was significant. Tissington Tatlow wrote that Donald Fraser “left his mark permanently on the [British] movement.”⁶ These early years of involvement in the SVM were also important in quite different ways for Fraser’s future missionary career. First, they meant that he arrived in Malawi, not as a raw recruit, to be molded and shaped by the existing policies of the mission, but as an experienced and respected leader. Second, the ecumenical and international contacts that he had already made before he began his missionary career undoubtedly broadened his theological outlook affecting the way in which he reflected on mission and put it into practice. The two points taken together meant that from the very beginning he was able to develop policies that were often distinct from, and occasionally at odds with, those of his missionary colleagues.

Mission and Innovation Among the Ngoni

In January 1897, following his South African tour, Fraser arrived in northern Malawi, where he was to work with the Livingstonia Mission. This mission had been set up in 1874 in memory of David Livingstone, and though associated primarily with the Free (from 1900 United Free) Church of Scotland, it was techni-

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cally an independent organization. It had begun its work in Malawi in 1875 at Cape Maclear, at the southern end of Lake Malawi, but, by the time Fraser arrived the Livingstonia Mission was working predominantly in the north of the country, among the Tumbuka, Tonga, and Ngoni peoples.

Fraser was allocated to work with the Ngoni, a tribe related to both the modern Zulu and Xhosa nations of South Africa. The Ngoni had migrated from South Africa northward during the mfecane (the time of troubles), which had led to the rise of the Zulu leader Shaka. They are normally characterized (if not caricatured) as a warlike people resistant to the Gospel. By the time of Fraser’s arrival various factors had combined to change that, and within a few years thousands were to seek baptism.

The policies followed by Fraser encouraged this trend. They did not initiate it, as Fraser himself was aware; but it would be fair to say that his policies were often closer to the priorities and concerns of the Ngoni themselves than were those of some of his missionary colleagues, and that they struck a cord of responsiveness.

One preeminent example of this was Fraser’s use of large sacramental conventions as a mission strategy. In the Scottish highland tradition in which he was brought up, the tradition of the Communion season was well known. Here people gathered from a wide area for a week of services and teaching that culminated in the celebration of the Lord’s Supper. Fraser based his African conventions on this tradition but added baptism to Communion as the essential ingredients of the occasion.

When he held his first such convention at Ekwendeni in May 1898, about 4,000 people attended, although at the time there were less than 400 baptized Ngoni Christians. The following year the occasion was even bigger, with well over 6,000 attending, and 309 adults and 148 children were baptized. So big was the gathering that temporary grass huts (misasa) had to be erected to accommodate the visitors, leading some of Fraser’s colleagues to compare the occasion to the Hebrew Feast of Tabernacles. There is little doubt that the real attraction for the Ngoni was that it reminded them of their traditional feast, the incula, or feast of the firstfruits. This was a national festival that had died out during the long migration from the south, but the memory obviously remained and was meaningful.

Fraser’s use of these large conventions, against the wishes of some of his missionary colleagues who considered them too emotional, was part of his general sympathy for African culture. Many years later he wrote:

I fear the Evangel which de-nationalizes, which refuses to recognize the power of the Gospel to purify what is not essentially wrong, and which preaches first through prohibitions, rather than by the attraction of what is positive . . . . We come not to destroy distinctive nationality, but to fulfill what men have searched after gropingly; and for the enrichment of the world to retain and purify all that is not evil . . . . If our presentation of the Gospel puts its emphasis on the prohibition of social practices which are not essentially evil, we are apt to arouse an antagonism of nationality when we should have made it our greatest ally.

Fraser’s attitude toward African culture may also be seen in his encouragement of indigenous music. The Ngoni were a very musical people, with a rich tradition of praise songs to the chief, as well as wedding, hunting, and war songs. Earlier missionaries had thought these inappropriate for Christian use, though William Koyi, one of the black African evangelists who had come from Lovedale in South Africa to work at Livingstonia, had introduced Zulu hymns to the Ngoni.

The process of Ngoni Christian hymn composition was already under way when Fraser arrived. His contribution lay in the way in which he encouraged and channeled the tradition. He did so primarily in connection with the sacramental conventions, by holding hymn-writing competitions each year. On occasion there were as many as fifty new compositions submitted. Sometimes these were new Christian words set to traditional Ngoni tunes; on other occasions both tune and words were new, but in traditional style. At their best these hymns were not only sung but danced (though in a restrained way very different from Ngoni war dances).

Before long these Ngoni hymns were being translated into the other languages used in the mission area. When, in 1910, a new hymnbook was being compiled by the Livingstonia Mis-

The use of large conventions, reminiscent of Ngoni harvest festivals, reflected Fraser’s sympathy for African culture.

sion, Fraser’s membership on the working committee ensured that many Ngoni hymns were included. The best of these also found their way into other hymnbooks in different parts of Malawi and, more recently, into some international and ecumenical collections of hymns.

In general it could be argued that Fraser was much more trusting of and encouraging toward the local Christians in his area than most of his colleagues. This can be seen in several ways—his practice of baptizing Africans relatively soon after their conversion, his encouragement of women in leadership roles, and his devolution of at least some missionary powers to local Christians through a system of subsessions.

