Culture and Religion—and Missionary Expertise

It was a chance remark offered by a distinguished church historian: “I appreciate the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN. Today it is clearly the missiologists who are leading the way in helping us understand culture and religion.” This observation finds fresh evidence in our current issue.

“Forty-five Years of Turmoil: Malawi Christian Churches, 1949–1994,” by Andrew Ross, illuminates the religious and cultural dynamics that have produced one of Africa’s most vigorous movements for self-government. Of course, not all missionaries in Malawi would have been capable of providing in-depth cultural insight. But in any case, missionary and church opinion was not consulted at midcentury when the decision was made by the British government to incorporate Malawi in a white-controlled federation. The resulting turmoil illustrated the destructive power of miscued appraisals of the Malawian character. Had the political powers been as informed and as sensitive as some of the senior Scots Presbyterian missionaries to intertribal dynamics and to the cross-tribal solidarity that had been produced by three generations of evangelism and education, perhaps the futile attempt to impose a white-dominated federation might have been avoided.

We also draw attention to Rosemary Seton’s comprehensive compilation of mission archival resources in the United Kingdom. Here are rich veins of cultural and religious insights regarding many non-Western cultures, just waiting to be mined by the diligent researcher. Of course, he or she must not be put off by the fact that this expertise was earned by the labor, sweat, and blood of missionaries!

In this issue’s “Noteworthy” we announce the second annual round of grants for missions research, funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts of Philadelphia and administered by the Overseas Ministries Study Center. Many of the projects listed take up issues of cultural and religious identity, reflecting the fact that protocols for the grant program encourage, among other things, research that illuminates the role of missions and indigenous churches in the building and shaping of culture and community.

Missions and missionaries play an important part in helping us understand one another in global context, even as they help the peoples of the world find one another in the reconciling love of Jesus Christ.

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Is Ecumenical Apologetics Sufficient? A Response to Lesslie Newbigin’s “Ecumenical Amnesia”

Konrad Raiser

Under the title “Ecumenical Amnesia,” this BULLETIN published in its January 1994 issue a review by Bishop Lesslie Newbigin of my book Ecumenism in Transition (Geneva, 1991). I am grateful to the editor, Dr. Gerald Anderson, for having invited me to contribute a response to this review for the subsequent issue. Since I wrote my book in order to generate discussion about the present condition of the ecumenical movement, this is a very welcome opportunity to engage in critical dialogue.

My gratitude is further directed to Lesslie Newbigin, whom I deeply respect as a trusted guide on the ecumenical way. Of the various critical reviews of my book, his is by far the fairest and most noble one, and he enters into the heart of the argument. Indeed, it is this kind of mutual challenging and mutual correction rooted in a common commitment that we need in the ecumenical movement; it is a central expression of what this movement is all about.

In saying this, I am gladly affirming one of the main concerns of Lesslie Newbigin. He may have read my book as advocating “the relativism of postmodern culture” and as suggesting an easy form of ecumenical coexistence that “evas[es] the pain of mutual criticism and mutual correction.” I do not recognize my intentions in this interpretation and would affirm as strongly as he does that “the WCC must see itself as the meeting place for all who make a Christological and Trinitarian affirmation along the lines of the WCC Basis. However sharp the disagreements are, the WCC cannot accept a less demanding role.”

I also acknowledge gratefully that Lesslie Newbigin confirms at least the first part of my thesis by admitting that the concept of “Christo-centric universalism” is indeed a “true description of the dominant model in the formative days of the WCC.” He further repeats his earlier conviction that a “full event. Newbigin does not really respond to this challenge, which is central to my argument, and in fact he can state his basic Christological and ecclesiological affirmations almost without any reference to the pneumatological dimension.

I think it would not be unfair to say that Newbigin wants to maintain “Christo-centric universalism” as the valid model for understanding the ecumenical movement and would therefore reject my analysis of an emerging “paradigm shift.” His entire critical reflection is based on the conviction of the nonnegotiable truth of the earlier paradigm, and he would consider any departure from it dangerous for the ecumenical movement.

I have no difficulty accepting his review as a very sincere effort to defend the continuing validity of the basic elements of the old paradigm—in particular its understanding of unity, its Christology with a strong emphasis on the atonement, its ecclesiology, and its missionary orientation. This is an expression of the theology and piety of the tradition of evangelical Protestantism out of which I come myself. Newbigin is certainly right that “the churches and movements that bear the name ‘evangelical’ . . . are the ones that are growing” today, whereas the historic churches of Orthodox, Roman Catholic, or Protestant origin, with a few exceptions, seem to be declining. The WCC must of course remain open for this tradition, as it tries to be open to the contribution from all traditions and contexts represented in its constituency.

It is noteworthy, however, that Newbigin in his review does not refer explicitly to my analysis of the challenges that are facing the ecumenical movement today (see chap. 3 of my book). We know from his more recent writings that he is intensely interested in a critical dialogue with modern culture and convinced that we need to recover the fiduciary framework of biblical faith to counteract the reductionism of the scientific worldview. But his apologetic stance does not allow him to admit either the challenge of religious plurality or the challenges arising from the threats to all natural life systems. As a consequence, he does not recognize that large parts of my book have arisen from a constant critical dialogue with the universalism represented by the ecumenical missionary movement—that is, its profound reticence regarding interreligious dialogue and its attachment to a theology of salvation history.

Like Newbigin and Visser ‘t Hooft, I am convinced that the Christo-centric universalism of the classical ecumenical paradigm is rooted in the missionary vision of “a whole world brought to Christ.” When Newbigin therefore speaks of a “total amnesia [in my book] in respect of missionary and evangelistic work of the church,” he is right as far as the material is concerned that I have used to substantiate my thesis; my ecumenical socialization has been through the Faith and Order and Life and Work streams of the WCC history. But he obviously does not agree with my critical reassessment of the universalism of the missionary movement in response to the new challenges of today, nor does he see a need for such self-critical analysis. My interest in a Trinitarian framework and especially in a fresh understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit is motivated by the conviction that we have to achieve a new interpretation and even transforma-

We seem to disagree about the role of the Holy Spirit—in fact, Newbigin states his affirmations almost without reference to the Spirit.

Trinitarian theology” is needed—at least for an adequate missiology. I shall come back to this point at the end of my response. Finally, I am in agreement with him—and have said so in my book—that the Trinitarian perspective cannot be placed as an “alternative” over against the Christological confession but must be understood as its proper biblical frame of interpretation.