By the time Fraser arrived in Malawi, a fairly rigid system of hearers and catechumens classes had already been established, which meant, in practice, that the period between confession of faith and baptism might (and usually did) last several years. While accepting the system in principle, Fraser administered it much more flexibly than many of his colleagues.

As the Ngoni church grew, ways needed to be found for ministering to the large numbers of women converts. As early as 1901 Fraser proposed in the presbytery the organization and training of an order of deaconesses. At this period the presbytery was largely dominated by white male missionaries. No action was taken on Fraser’s proposal, so in the same year he instituted an order of women known locally as balalakazi (women elders). Since the presbytery did not recognize the right of women to be elders for a further thirty-five years, the balalakazi remained an unofficial grouping; in practice, however, these women fulfilled the functions of elders in the local church and mirrored similar female groupings in traditional Ngoni society. Here, as elsewhere, Fraser succeeded because he worked with rather than against the traditional values of the Ngoni people.

Moving Toward Indigenous Control

By the early years of the twentieth century, missionaries like Fraser were responsible for thousands of Christians spread over vast areas. The presbyterian system operated by the Scottish
missionaries meant that groups of elders could meet officially only when presided over by an ordained minister. Since at this period there were no African ordained ministers in the mission, this tradition effectively centralized power in the hands of the European missionaries. Once again, Fraser bypassed the system by creating a completely new structure, known locally as ‘masessioni ghačoko’ (subsessions). These were, effectively, groups of local Christians, presided over by an evangelist, who oversaw the work of the church in their own areas. Major decisions still had to be referred to the main session, presided over by Fraser, but the system did give local Christians at least some effective control of their own communities.18

Fraser’s missionary career lasted from 1896 until 1925 (though he had several long periods in Scotland between these dates, organizing missionary campaigns in 1906 and 1921–22, and serving as moderator of the United Free Church in 1922–23). Throughout his missionary service Fraser wrote regularly on a wide range of subjects. He authored six books and wrote innumerable articles for church and mission publications. Running through all of these works is an unusual combination of evangelical fervor, on the one hand, and sympathy for African culture and political advance, on the other. This combination can be seen most clearly in Fraser’s views on mission education, where he championed the idea of the vernacular village school, which he saw primarily as an evangelical agency but also as a means of self-sufficiency for the African masses. He was particularly concerned that Africans should not be educated simply to meet the needs of European colonists and traders. In a hard-hitting letter written to R. F. Gaunt, the newly appointed colonial director of education for Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1927, Fraser wrote: “Education must necessarily arouse discontent with poor conditions and the restlessness of the awakening natural consciousness. Some might think you desire to create an African who will be content with the position given to him and never be a trouble to Government.” He went on to outline his own ideas of the kind of social effects education should produce: “The small trades and industries will be in the hands of the natives and not of Greeks, Indians or Chinese . . . A man should not finish his apprenticeship in an industry without knowing how to conduct his trade in his community, not as a servant of the European but as his own master.”19

Fraser wanted to insure that Africans would be educated to be their own masters, not to form a cheap labor pool.

During the 1920s he was successively director of the Scottish Churches’ Missionary campaign of 1921–22 and moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland in 1922–23. He also, through speaking engagements at student conferences, had a considerable influence on a younger generation of missionaries and missiologists such as Stephen Neill and J. W. C. Dougall.21

Throughout his time in Africa Fraser was supported and upheld by his wife, Agnes, a medical doctor whom he had married in 1901 and who, among many distinctions in her own right, wrote Fraser’s biography soon after he died. She then returned as a medical missionary to the newly formed Copperbelt Mission in Zambia. They had four children—Violet, George, Catherine, and Donald, Jr.

His missionary career ended, as it had begun, with the chairmanship of a major mission conference. Before leaving for Africa in 1896 he had chaired the Liverpool Conference of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union; in 1926, shortly after his final return from Africa, he was chairman of the Le Zoute conference on “The Christian Mission in Africa.”22 That he was asked to fill the chair at such a prestigious conference is, in itself, an indication of the esteem in which he was held by the international mission community.

Le Zoute was a difficult conference, caught between two worlds in several senses of the term. Some delegates thought it too biased toward the educational fashion of adaptation, popularized in the 1920s by the Phelps-Stokes commissions, and the ideas of Jesse Jones.23 Others felt it was too biased toward education, with not enough emphasis on evangelization. Like Edinburgh 1910 (and in spite of all that had happened in between), it was predominantly a Caucasian conference, with only about four black Africans present. Writers such as Edwin Smith and Roland Allen were quite critical of several of the viewpoints expressed at Le Zoute, Allen, for example, arguing that the conference largely ignored the concerns of the local church.24

Fraser’s particular contributions to Le Zoute came in the area of evangelism. In addition to his overall chairmanship, he also chaired the sectional meeting on “Evangelism and the Church.” In preparation for this he had begun writing a major article, “The Evangelistic Approach to the African,” before he left Malawi in 1925.25 Fraser was always an evangelist at heart, and this article, which was one of the conference papers, represents his mature thinking on the nature of the missionary task after thirty years of practical missionary work.

Among the points made by Fraser in the article were the following: the danger of presenting Christianity in a Europeanized or denominational form, the importance of the missionary’s character as a force for change, the need to relate Christian doctrines such as the atonement to historical African concepts of humanity and God and to accept African customs that were not essentially anti-Christian, the desirability of using African music in worship, and the missionary need to recognize the importance of dreams and visions in the religious life of Africa.26 Such a list does not seem out of date even now, nearly seventy years later.

Yet, in spite of his contributions to international missionary thinking on such issues as evangelism and education, Fraser was, first and foremost, a practical missionary. Let us end where we began, with the stone cross linking Jonathan Chirwa and Donald Fraser. In 1916 Chirwa, one of the first Malawians to be ordained to the Presbyterian ministry, was posted to a remote station in what is now Zambia. There he committed adultery, which he returned to confess to Fraser.27 The presbytery suspended him from his ministry and church membership, and there was a strong body of missionary opinion that was opposed in principle...
to reinstatement. Fraser, however, was convinced of the sincerity of Chirwa's repentance and, together with strong elements in the Ngoni church, fought for seven years to have him reinstated. Finally in 1924, and against the wishes of the senior missionaries, Laws and MacAlpine, the presbytery voted to reinstate Chirwa, and he became one of the most beloved and respected of early Malawian clergy.

For Fraser, mission was essentially about the love and forgiveness of God, which he amply demonstrated in his own life and service.

Notes

5. Rouse, World's SCF, pp. 52, 56, 57 and 62.
8. Earlier generations of historians had, on the whole, seen the rise of Shaka as a cause of the mfecane. It is now generally accepted that the causes were much more widespread—including overpopulation and famine—and that the rise of Shaka was a result of this process.
10. Free Church of Scotland Monthly, September 1899; and Aurora 3 (June 1899).
13. United Free Church of Scotland Missionary Record, March 1902, p. 166.
14. See, for example, Free to Serve: Hymns from Africa, collected by Tom Colvin (Glasgow: Iona Community, 1970).

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Book Reviews

Christianity in the Twenty-first Century: Reflections on the Challenges Ahead.


This book should be titled "Christianity in the United States in the Twenty-first Century"—there is virtually no discussion of anything beyond the American scene. This does not mean that there are no lessons here to be learned for Christianity in other parts of the world, but it will depend on others to make the translation and application.

The author, a well-known sociologist of religion, is director of the Center for the Study of American Religion at Princeton University. High on his agenda here are the challenges facing the church as an institution, which leads him to have serious questions about the church's ability in the future to sustain community in a way that attracts people to it (p. 31).

One of Wuthnow's most telling observations in thinking about the future is that "as a community of memory, the church must, among other things, be backward looking; it has a special mission to preserve the past, to carry on a tradition . . . by perpetuating the narratives of the past, by telling stories that bring the past into the present . . . . This function must actually be seen as having the utmost significance. For the very likelihood of anyone in the future retaining the identity of 'Christian' depends on it" (p. 48).

Another provocative aspect of the study is the author's attention to "the continuing vitality of fundamentalism," which, he expects, will "continue strong in the twenty-first century" (p. 115). In contrast, he has "serious questions about the future of religious liberalism" (p. 9), he foresees a continuing decline in the significance of denominationalism (p. 156), and he gives a fascinating forecast of the future of the religious Right (the next national leader of the movement, he suggests, will not come from the clergy or from the South). Surprisingly, he has little to say about ethnic minority churches and "pentecostalists" (sic., p. 166).

In the end, Wuthnow remains hopeful about the future of Christianity in the United States but uncertain about how much of a role it will have in society.

—Gerald H. Anderson

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The Shepards and Lapsley: Pioneer Presbyterians in the Congo.


In 1890 the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern Presbyterian) condoned the segregation of the races and prided itself on never intermingling its religious convictions with those of the civil and political order. When, however, it opened its mission work in the Congo Free State (Zaire), it sent an integrated missionary team that established a pattern of racial collegiality that endured for three decades. In addition, during that period the PCUS established an international reputation for effectively advocating and finally liberating the people of the Congo from the most gross abuses of King Leopold II and his commercial interests.

This well-documented book is essentially a biography of William H. Sheppard, pioneer black missionary. Information on Sheppard's wife and on Samuel Lapsley, his white missionary partner, is also included. The volume is based primarily on archival material at Hampton University and at the Department of History, Presbyterian Church (USA), Montreat, North Carolina.

Sheppard's missionary goal was the conversion of both individuals and tribes. He and his comrades built churches and day schools and established homes for boys and girls rescued from slavery.

His early explorations and contacts with the hitherto xenophobic Bacuba tribe led to his being made a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society in London on June 23, 1893. In his role with others as a defender of the Congolese people against the cruel exploitations of the Belgians, he was received in the White House by three presidents and was referred to at the time as "the most distinguished and certainly the most widely known minister of our Southern Presbyterian Church."

In the United States after 1910 he served as pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Louisville, Kentucky, and lectured widely with persons such as Booker T. Washington. In the last several decades, Sheppard has come to be recognized for his accurate ethnographic descriptions of the African people with whom he had contact and for the careful and extensive collections of artifacts he made, most of which are available in the archives noted above.