However, we seem to disagree about what it means to take the Trinitarian faith seriously and specifically to appreciate the constitutive role of the Holy Spirit in understanding the Christ...
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- Religion Index One: Periodicals

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Reply to Konrad Raiser

Lesslie Newbigin

I am grateful for the courteous and generous response of Konrad Raiser to my quite harsh criticism of his book. Clearly there is much common ground. I accept his thesis that there has been a “paradigm shift,” and I accept in general his accounts of the former and later paradigms. But paradigm shifts are not, like climatic changes, events that we simply have to record. They are the ways into which, by mutual persuasion, we seek to guide our contemporaries. They call not only for description but for evaluation. Here we differ.

I do not regard the “classical” paradigm as nonnegotiable. I sought to challenge it in my pamphlet entitled Trinitarian Doctrine for To-day’s Mission, thereby earning the disapproval of my great colleague Wim Visser ’t Hooft. But I do regard as nonnegotiable the affirmation that in Jesus the Word was made flesh; there can be no relativizing of this, the central and decisive event of universal history.

Like Raiser, I was brought into the ecumenical movement through the concerns of Faith and Order. It was with sorrow that I had to give up my position as vice-chairman of Faith and Order when I became a WCC staff member. My concern has not been to promote an “evangelical” theology, if that word is used (as it often is) to exclude other Christians. I am concerned for the integrity of the WCC’s witness to the faith that we confess together in the Nicene Creed. Surely to speak much of the atoning work of Jesus on the cross is not to be sectarian or un-Catholic! My own theological struggle during the final stages of the gestation of the Church of South India required a very serious

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.
acknowledgment of the truth in the Catholic doctrine of apostolic succession.

I agree that the “classic” paradigm lacked adequate recognition of the work of the Holy Spirit. As a missionary in India, I had been strongly influenced by the missiology of Roland Allen, for whom the recognition of the work of the Spirit in mission was the very center. When I became part of the WCC staff, I proposed the study on the missionary structure of the congregation precisely with the hope that Roland Allen’s ideas might penetrate the older churches. But the “paradigm shift” of the 1960s ensured that the study was hijacked in the interests of the dominant ideology of the secular. Thirty years later secularity is out and “spirituality” is in. But there are many spirits abroad, and when they are invoked, we are handed over to other powers. The Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, is known by the confession that Jesus alone is Lord.

Raiser finds that there are three new realities that I have not adequately recognized—religious plurality, the concept of the Missio Dei, and the ecological crisis. I offer a word on each.

Religious plurality is as old as known human history; what is new is that churches in the old “Christendom” have woken up to it. One may well admit that the euphoria of Western colonial expansion, which was so often mixed in with missionary motives, enabled the Western churches to engage in world mission without seriously facing for themselves the question of the uniqueness and finality of Christ. The collapse of Western self-confidence and the corrosive effects of the “acids of modernity”

Do we look for the ultimate unity of the human family as the fruit of God’s reconciling work in Jesus Christ, or do we have some other center to propose?

(Lippmann) now produce a mood in which the recognition of religious plurality puts a question mark against the absolute lordship of Jesus Christ. That is precisely the issue now to be faced: Do we look for the ultimate unity of the human family as the fruit of God’s reconciling work in Jesus Christ, or do we have some other center to propose? The “reticence” about interreligious dialogue with which Raiser charges the missionary movement arises from the recognition that there is a kind of “cocktail-party dialogue” (Johannes Aagaard), which operates on assumptions that do not include the affirmation that Christians must make, namely, that in Jesus God has acted decisively for the redemption of the world.

The Missio Dei slogan emerged following the Willingen Conference in 1952, which spoke of the source of the church’s mission in the action of God the Father in sending his Son. Once again the powerful intellectual currents of the later 1950s and 1960s hijacked this biblical statement in the interests of a missiology that bypassed the church and led to the acclaiming of all sorts of secular movements as “God at work in history.” In reaction against an overly church-centered missiology, we had a missiology that found God’s redeeming action almost everywhere except in the preaching of the Gospel. It was a sad period.

If it is true that the missionary movement has been blind to the ecological crisis, that is a grave charge. For myself, I can only say that it has been a constant theme of my speaking and writing that the world dominance of the idolatry of the free market will, if not reversed, both disintegrate human society and destroy the environment. I regret that the immense labor of the WCC under the banner of “Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation” has had such meager results, because it has attacked the symptoms and not the cause of the malady. The ideology of the free market rests upon a doctrine of human nature that is directly attacked by the biblical faith. Idolatry cannot be countered merely by moral protest against its effects. It has to be tackled at its source. That is why I believe that the first priority for the churches and for the World Council of Churches should be a radically missionary encounter with this ideology, which, under the name of “modernization,” is destroying traditional cultures and threatening to destroy the world. “Cocktail-party dialogue” will not do here. We have to find ways of making known the fact that the incarnate, crucified, and risen Jesus is Lord also of the economic order. There is no room for religious pluralism here.

No doubt there are intergenerational factors in this discussion. Much depends on the period in which one was intellectually formed. The products of the 1960s who now provide leadership in most areas are easily recognizable. I have the strong impression that the next generation, now in their twenties and thirties, have turned away from this paradigm. There is considerable fear that the WCC may be trapped in a paradigm that is already losing its power. What I most welcome in Konrad Raiser’s response is his welcome to real discussion, and his recognition that the WCC must be a place where conflicting views can meet in honest search for the integrity of our Christian witness. If I have written critically, it is not as one who stands outside but as one who wants to be within the ecumenical family, where we can speak frankly to each other. I hope and pray that it may be so.

Correction

A correction should be noted in the second paragraph of “Protestant Theological Education in the Former Soviet Union” by Mark Elliott (January 1994, page 4). In the 1920s Evangelical Christians operated a Bible school in Leningrad and Baptists operated a separate Bible school in Moscow.
Forty-five Years of Turmoil: Malawi Christian Churches, 1949–1994

Andrew C. Ross

The Republic of Malawi was, until 1964, the British Protectorate of Nyasaland, bounded by Tanzania in the north, Mozambique in the east and south, and Zambia in the west. Malawi’s population of around 7 million is over 99 percent African, of whom about 25 percent are traditionalists, 15 percent Muslims, and 60 percent Christians.