Written for the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Presbyterian work in Zaire, this volume has now been translated into French. Students of black history will be pleased to enter the world of this formidable African-American and delight in making his work known to the present generation.

—John R. "Pete" Hendrick

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Theological Education for the Mission of the Church in India: 1947-1987, with Special Reference to the Church of South India.


The book under review is the most comprehensive survey of developments in India since independence in both theology and theological education that this reviewer has seen. Certainly one of the most valuable aspects of this book is the inclusion of substantial descriptive and analytical material on the evangelical in-
volvement in theologizing and theological education in India. This reflects the author's own background and perspective. Theologically trained under the influence of conservative evangelicals of the American holiness tradition, Arles became a teacher and administrator in a seminary closely associated with that tradition. Following the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization (1974), he identified himself with what was known as the “radical evangelical” group. Evangelical theological educators in India began to move closer to “ecumenicals,” seeking the affiliation of their institutions with the Serampore system. Indeed, the entire book is in a sense an apology for radical evangelicalism. All in all, Siga Arles has made a valuable contribution to the study of his subject.

There are a few problems. One is the failure to provide a concise definition of the term “evangelical.” While this has the advantage of permitting considerable flexibility in quoting from other authors, it is stretching things a bit to use the Tamilnadu Theological Seminary as an example of the convergence of ecumenical and evangelical ideologies. The author has also not convincingly established his hypothesis that the primary difference between “radical” and “separatist” evangelicals is that the theology of the former is rooted in the Indian context whereas that of the latter is alien, imposed, as it were, as the quid pro quo for American dollars (see pp. 381-82).

-Frederick S. Downs

Frederick S. Downs is Professor of the History of Christianity at the United Theological College, Bangalore, India. He has been involved in theological education in India since 1961.

Fifteen Outstanding Books of 1993 for Mission Studies

The editors of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSSIONARY RESEARCH have selected the following books for special recognition of their contribution to mission studies in 1993. We have limited our selection to books in English, since it would be impossible to consider fairly the books in many other languages that are not readily available to us. We commend the authors, editors, and publishers represented here for their contribution to the advancement of scholarship in studies of Christian mission and world Christianity.

Carrier, Hervé.
Evangelizing the Culture of Modernity.
Gittins, Anthony J.
Gutiérrez, Gustavo.
Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Jesus Christ.
Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books. $29.95.
Hefner, Robert W., ed.
Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation.
Berkeley: Univ. of California Press. $45; paperback $15.
Hunter, Alan, and Kim-Kwong Chan.
Protestantism in Contemporary China.
New York: Cambridge Univ. Press. $64.95
Ion, A. Hamish.
Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press. $49.95.
Lernoux, Penny, with Arthur Jones and Robert Ellsberg.
Hearts on Fire: The Story of the Maryknoll Sisters.
Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books. $22.95.
Mather, George A., and Larry A. Nichols.
Dictionary of Cults, Sects, Religions and the Occult.
Toward the Twenty-first Century in Christian Mission.
Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio. Introduced by C. J. McNaspy.
The Spiritual Conquest... A Personal Account of the Founding and Early Years of the Jesuit Paraguay Reductions (1639).
St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources. $24.95; paperback $17.95.
Sanneh, Lamin.
Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books. $24.95.
Siewert, John A., and John A. Kenyon, eds.
Shenk, Wilbert R., ed.
The Transfiguration of Mission: Biblical, Theological, and Historical Foundations.
Tang, Edmond, and Jean-Paul Wiest, eds.
The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives.
Van Engen, Charles, Dean S. Gilliland, Paul Pierson, eds.
The Good News of the Kingdom: Mission Theology for the Third Millennium.

January 1994
(LMS) and, like its model, remained determinedly independent of, yet dependent on, its supporting churches: those in France, which until 1905 existed under the Concordat regime (Reformed and Lutheran); the free churches in France; and churches in francophone Switzerland and Belgium.

Through the vissicitudes of French politics (Restoration, monarchy of 1830, Second Republic, Second Empire, Third Republic), the Paris Mission tried hard to maintain its distinctive emphasis on primary evangelization but found itself perennially picking up the pieces for the LMS when the latter was expelled from French colonies. Affirming passionately the primacy of the kingdom of God over national politics, it found itself pressed repeatedly into involvement in French colonial policy and accused of lack of patriotism or Anglophilia when it defended the LMS. In other words, this is the detailed yet lucid story of a mission struggling, sometimes with a degree of success, to maintain its identity and its balance under multiple contradictory pressures. A book not to be missed.

—Charles R. Taber

Charles R. Taber, a contributing editor, is Professor of World Mission at Emmanuel School of Religion, Johnson City, Tennessee. He was a missionary in the Central African Republic and a translations consultant in West Africa.

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Hundreds of North American missions agencies are listed, ranked, and indexed in the new 1993-95 edition of the Mission Handbook. This reference work offers current data and perspectives on the state of world missions and the key players among Protestants and Catholics with sending agencies in North America. This is the first time that data on North American Catholic missionaries has been included in the Mission Handbook.

The first section of the book is replete with charts, graphs, and useful data on the state of world evangelization. There is also a very helpful section entitled "Key Issues for the '90s," which includes reallocating resources, the whole gospel (physical, emotional, and social needs), children and youth, a new center of gravity for the evangelical church (in the South), urbanization, the role of women, and the changing structure of mission.

Any student of the world mission effort will appreciate the regional perspectives contained in the book, by Tokunboh Adeyemo (Africa), Vinay Kumar Samuel (Asia), and Valdir Steurnagel (Latin America).

There is good news here: mission agencies are putting more emphasis on deferring to national leadership and on providing relief aid and development assistance as an integral part of mission programs. They are changing to meet the needs of a changing world and adjusting to the new realities within a global perspective.

There is also disappointing news: while the income for overseas ministries continues to grow for North American mission agencies, the number of personnel sent from North America to other countries has decreased.

Readers will continue to find the main...
features of previous Mission Handbook editions, with some features enhanced. For example, the traditional country-by-country breakdown showing North American personnel now has much more detail. The Mission Handbook continues to be the most comprehensive, single source about mission outreach from the United States and Canada.

J. Paul Landrey

J. Paul Landrey is President of Latin America Mission, Miami, Florida. He served as a cross-cultural missionary for fifteen years in Latin America (Brazil and Colombia).


Being a missionary in today's church can take on many diverse forms and activities. One of these is patiently and competently gathering, classifying, evaluating, making available, and exploiting documents and data that illustrate the evangelizing fields and zeal of frontline missionaries who have planted the Lord's church among the peoples of this world. Father Josef Metzler, O.M.I., presently prefect of the Vatican Secret Archives, is such a discreet and specialized missionary; and so is his confrere, Father Willi Henkel, O.M.I., librarian at the Urbaniana University, an institution of learning that has missiology as its main concern. Ecclesiae Memoria is edited by Father Henkel and is published to honor Father Metzler's lifelong dedication to church history, missiology and especially to mission archives at the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples and now at the Vatican Secret Archives.

Besides an introduction by His Eminence Cardinal Josef Tomko, prefect of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, Ecclesiae Memoria contains contributions from thirty-one other authors, as well as a comprehensive bibliography of Father Metzler's published writings (compiled by Dr. Giacomo Dalla Torre).

Father Marcello Zago, O.M.I., superior general of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, presents a fine missionary portrait of Father Metzler; and internationally renowned missiologist Father André Seurmois, O.M.I., describes Father Metzler's preferred methodology for a history of the missions. Five articles explicitly treat of archives at the service of the church's mission, and two others consider missions from a patristic perspective. A large portion of Ecclesiae Memoria offers studies dealing with the missions after the establishment of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide." Five deal with this congregation itself, seven with the missions in Asia; three discuss the missions in Africa, and four the missions in the Americas. One article takes an ecumenical look at the missions, and the last two contributions speak of missionary vocation and spirituality.

This fine collection of studies (written in Italian, English, Spanish, French, and German) reflect well the universal outlook and outstanding quality of the quiet, self-effacing missionary in whose honor they are made and published. Professional missiologists, as well as the modest beginner, will find in this well-printed and well-presented book a treasure where what is old illustrates what is current and points to what could be new.

—Aloysius Kedl, O.M.I.

Aloysius Kedl, O.M.I., is the General Archivist of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Rome, and Secretary of the Association of Oblate Studies and Research.

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Research Projects in Mission Studies and Non-Western Christianity

The Religion Program of The Pew Charitable Trusts invites proposals for projects that will enhance team research and publication in the fields of mission studies and non-Western Christianity. Awards for two- to three-year collaborative projects with costs ranging from $50,000-$100,000 (U.S.) per year will be made on a competitive basis for work that will significantly advance understanding of cross-cultural Christian mission or the development of Christianity in the non-Western world. Projects should be directed by one or more established scholars, have access to appropriate research facilities, involve scholars from non-Western cultures and contribute to the intellectual and cross-cultural vitality of the world Christian movement. Projects that are international and interdisciplinary and that elicit significant contributions from the Two-Thirds World are particularly welcome. Two or three awards will be made at the end of 1994, subject to the quality of proposals received and the availability of funds.

Send letters of inquiry (no more than three pages) outlining the main purpose, components and cost of the intended project by May 15, 1994 to:

Dr. A. Christopher Smith, Religion Program
The Pew Charitable Trusts
2005 Market Street, Suite 1700
Philadelphia, PA 19103-7017

January 1994
This is the first volume of a projected three-volume "History of the Church in the Third World." The series is being edited under the general direction of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians. (On this project, see the July 1990 issue of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH.) It reflects an effort to include a critical consideration of social forces affecting poorer classes. This volume was prepared with the collaboration of the Commission for the Study of Church History in Latin America, which has in recent years published eight volumes in its Historia general de la iglesia en América Latina (Salamanca, 1983ff.).

The book has three parts, with each of its chapters the work of one of twenty three specialists. Part 1 offers a chronological survey from the sixteenth-century conquest to the present. Manuel Marzal's summary of the emergence of popular Christian religious practice during the colonial period reflects his previous important Andean studies. Ana María Bidegain provides a well-documented analysis of how different groups within the church responded to the question of justice at the time of the emancipation from Spain. Enrique Dussel treats the contemporary church since 1930.