Malawi Christians are divided fairly equally between the Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian (CCAP) and the Roman Catholic Church, each with about 25 percent of the population. The Seventh Day Adventist Church has about 2 percent of the population, the Episcopal about 2 percent, and the remaining 6 percent is made up of the Zambesi Evangelical Church, the Churches of Christ, and a number of African Independent Churches. It should be noted that, on the whole, being a Christian in Malawi means coming under a pattern of church discipline much more strict than is usual in the West. It is also important to notice that a large number of traditionalists—in fact, the overwhelming majority—have close connections through the extended family with either a Muslim or a Christian congregation, sometimes with both.

The first Christian presence in the area was that of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Zambesi mission of the Jesuits. But, unlike their great successes elsewhere in that era, their mission on the Zambesi had no true lasting success. The next mission was that of the Anglican Universities Mission to Central Africa, which came to Malawi during the period of David Livingstone’s Zambesi expedition in 1861 but withdrew to Zanzibar in 1864. Not until 1880 did the mission return to establish its mission. But, unlike their great successes elsewhere in that era, their mission on the Zambesi had no true lasting success.

It was the Scottish response to Livingstone’s death that produced the first permanent Christian presence in Malawi. During the years 1873 and 1874 the Church of Scotland and the then Free Church of Scotland planned missions to Malawi. Although the Free Kirk had seceded from the Kirk only thirty years before and feelings in Scotland were still very bitter, the two groups of mission supporters talked of a united mission in the years before the First World War there was intense and explicit competition between the Presbyterian and Catholic missions and churches. We must also note a profound gulf dividing the status accorded to African pastors, evangelists, and catechists. The difference is brought out very clearly when the evidence given to the government commission set up to investigate the causes of the Chilembwe Rebellion of 1915 is reviewed. The Marist and White Fathers missions in their widespread school systems taught only in Nyanja and Tumbuka, and what they taught was limited. The same was the case with the Mkoma Mission. Furthermore, the Roman Catholic and the Cape Synod

Some missionaries held that Africans, even if ordained, would always work under the supervision of Europeans.

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conceive of autonomy ever being granted to African pastors and indeed. Ferreira of the Mkhoma Mission said he could hardly missionaries with the Mkhoma Mission also agreed that Africans, even if ordained, would always work under the supervision of Europeans. Any kind of autonomy was very far distant indeed. Ferreira of the Mkhoma Mission said he could hardly conceive of autonomy ever being granted to African pastors and evangelists. Bishop Auneau said, “The European staff will always keep the supervision and direction of the mission.” All this is in direct contrast with the English medium education in the two Scottish missions and even more with the freedom given to African ministers, evangelists, and elders. The difference in practice can be seen clearly in the response of Dr. Hetherwick of Blantyre to the Commission of Enquiry:

Q: Regarding religious instruction, you mention the Bible. Can any native get a Bible?
A: Yes, we will sell it to any native.
Q: Do you think the native, educated or otherwise, is capable of understanding the Holy Scriptures?
A: Yes, as capable as any other ordinary Christian.
Q: If a teacher selects an isolated portion or verse, may he misapply it?
A: Yes, as a European might.

Hetherwick went on to describe the structure of the judicatories of the church, emphasizing the one-person, one-vote nature of presbytery and synod, where Europeans and Africans were in near parity of numbers and where inevitably there would be an eventual African majority. A commissioner, fearful of giving the “natives” so much power, then asked, “Are you prepared for the Church of Scotland to be governed by a native majority?” Hetherwick replied, “We have seen nothing of danger yet, and I fear none.”

The Scots and the several Malawian ministers and elders who gave evidence (it is not without significance that it was only from the Scottish synods that Africans volunteered to give evidence to the commission) insisted that there were serious injustices built into the social, legal, and economic structure of the protectorate, which needed to be reformed. In contrast, the missionary witnesses from the Roman Catholic missions and from Mkhoma asserted that the Malawians were content with the political situation.

After the First World War the differences over these same issues between the Blantyre and Livingstonia synods of the CCAP, on the one hand, and the Mkholi Synod and the Roman Catholic dioceses of Malawi, on the other, continued. In the Scottish-related synods there were African majorities in synod and in presbytery, and English medium education flourished and produced an ever-increasing educated African and Presbyterian elite who took up all the skilled manual and clerical jobs as well as the few administrative jobs that were open to Africans in commerce and government in Malawi and to some extent also in the countries that are now Zambia and Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe the Malawians created so many Presbyterian congregations and from Mkholi asserted that the Malawians were content with the political situation.

In addition, from 1902 substantial numbers of Malawian men worked as migrant contract workers in the mines of South Africa. These men all spoke at least two out of the three languages of church and school in what was then Nyasaland—Tumbuka, Chewa, and English. Livingstonia and Blantyre men took the lead in those communities, and soon it was usual for the migrants, from whatever tribe in Malawi, to enter “Nyasaland” where the official form required them to name their tribe. There is no such tribe! The men from Nyasaland simply were asserting their oneness. This response to the experience of migrant employment was one of the roots of nationalism in Malawi.

Meanwhile, although in the Mkholi Synod the number of schools and new congregations increased rapidly, as also they did in the Catholic system, the insistence of both these bodies on minimal academic education, and that only in the vernacular, meant that their Christians were ill equipped to play a responsible part in the modern sectors of society and the economy. (It was only in the 1950s that the Catholic Church began to change and follow a new emphasis on higher education and the rapid development of African leadership. They did this with great energy and drive, creating a new style of Catholicism in Malawi. In the same period Mkholi also came into line in the area of education, but more slowly.)

One final element in the background to the troubles of the last forty-five years was the attempt by white-dominated Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to persuade Britain to allow the two British colonies of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) to be united with it in a new self-governing dominion to be ruled by an all-white parliament elected by an all-white electorate. This is referred to by historians as the campaign for amalgamation. The Scottish missionaries and the African Christian leaders of the Blantyre and Livingstonia synods gave evidence against such amalgamation first to the Hilton Young Commission of 1928 and then to the Bledisloe Commission of 1938. These were set up by the imperial government to review the situation at times of peak pressure for amalgamation from the white Southern Rhodesians. Each commission recommended to London that amalgamation not be pursued. In their reports the commissioners insisted that the Scottish missionaries and their African allies had persuaded them that the African people of Nyasaland were totally opposed to such a union with its inbuilt race discrimination. In 1938, the Blantyre and Livingstonia witnesses were supported by witnesses from the Episcopal and two small evangelical churches. They were all agreed that so many Malawians had worked for stints as migrant contract workers in Southern Rhodesia and in the South African mines that the people of Malawi knew well the race situation in the south. The people of Malawi, these church witnesses insisted, did not want that pattern of white supremacy to come north.