Part 2 reviews the history from the perspective of geographic regions, including the Hispanic churches in the United States. Each study is the work of a historian who has contributed to the comprehensive Historia general. Part 3 explores selected issues: Protestantism in Latin America, the Jesuit Indian settlements in Paraguay, the church and slavery, religious orders, liberation theology, base communities in Brazil, Christianity in the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, and the defense of human rights.

Making the work a valuable guide for further study is the select bibliography accompanying each chapter and a final thirty-one-page section listing sources and additional bibliographies. This is clearly the most thorough general history of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America currently available in English. 

—William D. McCarthy, M.M.

William D. McCarthy, Visiting Professor of Church History at Guadalupe Major Seminary in Lima, Peru, and at Maryknoll School of Theology, Ossining, N.Y., has served as a missionary in Peru since 1980.

The New Catholic Evangelization.


The aim of this collection of sixteen essays is twofold: first, to convince Catholics to overcome their reluctance to share their faith; second, to be evangelized by it themselves. Divided into four sections—"New Ideas," "New Strategies," "New Methods," and "New Fervor"—the contributions offer valuable suggestions on the role of the laity, the family, the parish, the smaller communities within the parish, the celebration of the Eucharist, the school, professionalism, and the media. Each contribution is followed by a reading list and some discussion questions.

Of particular interest are the two contributions that explain the history of the Catholic attempts to evangelize America ("The Catholic Evangelization in the United States from the Republic to Vatican II," by William L. Portier) and to evangelize American culture (" Evangelizing American Culture," by Bishop Francis E. George). Portier stresses how in 1855 Isaac Hecker, an early Catholic evangelizer and
the founder of the Paulist Fathers, was convinced that "the Catholic Church alone is able to give unity to a people, composed of such conflicting elements as ours, and to form them into a great nation." This theme is picked up by Bishop George when he notes how Pope John Paul II, speaking in Chicago in 1979, found "a seed of God's word in the history of different peoples coming to the United States to form a new union."

The book is more inward looking than the title would suggest. Ecumenism, the ongoing Judaic-Christian dialogue, and the need to dialogue with non-Christians are hardly mentioned. Tom Forrest's last chapter, "Evangelization 2000: A Global View," does not make up for this absence. —J. G. Donders

J. G. Donders, from the Netherlands, is Chair of Mission and Cross-cultural Studies, Washington Theological Union. During 1969-84 he was a member of the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of Nairobi, Kenya.


The editor of this volume has undertaken a nearly impossible task: to scan briefly the Methodist perspective on the church's mission. Inevitably it falls short.

Like the curate's egg, "parts of it are very good indeed." In the opening chapter the editor introduces the themes of the theology of mission. He outlines the Wesleyan perspective, including, for example, holistic evangelism organized for mission, focused upon some particular community and need, and so on. Joel B. Green has provided a good chapter on the biblical perspective on mission, based on Luke-Acts, which might apply equally to any other denomination's mission.

Other chapters address John Wesley's view of the mission of the church, familiar ground to most Methodists. Another touches on missions and institutions, a treatment that I found fragmentary, perhaps necessarily so. Still another essay deals with the tension between verbal proclamation and the struggle for justice.

The editor himself has supplied a useful chapter that critiques the church growth movement. Bishop J. Waskom Pickett's work is noted here, but in the volume as a whole almost no other actual Methodist missionary is referred to. Furthermore, a book that is supposed to focus on Methodist history, really deals with American Methodism and almost entirely neglects British work.

Valuable service is offered in a chapter dealing with initiatives of the Council of Bishops of the United Methodist Church on the nuclear crisis, In Defense of Creation, and on recovery of congregational life, Vital Congregations. This may begin a dialogue to which the bishops may wish to reply. It could be a useful interchange.

The final chapter is entitled "Mission and Religious Dialogue." The writer, Roald Kristiansen, has analyzed well. Though not dealing exclusively with Methodist missions, he addresses a basic issue confronting modern missions.

The book is expensive and will probably not enjoy a wide readership. It would have been of great help if a short biographical note on the editor and writers could have been included.

—James K. Mathews

James K. Mathews is a Bishop of the United Methodist Church, now retired. He has been a missionary to India; a mission executive; and bishop of the Boston, Washington, Harare (Zimbabwe), and Albany areas.

Commitment and Openness: The Interreligious Dialogue and Theology of Religions in the Work of Stanley J. Samartha.


It is always enjoyable to read a fine Dutch dissertation replete with all its meticulous scholarship. A further pleasure is the thoughtful theological evaluation added to the exhaustive research in the life, work, and thought of S. J. Samartha. It is important to note that the dissertation genre is different from the typical theological monograph. A dissertation carefully outlines the history of the theological debate in question as well as provides a review of all the relevant literature in the field. This is precisely what Klookwijk does so well in this book.

I would defy readers to claim that their own bibliography of interreligious dialogue was not enhanced after reading this book. Klookwijk has reviewed the entire development of the theological aspects of the ecumenical interreligious movement. He has demonstrated what an important figure Stanley Samartha has
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Jesus in Global Contexts.


Priscilla Pope-Levison and John Levison, who both teach at North Park College, Chicago, “have selected Christian contextual theologians to represent conversations in Christology that are taking place in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and among North American feminists and blacks” (p. 18). The result is a very readable portrait of Jesus Christ and a quick general introduction to theological thought in the areas concerned, supplemented by a twenty-page bibliography.

The image of Jesus as liberator in Latin America has many ramifications, which liberation theology there has claimed to explain. But how do the masses really experience Jesus in their daily life, whatever else the theologians may say about him as liberator?

On the Asian scene the authors concentrate on India (ignoring Korea and China) and discuss the “cosmic Christ,” liberation, and the pam-love image. Much more could be said about Christological...
Religious Traditions of the World.


Lewis (St. Paul Bible College) and Travis (Bethel Theological Seminary) provide a welcome addition to evangelical literature on the study of religions. The book is an attempt to provide a description of major religious traditions and an analysis of contemporary theologies of religion in a way that remains sensitive to the "special interests of the orthodox Christian community" (p. ix) and facilitates Christian witness. The material falls into two distinct, though not well-integrated, categories—descriptive (parts 2-4) and theoretical (parts 1 and 5).

The descriptive section begins with a presentation, in part 2, of polytheistic religions, both ancient (Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman) and contemporary (Zulu, Quechua, and Santal). Part 3 deals with the monotheistic religions of the Near East: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Part 4 examines the religions of India, China, and Japan. The usefulness of this material is enhanced by maps, charts, discussion questions, and excerpts from sacred writings.

The theoretical sections of the book include a survey of various approaches to the study of religion (part 1) and possible theological responses (part 5). Rejecting personalist, structuralist, functionalist, and even normative orientations, the authors opt for a primarily phenomenological methodology. Defining religion as that which is of supreme importance, they limit the discussion to exclusively historical data, since the presentation of the transhistorical (nonempirical?) would require theoretical speculation and assessment. Consequently, the descriptive part of the book contains only a few evaluative segments, such as the account of a Muslim's conversion to Christianity. Nevertheless, the stated purpose of the book demands a response. Rejecting pluralistic, inclusivistic, and exclusive fram­eworks, the authors offer a theology of religion based on the assumed normative nature of Christian Scripture. Therein lies the fundamental and unresolved tension of this work.

—Edward Rommen

How to Reach Secular People.


In this book Hunter provides a fascinating collection of lore regarding an important challenge: How must we shape our evangelism in light of the way secular people are now living and thinking in Western societies? The criteria for his selection of voices is that they be "reflective practitioners." From people like Samuel Shoemaker, Robert Schuller, Donald Soper, and Bill Hybels (and eight more) he draws insights that show a composite profile of secular people and that indicate paths for evangelizing them. The result is a rich resource for research and exploration.

—John Mbiti

John Mbiti, born in Kenya, is Parish Minister in Burgdorf and part-time Professor of Missiology and Extra-European Theology, University of Bern, Switzerland.
Hunt er’s approach exposes several problems that will require further work. First, he uses sources from different periods of time (the mid-twentieth century and the 1990s are not identical in their cultural ethos) and from different parts of the Western world (England, Australia, and diverse regions and population sectors of the United States). As a sociological analysis, this misses the pointed contextuality that his approach really calls for.

Second, the insights, analyses, and prescriptions of his twelve source practitioners are conflated into a homogenous portrait that does not give a sense of any sharp differences of opinion among them. The fruit of Hunter’s research does provide a helpful overview in the process, but not a nuanced display of the critical issues and choices about which reflective practitioners differ.

Third, the effort to profile and strategize regarding the “120 million” Americans over the age of fourteen said to be secular moves too fast past the fact that his profile describes not only unchurched people but the cultural ethos of the church itself. If faithful and effective evangelism is to be done among secular people outside the church, it must grow out of a much more serious engagement of the secular cultural character of the church itself. The culture is “in us” as much as “in them” out there.

George R. Hunsberger

George R. Hunsberger is Professor of Missiology and Director of the Master of Theology program at Western Theological Seminary in Holland, Michigan. He is the Coordinator of the Gospel and Our Culture Network in North America and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Society of Missiology. He has worked in mission in Kenya, Florida, and Mississippi.

A Wideness in God’s Mercy: The Finality of Jesus Christ in a World of Religions.


In developing an evangelical theology of religion and religions, Clark Pinnock, now teaching at McMaster Divinity School, Ontario, Canada, debates both restrictivists, who limit the experience of salvation to those who consciously receive Christ during this life and foresee everlasting torment for the rest, and religious pluralists, who tolerate everything except intolerance.

The challenge from pluralism is clear. It is argued that racial and communal harmony in today’s world depends on the equality of all religions in society, which in turn is held to depend on their ontological equality. Pinnock answers this challenge well. For the New Testament, the cross of Christ and his universal lordship broke the barriers between divided groups and formed the basis for the new united humanity. “The irony of pluralist theology is that, while removing this possible basis for racial unity in the name of racial unity, it does not explain the alternate means” (p. 61). Such pluralism ends up as racism if one concludes that freedom of religion is all right in the West, but Islam is the only permissible faith for the Arabs.