The Years of Turmoil Begin

Despite all that had been expressed in the reports of the two commissions of 1928 and 1938, the British government in the years after the end of the Second World War listened again to the renewed appeals of the leaders of the white-ruled Southern Rhodesia for amalgamation. These Southern Rhodesian politicians were now supported vociferously by the large number of whites who had come to Northern Rhodesia because of the boom in the copper mining industry there, a development that had begun in the midthirties. Among the small number of whites in Nyasaland, some—principally those associated with tea and tobacco farming—joined in the clamor for a new white-dominated electorate. Extraordinarily, there was no commission of enquiry this time as there had been in 1928 and 1938. After four years of hard negotiations the British government planned and put into effect a new federal state in August 1953. It was not the amalgamation the white politicians had asked for but a very strange form of federation.

What was abundantly clear was that it could not last, as there were fundamental contradictions in the system. There was a federal legislature elected by a whites-only electorate, with a few appointed members to represent African interests. The old, all-
white parliament of Southern Rhodesia continued as its local legislature. As a gesture toward the African opposition to the scheme in Zambia and Malawi, the local administrations there were to continue to be carried out by British colonial service officers serving new legislative councils that contained directly elected African members, though these were in a minority.

Africans in Malawi and Zambia were bitterly opposed to the new federation. They saw clearly that the strange balancing act of the constitution of the federation could not last; either the multiracial pattern of the two northern territories or the white supremacist one of the South had to prevail. However, since the federal government in practice was all white, it seemed to the northern Africans that amalgamation into a white supremacist state was what lay in the future. The leaders of the federal government made no attempt to hide the fact that this indeed was their aim.

In the 1930s a number of debating societies that had been encouraged by the Blantyre and Livingstonia missions united to produce the first modern political party in Malawi, the Nyasaland African National Congress (NANC). It was this congress that led to the production of the first modern political party in Malawi, the Nyasaland African National Congress (NANC). It was this congress that led to the production of the first modern political party in Malawi.

In the 1930s the debating societies that the missions had encouraged produced the first modern political party in Malawi.

been taught that they were fighting for the self-determination of all peoples and to end tyranny. They subsequently applied these lessons to their own situation. In addition, the postwar British government was even more explicit than before the war in its promise that colonial peoples were to be prepared for eventual self-government. The new federation was therefore seen as a deliberate breaking of promises by the British. It is difficult to exaggerate the sense of betrayal that pervaded peoples’ minds at that time in Malawi.

As in the amalgamation campaigns, the Blantyre and Livingstonia missions, their associated synods, the Episcopal Church, and the small evangelical churches all protested to the British authorities over the imposition of federation on an unwilling African people in Malawi. Throughout this campaign, as in the previous crises of 1928 and 1938, the Mkhoma Mission and the Roman Catholic missions played no part in lobbying the British authorities, and the African leadership within their churches were so lacking in any sense of autonomous authority that they also said and did nothing. The British and federal authorities interpreted this behavior as support for their cause, and it was so interpreted also by the articulate African opponents of federation.

Dr. Andrew Doig, a chaplain with the King’s African Rifles in Burma during the Second World War, moderator of the Blantyre Synod of the CCAP, and later, after retiring from Malawi, a moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, insisted that not to oppose federation meant being associated with white racism and with a view that held Africans to be a permanently subject people. Such a view, he insisted, negated the oneness of humanity that was at the heart of the Gospel.  

Nyasaland African National Congress and CCAP

The NANC and the CCAP had a massive overlap in their membership. The party had, after all, originated in missionary-encouraged debating societies and good citizenship groups. Many of its branches opened and closed their meetings with prayer. The NANC was seen as part of the Christian society of Malawi. Traditionalist leaders and Muslim leaders were very suspicious of it, and in turn they were very cooperative with the federal and colonial authorities.

I remember coming out of morning service in an area where traditionalists were still numerous and talking to a group of drunk village elders whose drumming had been a problem for us in church that morning. They were courteous enough, but they explained to me, “Sitifuna macalici, masukulu, Congressi, tingofuna mtendere basi” (We do not want churches, schools, or Congress; we simply want to be left in peace).

Since ultimate authority over Nyasaland was still vested in the Crown, and Britain still supplied colonial service officers for the Nyasaland administration, the NANC continued to believe that the way ahead was to pressure the British government into withdrawing Malawi from the federation and restoring it to the path of eventual self-government. This was also the policy of the Livingstonia and Blantyre missions and their associated synods. The other church groups that had protested originally did little after federation was imposed because they felt there was nothing left except to get on with life in the new situation.

The End of the Scottish Missions

In these first years of federation a very important change took place in the organization of Christianity in Malawi. This was the voluntary dissolution of the Blantyre and Livingstonia missions. The Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland as well as a majority of missionaries in the field, together with the African leadership of the two synods, had agreed by 1953 that the existence of a mission structure alongside the synods represented a tradition which by its very nature denied the equality of black and white Christians. If the synod was truly a synod of the Presbyterian Church, how was it that a committee of Scottish missionaries should own so much of the property of the church and alone make key decisions relating to the hospitals and schools that belonged to the churches? Could it be right for expatriate Scots to be pastors of the CCAP, have full membership of presbytery and synod, yet still legally be members not of the CCAP but of the Church of Scotland? Thus, the Scottish Missions were dissolved as autonomous agencies in Malawi. The Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland continued to send missionaries and paid their salaries, but the missionaries, on arrival in Malawi, gave up membership of their home churches and became members of the CCAP, coming fully under its ecclesiastical authority.

The End of Federation

All the church organizations in Malawi other than the synods of Blantyre and Livingstonia and some small African Independent Churches accepted the new situation of Malawi as part of the federation. But the two synods refused to give up and cam-

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paigned vigorously to persuade British public opinion to bring pressure to bear on the British government to withdraw Malawi from the federation. They managed to get the Church of Scotland and some pressure groups in Britain to support this policy, which was also that of the NANC. The Federal Government Information Service attempted to denigrate the two synods, insisting that Africans could not mount such a campaign themselves, that the whole thing was being directed by a group of men and women who were in Malawi as Scottish missionaries but who were really political agitators. Indeed in 1959 the federal government published in Africa and Britain a pamphlet, The New Face of the Kirk in Nyasaland, propagating this understanding of the CCAP. (The pamphlet illustrated the inability of Europeans to understand the autonomy of an African church, for the Kirk no longer existed in Nyasaland.)

The federal pamphlet was published within a couple of weeks of the declaration on March 3, 1959, of a state of emergency in Malawi, when the whole leadership of the NANC was put into detention without trial. Eventually after a sifting process, one thousand “hard-core” leaders were assembled in a detention camp called Kanjedza. Of that thousand, more than seven hundred were members of the CCAP. Traditionalists, Muslims, Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Baptists, Adventists, and others made up the fewer than three hundred others. It is also important to note that every African university graduate in Nyasaland, man or woman, was arrested at that time.

In this moment of crisis the Blantyre and Livingstonia synods appealed to the Church of Scotland and other sympathizers in the United Kingdom for support in what they insisted was a monstrously unjust situation. They scorned the assertion of the federal authorities that the NANC had been planning a massacre of whites and insisted on the justice of the NANC case, the essential nonviolent nature of their approach, and the support of their aims by the majority of CCAP Christians.

The British government responded sympathetically to the consequent campaign in the United Kingdom; in Scotland the campaign took the character of a national crusade. The government began a slow process of releasing the detainees as well as beginning the legal steps necessary for the withdrawal of Malawi from the federation. (This meant, in effect, the end of the federation and had the unfortunate effect of bringing to power an even more rigorously white-supremacist regime in Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe than before.)

While most of the top leaders of the NANC were still in detention and would remain so for another six months, Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda was released and took over the presidency of the NANC, now called the Malawi Congress Party (MCP). He conducted a new recruitment drive in this period when he was the one and only truly prominent leader able to operate freely in the country. This drive he directed at areas where the NANC had been relatively weak, like much of the Central Province, the area of the Mkhoma Synod. He played skilfully on the feelings of the people of that area that somehow they had been ignored if not despised by the old congress dominated by northerners (Livingstonia) and southerners (Blantyre). In this drive Catholics over the whole country as well as Mkoma Synod members and other groups joined the MCP in a way they had not the old NANC. This meant that when the other NANC leaders were finally released, it was to rejoin an organization that was larger, more broadly based, and much more Dr. Banda’s party than the NANC had ever been. It was this party that oversaw the last thrust for independence, which was granted by the British in 1964 two years after the British had withdrawn Malawi from the federation and granted it internal self-government.

Banda was now genuinely the leader of the nation, independent of the group of young men and women who had brought him back to head the NANC in 1958. His control of the new party structure was firm and was made more secure by the creation of a paramilitary youth organization called the Young Pioneers, which in 1965 was put outside police control. Its members became the enforcers of the party’s will on the people.

When internal self-government had been granted by the British in 1962, the young, former NANC leaders who had brought Banda back home made up the new executive council and, after full independence in 1964, the first Malawi cabinet. However Banda, from early in 1963, increasingly treated them as assistants, not as colleagues (which legally they were under the British system inherited in Malawi). Over their opposition, he insisted on policies such as that of cooperation with South Africa and with the Portuguese, who still controlled Mozambique. Late in 1964 he dismissed a number of the ministers from the cabinet, whereupon the others resigned in sympathy with their friends. They were not allowed to form any kind of opposition party, and all but one left the country while many of their supporters were arrested and detained without trial. Worse, some were murdered by the Pioneers.

What were the churches to do now? The synods of Blantyre and Livingstonia were paralyzed, since they appeared to be part of the new opposition. After all, the dismissed cabinet ministers, with one exception, were their members; indeed, three had been members of the General Administration Committee of their synod, and most of the people being detained or killed were also Blantyre or Livingstonia Christians. After a number of direct personal appeals to Banda by synod leaders failed to gain any softening of his position, the leaders of the two synods deemed it wise to keep their heads down and hope the storm would pass.

The smaller churches, which had been silent on political and social issues since the inception of federation eleven years before, felt they could say or do little now. The Mkhoma Synod and the Roman Catholic bishops were in a quandary, since so many of their members were Banda enthusiasts at that time—after all, he had brought them out of the political wilderness. If they spoke against the government, it might do untold harm to their position and their ability to carry on their mission. In any case, how true were the complaints about the murders by the Pioneers? Maybe what the Government Information Service said was true and the young leaders had been plotting with the fiercely atheistic Chinese Communists. Although a number of Catholic leaders had been unhappy about the increasingly autocratic style of Dr. Banda’s government, they thought that perhaps the alternatives were worse. Although only a year before, the Mkhoma Mission had dissolved itself following the Blantyre model, the Mkhoma Synod was still profoundly influenced by its large staff of Afrikaner missionaries. They were so pleased that South Africa had a friend at last in black Africa that they were willing to forgive Banda much. In any case they still trusted him and believed what he said about Communist plots, and they hoped his support would be good for the church and its mission.

Meanwhile things were getting worse for the Blantyre and Livingstonia synods. A number of their Scottish staff had to leave the country because of their past association with the exiles and with the many Christians of both synods who were continuing to be sent into detention. When an attempted coup d’etat failed and a daring raid by a small party of guerrillas intending to assassinate Banda also failed, the two synods were even more under pressure, since the majority involved in these two episodes were...
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Christians of the Livingstonia and Blantyre synods.

After this, however, the country settled down, and there followed a period of reasonable tranquility and some genuine increase in prosperity. However, in the 1970s more and more people were detained without trial on the say-so of informers. More and more of those surrounding the president became rich through an increasingly corrupt political process. The Malawi Congress Party by this time had ceased to be a channel for people’s aspirations and become an organization for the control of the people.