In debating with restrictivists, Pinnock marshals arguments, as he admits, that have been proposed for some time by J. N. D. Anderson, John Wenham, and, more recently, Michael Green and John Stott. The argument is that Abraham, Job, and those who die in infancy will be saved because of the death of Jesus and because of their dependency on God. By extension, those who have such dependent faith but have never heard of Jesus...
are acceptable to God, as was Cornelius. This does not affect the motive for mission, which was always to witness to and invite people to enter the kingdom of God and enjoy its life. The alternative is ultimate annihilation of those who persist in keeping God out, not a prison of endless torment for those who never had a chance to hear of Christ.

Those who have questions about any aspect raised by these theses will find them honestly faced and discussed with biblical warrant. It is somewhat more honest than arguing for a very tough stance and then declaring an agnosticism.

—Christopher Sugden

Christopher Sugden, from England, worked in India from 1977 to 1983 and is Resident Director of the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, Oxford, U.K.

Internationalising Missionary Training: A Global Perspective.


In this book the World Evangelical Fellowship Missions Commission has brought together twenty-one authors from around the world to present a global perspective of training for cross-cultural ministry. Several essays originated in a 1989 consultation in Manila on training the missionary work force. The others were written specifically for this volume.

The first section examines the context of missionary training, particularly the dynamic group of non-Western missions. William Taylor establishes the biblical framework for missions, stressing the importance of personal discipline, the role of local churches, and the need for training in biblical-theological studies and cross-cultural communication. The second presents eleven approaches to cross-cultural training for readers interested in specific cases. The third section examines critical issues such as relationships between North and South, cultural differences in learning styles, and accreditation. The book concludes with a discussion of networking and has an excellent bibliography of training resources.

The authors present a good balance of formal, nonformal, and informal training approaches. Their emphasis on intercultural communication, the sustainability of the missionary enterprise, and the critical role of continuing education is particularly good. The book captures the breadth of the indigenous missionary movement and effectively links theory with practice. Some chapters, however, are better than others. Several cover both more and less than readers will want to know. Some case studies provide unnecessary details while leaving key questions about the curriculum and the training process unanswered. The book also overlooks issues relating to power relationships, social structures, short-term service, the role of women in missions, and the challenge of managing cultural diversity.

Taylor’s conclusion calls for us to network more internationally, exchange curricula, share financial resources, and focus on the training of trainers. Missiologists, practitioners, and others committed to missions will be challenged and learn something new through reading this important book.

D. Merrill Ewert

D. Merrill Ewert, Professor in the Department of Education at Cornell University, formerly served in Zaire with the Mennonite Central Committee and in Kenya with MAP International.

Facing the Powers.


Thomas H. McAlpine has given us a helpful survey of the growing body of literature on “the principalities and powers.” He reviews four approaches to the issues: the Reformed, the Anabaptist, the Third Wave, and the Social Science.

The attention given currently to the powers is indicative of a trend that has been growing in the last quarter-century, namely, away from an exclusively personal view of salvation that ignored the structures of society. Now a pressing question is, Are the social structures largely outside the scope of redemption? Can they, as well as people, be reformed? The current discussion on the powers forces us to direct a long, hard look at passages in the Bible that we have passed over too lightly.
In considering these passages, we do well to note how they reflect the central "story line" of the Scriptures: a good creation, a cosmic fall, and a creation-wide redemption in Christ. In all chapters in the story of redemption the principalities and powers play a significant role.

That the powers were part of the very good creation is hardly open for discussion, for it is so clearly stated in Colossians 1. Nor can it be overlooked (although it has not been given close attention) that the powers figured strongly in the struggle when Christ translated us from the dominion of darkness and brought us over into the kingdom of His Son (Col. 1:13).

The one criticism I have of the fine presentation of McAlpine is that he does not do full justice to the dual function of the fallen powers, as that is found in the Reformed tradition. They simultaneously estrange humanity from God and provide a necessary social cohesion. It may be helpful here to employ the distinction between structure and direction. When Christ reconciled the powers to God, He left their structure intact but reversed their direction to make them become once again God's willing servants.

Facing the Powers should prompt us to deepen the meaning of the mission of the church as a part of the missio Dei. Since Christ has reconciled the powers, we should follow in his train.

—Paul G. Schrotenboer

Paul G. Schrotenboer was general secretary of the Reformed Ecumenical Council for twenty-five years and retired in 1989.

Dissertation Notices

Adams, Anna.

Aragon, Lorraine Victoria.
"Divine Justice: Cosmology, Ritual, and Protestant Missionization in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia."
Ph.D. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1992.

Barro, Antonio.
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"Peter John de Smet, S.J.: Fundraiser and Promoter of Missions."

Gupta, Paul Rajkumar.
"Institutionalization and Renewal in the Hindustan Bible Institute."

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

Ishola, Solomon Ademola.
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Parks, S. Kent.
Ph.D. Fort Worth, Tex.: Southwestern Baptist Seminary, 1993.

Subagya, Andreas Bambang.
"An Analysis of Indonesian Baptist Urban Religious Professionals’ Intention to Participate in Continuing Professional Education."

Wilson, Michael T.
"Skills for Intercultural Relationships: The First Two Years of Missionary Service of Americans in Austria."

Wilson, Norman Glen.
"Empathic Disposition of Evangelical Ministers in Puerto Rico."

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