There was a brief period of light in the darkness beginning in 1978, when many detainees were released and a number of new men appointed as cabinet ministers, notably Dick Mattejenje, Aaron Gadama, Twaibu Sangala, and Michael Chiwanga, all of whom were CCAP Christians. In addition the head of the police service was a Blantyre Synod elder who, with the help of these new ministers, did away with the elaborate network of informers.7

The group of corrupt and dangerous men and women around the president, however, remained essentially untouched. They began a counterattack. Their first victory was the enforced early retirement of the head of the police. Then they used policemen to raid over the border into Zambia and arrest Orton Chirwa and his wife, Professor Vera Chirwa, and bring them back into Malawi on a charge of treason. This was done on Christmas Eve, 1981. Orton and Vera had been leaders of the old NANC, and Orton had been the country’s first minister of justice before being forced to flee the country in 1964. They were the best-known leaders of the democratic movement in exile and had the most important contacts in Europe and the United States. They were held a long time without trial, then tried for treason with procedures that were a farce. They were found guilty and sentenced to death. People in Malawi were unable to protest, for fear had again become the dominant political emotion in the country. But an international campaign was organized by church people throughout Britain, Canada, and Western Europe for their release or at least the commutation of the death sentence.

The four recently appointed cabinet ministers—Mattejenje, Gadama, Sangala, and Chiwanga—also made it clear to the president that they felt it right that he should commute the death penalty. Meanwhile they were also preparing amendments to the constitution that would have given the people more choice at election times, in contrast to what had become a matter of routine endorsements of the wishes of the president.

The death sentence on the Chirwas, after it was confirmed on a series of appeals, was commuted to life imprisonment, but at the same time the four reformers were arrested, taken to party headquarters, and then shot on May 17, 1983. The outside world was told that they died in a tragic automobile accident. During this time no reporter for newspapers, magazines, radio, or TV from outside the country was allowed to operate in Malawi, and so, as far as the rest of the world was concerned, the Malawian authorities could get away with putting out this kind of story.

Inside Malawi, however, things had changed. People were now thoroughly disillusioned, even to some extent in the areas of the Central Province, which had been given special privileges over the rest of the country.

What of the Churches?

In the 1970s the churches began to grow at a faster rate than at any time before, even faster than in the previous high-growth period, 1945–55. Sociologically, what was happening was that in their Christian communities, particularly in the CCAP and the Catholic Church, Malawians felt themselves to be free of party control. This was so, even though these two churches were always under close scrutiny of the president and his staff (the churches were the only major social organizations in the country outside the control of the MCP). It did not escape the notice of party observers that Orton and Vera Chirwa (herself a CCAP elder) were each the grandchild of two of the first ordained ministers of the CCAP, whose families provided a wide network of leadership in the CCAP at a local and national level. Also three of the murdered dissidents—Gadama, Mattejenje, and Sangala—were from families that provided many leaders of the CCAP, both men and women. At the same time one of the first African priests to be made bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Malawi, Rt. Rev. Patrick Kalilombe, was exiled from the country because of his stand on certain matters that he held to be of Christian truth but that the president’s entourage saw as treason.

The Beginning of Change

At the end of the 1980s the government of Dr. Banda and the party machine was out of touch with the people. The members of the leadership cadres were involved in using their positions corruptly to gain land and wealth for themselves in a country whose resources were limited. These resources were, at that time, being put under increasing strain by the war in Mozambique. The complete breakdown of any kind of law and order in many parts of Mozambique adjoining Malawi resulted in tens of thousands of Mozambiquans flooding into Malawi for refuge. The influx was so great that by 1990 there were one million Mozambiquans in Malawi, or one refugee for every seven Malawians. The government did not cope well with this problem, and the churches with the aid of international charities took up the task of organizing aid in this desperate situation. The astonishing success of this operation was made possible only by the great generosity and forbearance of the Malawi people, who willingly accepted the need to help their neighbors. (How would the United States or a European country have coped with an influx of even half these proportions?)

In this same period of the late 1980s somewhat more international attention began to turn on Malawi. Up till then the cold war obsession of the Western powers had led them not to do or say much about a nation where all dissent was suppressed, where thousands were in prison without trial, where from time to time critics of the regime were murdered, including Malawian dissidents living in other countries. This sort of behavior by the governments of North Korea, Romania, or Angola was widely reported and condemned by the world’s free press; but until this time only certain church groups and Amnesty International had criticized what had been going on in Malawi itself. More general international interest in Malawi now did begin to be expressed, the U.S. organization Africa Watch being one of the first to take it up in their report of October 1990, Where Silence Rules: The Suppression of Dissent in Malawi.8 Inside the country the imprisonment without trial of the only native-born neurosurgeon and of
On Tuesday morning, the tenth, the eight bishops resident in the university's professor of literature, who was an internationally acclaimed poet, seemed to be like the last straws that broke the camel's back. The people began to grumble and complain publicly on a massive scale, whereas until then, only in the Northern Province (Livingstonia Synod) had there been such public and widespread dissent.

People began to ask their church leaders, clerical and lay, for guidance in this situation. It was the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church who responded first. On Sunday, March 8, 1992, the Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter “Living Our Faith” was read in over one thousand Catholic chapels throughout the land. On Tuesday morning, the tenth, the eight bishops resident in Malawi were all arrested and interrogated for over eight hours, after which they were put under house arrest together in Blantyre.

The Pioneers proceeded to burn down the printing press of the Catholic Church, and the Executive Committee of the MCP issued a statement encouraging the killing of the bishops when they were freed from police custody. Possession of a copy of the pastoral letter was now declared a criminal offense. President Banda then made a broadcast speech in which he insisted on his eldership in the Church of Scotland and attempted to make the Malawi situation into a Presbyterian-Catholic conflict as in Ulster or Scotland. The government-controlled press began a campaign calling for the death of the bishops.

On the following Sunday the churches of Malawi were more crowded than usual, and many CCAP ministers of the Blantyre and Livingstonia synods as well as Episcopal priests and many of the pastors in the small evangelical churches preached sermons in support of the Catholic bishops. Even the MCP daily newspaper reported on the next Monday that a majority of all Protestant ministers supported the bishops. With the position of the CCAP now clear, the Church of Scotland issued a statement supporting the main points of the Catholic pastoral letter, a position also endorsed by the British Council of Churches and the Catholic Bishops of England and Scotland.

From then on, things moved very swiftly. (It is clear that President Banda, by then in his early nineties, had little direct understanding or control over affairs, though until the time of writing, January 1994, he is still nominally president.) In these first months the army made it clear that it would not act against peaceful street demonstrations. The only organized group that was reasonably free to operate because of its international contacts and its explicit support from the governments of the United Kingdom and United States was an association created by the Christian Council of Malawi and the Catholic bishops. Once elections and freedom of association. Legislative concessions followed that resulted in the freeing of political detainees and the return of the exiles. Most important of all, free elections were agreed to for May 1994.

Although new political parties have been formed, they present a new problem, since there are so many of them. As a result of this and a plurality system of elections that Malawi inherited from Britain, the MCP (which insists it has reformed itself) could win a majority of the seats in the new legislature on as little as 28 percent of the popular vote. So far, even the prestige of the “martyr” Vera Chirwa, free after twelve years in prison (six of them in solitary confinement), has failed to weld together a coherent and unified opposition.

One very serious danger that had been hanging over the whole process was the existence of the well-armed paramilitary Pioneers, who constituted a private militia at the personal disposal of Dr. Banda in principle and his éminence grise, John Tembo, in practice. But in the first few days of December 1993, this threat was removed when units of the Malawi Rifles took over all the Pioneer bases and completely disarmed that organization. Subsequent to this coup, the government issued a statement that the action of the Malawi Rifles had been carried out in accordance with party policy, but everyone knew that it was done on the initiative of the army alone and that the last barrier to free elections had thus been removed.

Where Do the Churches Go from Here?

The Protestant Christian Council and the Catholic Church in Malawi have welcomed all the changes, particularly the return of so many exiles. They have also played their part in insisting that there should be no vengeance. Indeed Vera Chirwa has, since her release, been a beacon of Christian witness for reconciliation. She has insisted that if people confess their mistakes, all should be forgiven and people should work together for the good of the whole community.

The majority of the church leaders, notably the Catholic bishops and the officials of the Blantyre and Livingstonia synods, are very clear about the future. They insist that the churches cannot support one party. Indeed the CCAP leadership has publicly apologized for their old identification with the NANC and the MCP, and they have insisted that no such close link should happen again. All are agreed that the churches' role is to keep the concerns of justice and morality before all in authority and to encourage all the people to accept responsibility for the political and social health of the nation. This they believe to be the essential role of the Christian church in society, which is very different from any kind of identification with one party or ideology, whether of the left, center, or right.

This is all very well as a theoretical position, and the apology of the leaders of the Blantyre and Livingstonia synods is understandable. But what about the fact that the original NANC grew out of the CCAP in a spontaneous way? The membership of the NANC was always heavily Presbyterian and its leadership overwhelmingly so, as the Kanjedza Detention Center showed. What could the CCAP synods have done? It was not as if there was a political party already in existence that they deliberately cozed up to; the NANC was produced by a significant portion of the very people who led the synods at local and regional level. In any case, to have broken with the NANC after 1949 would have been interpreted as support for the hated federation, which had been imposed on the people against their will.

The Mkhoma Synod of the CCAP played little part in the
movement for democratic reform. This is in part due to its representing an area heavily patronized by Banda, which received a large amount of “pork barrel” type benefit from the regime. It is also to be explained because of the continuing very close dependence of the leadership of the synod on the Cape Synod of the NGK and its missionaries. Political and social matters were seen as having nothing to do with the church’s principal concerns, and this attitude has been reinforced by many leaders of the Cape Synod who have seen the tragic support of the NGK for apartheid in South Africa as a final proof of the error of the church’s being concerned about anything but the spiritual.

Clearly the Mkhoma Synod members did not support the cruel and oppressive style of President Banda’s rule, but the insistence by indigenous and missionary leaders on not being political prevented them from taking part in the whole process of change; in practice, this amounted to support for the regime. It also constituted a failure of mission and church to help the people understand the issues that faced them as citizens. It cannot be accidental that all the districts in the Northern and Southern provinces voted overwhelmingly for change, while in the Central Province served by Mkhoma Synod the votes in every district were only marginally for change. The one exception was the district of Ncheu, which is ecclesiastically part of Blantyre Synod; here the vote was more than 80 percent for change, the pattern elsewhere in the country.

Withdrawal from identifying with one party is clearly a correct Christian position, but withdrawing from social and political concerns cannot be. The churches of Malawi cannot leave their members to accept the onerous duty of serving their neighbors through the political process without advice and discussion, as if the state and the organization of society were somehow outside Our Lord’s concern.

Notes
1. The Reverend John Chilembwe, an American-trained Malawi Baptist minister, led a rebellion in Malawi in 1915. The armed uprising came as the climax of a year of campaigning against the involvement of Malawians in what he insisted was a sinful war.
3. The commissioner showed his ignorance or prejudice in not recognizing the existence of the CCAP, of which the presbytery in question was a part. The Blantyre Mission was still Church of Scotland, but the indigenous church was autonomous and had been since 1901. As late as the 1960s many Europeans seemed unable to understand this autonomy of African Presbyterianism.
6. H. Kamuzu Banda left Malawi as a teenager in 1910 and went to South Africa to work. He was befriended there by patrons who eventually got him to the United States, where he received a college education before doing graduate work at the University of Chicago.
7. In Malawi the police are a national force like the French gendarmerie.
8. After the Helsinki Agreement on Human Rights in Europe was signed, an organization called Helsinki Watch was set up to monitor human rights in Europe. It was followed by related bodies called Africa Watch and Asia Watch.
9. Banda, while in Edinburgh as a medical student, had been elected an elder of the Church of Scotland congregation where he worshiped. From his return to Malawi until now he has made no attempt to join the CCAP but has insisted on his being a Church of Scotland elder from time to time as it has suited him politically.
10. The Malawi Council of Churches includes the CCAP synods and almost all the other Protestant and Pentecostal churches in Malawi.

The Parliaments of the World’s Religions: 1893 and 1993

Alan Neely

Shortly after the closing of the 1893 World’s Parliament of Religions, John Henry Barrows, the parliament president and pastor of Chicago’s First Presbyterian Church, said that he believed and expected a second world assembly would soon convene, possibly during the French Exposition scheduled for 1900. 1 Tangible evidence that there was some basis for this hope was the formation of a Chicago “continuation committee.” A full century would pass, however, before the second parliament convened, again in Chicago during August and September of 1993.

The first parliament was the inspiration of Charles C. Bonney, a Chicago attorney, civic leader, and loyal Swedenborgian. It was, some say, the centerpiece of the Chicago World’s Fair, celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Columbus in America. The second parliament was proposed by a small group of Chicago Baha’is, Buddhists, Hindus, and Zoroastrians. 2 During the second parliament, Columbus was scarcely mentioned and never in celebration. In certain respects the meetings were similar, but the differences were marked and far more significant.

Organizers of the first parliament promoted the Chicago World’s Fair as a showcase for displaying in the most extravagant fashion what the organizers regarded as the marvelous and incomparable achievements of Western civilization. The Parliament of Religions in turn would commemorate the spiritual progress exemplified so clearly in the nation founded on Judeo-Christian principles. It would unite believers (theists) against nonbelievers, champion the Golden Rule as the basis of religious harmony and cooperation, display before the whole world the substantive unity of all religions, and exhibit the beneficial effects

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of religious devotion and fidelity. Establishing a basis for religious accord and agreeing on common goals would serve as a prelude to a final resume of the extraordinary religious progress of the nineteenth century. The whole affair was bathed in a heady mist of optimism.

The stated purpose of the second parliament, though neither utopian nor ethnocentric, was formidable. The mission of the 1893 parliament would, its planners said, “inspire action and change around the world,” serve as “a catalyst for dialogue,” “promote understanding, introspection, and reflection,” and “ignite changes in the ways we live and relate to each other.”

The planning committee for the first parliament was composed of fourteen of Chicago’s well-known Protestant Christian leaders, one Jewish rabbi, and a Roman Catholic bishop, while the planners for last year’s meeting included a number of Christians, Protestant and Catholic, and also representatives of the Baha’is, Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic, and Zoroastrian communities.

Delegates to the 1893 Parliament

The planners of the first parliament sent invitations to more than ten thousand of the world’s religious leaders, but other than Christians, the number who came was relatively small. The sultan of Turkey, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the European Roman Catholic hierarchy all opposed the gathering, as did many North American evangelical Protestants, including Dwight L. Moody. And though John Henry Barrows was the parliament’s president, the General Assembly of his own church, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., declined to be involved officially.

In spite of this widespread and imposing opposition, some four hundred registered delegates, men and women, were present, representing forty-one different religious groups, including Christian (Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox), Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist, Shinto, Confucian, Zoroastrian, Muslim, and Jain. This is not to imply that the representation was in any sense balanced. Most of the official delegates were Christians, two-thirds of the papers presented were by Christians, and the vast majority of the three to four thousand from the general public who attended the daily sessions were professing Christians. The number of Buddhists, Hindus, Zoroastrians, and Confucians was quite small. Only one Jain and one Muslim were there. The Muslim, not a lifelong follower of the Prophet but rather an American convert to Islam, Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb, was a former Presbyterian and U.S. ambassador to the Philippines who had taken the name Mohammed at the time of his conversion. The Jain was also something of a novelty—not a clergy, but rather a young Indian lawyer, Virchand Gandhi, who agreed to represent his faith in the parliament and was given intensive preparation by Jain monks who, because of their own religious prohibitions, could not travel outside of India.

Conspicuously absent from the 1893 meeting, however, were official envoys from the Anglican Church of Great Britain and the Episcopal Church of America, as well as all but a few conservative Protestant evangelicals. Missing as well, but not conspicuously so, were representatives of African, American, and Asian indigenous religions, Sikhs, Baha’is, and scores of the other religious groups that had begun to multiply in the United States during the nineteenth century.

Except for conservative U.S. evangelicals, nearly all of these groups were well represented in the 1993 parliament, plus a few whose presence caused palpable consternation for some and withdrawal by others. Particularly objectionable to the Greek Orthodox Diocese of Chicago, who canceled their sponsorship shortly after the parliament began, were the nontheists—Buddhists, humanists, and neo-pagans. No less intolerable for four Jewish cosponsoring organizations who announced their withdrawal the fifth day of the parliament was the appearance of Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam.

The 1893 parliament experienced its own rough spots, including refusals of endorsement and dire predictions that recognition of “heathen” religions would undermine the Christian missionary effort and vitiate the claim of Christ’s uniqueness. During the sessions some speakers were interrupted by shouts of “Shame, shame,” and vigorous objections were voiced when Christianity’s faults were denounced by certain Asian speakers. Also, when some Baptist leaders and officials of the interdenominational Christian Endeavor movement learned that neither the exposition nor the parliament would close for Sabbath observance, they promptly canceled the conferences they had scheduled to be held in conjunction with the parliament.

Whereas the 1893 meeting, a seventeen-day affair, was held in what was called a humble and modest building “temporarily attached to the Chicago Art Institute”—one described it as a kind of “wooden wigwam”—the principal venue of last year’s eight-day conclave was the elegant Palmer House Hilton hotel. Though the hotel was certainly comfortable and the staff remarkably prepared to accommodate the multiple and often conflicting dietary requirements of the delegates, less than half of those registered could crowd into the Grand Ballroom for the plenary sessions. Those who could not get in were obliged to find a parlor or room where the sessions were shown by video or try to arrive earlier the next time.

The number of official delegates in 1893 was said to be four hundred. The second parliament attracted nearly seven thousand registrants who anted up a fee of $200 before June 1, 1993, or $350 thereafter. The number was more than double what the planners had anticipated, and consequently they were forced to suspend registration several days before the parliament began.

In 1893 the most prominent participants were James Cardinal Gibbons, George Dana Boardman, Philip Schaff, Washington Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Charles A. Briggs, Isaac M. Wise, Rabbi Joseph Silverman, Henry Drummond, Edward Everett Hale, Julia Ward Howe, Frances E. Willard, Josephine Lazarus, Prince Chandrahat Chudhadharn, and Bishop Dionysios Latas. Three young Asians—one Hindu and two Buddhists—became equally well known as a result of the parliament. At least a dozen Christian missionaries were featured on the program.

During the second parliament, no one received the press coverage or drew crowds equal to those of the final speaker, Tenzin Gyatso, the exiled fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet. But Hans Küng, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Gerald Barne, Raimundo Panikkar, Diana L. Eck, Louis Farrakhan, David Steindl Rast, Ma Jayha Bhagvati, and Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios were quite visible. No Christian missionaries, as far as I could determine, presented papers or were members of any panel discussion.
It is generally agreed that one of the most significant results of the 1893 parliament stemmed from the presence and presentations of three young and extraordinarily engaging Asians—the Hindu reformer Narendranath Datta (1863–1902), better known by his religious name, Vivekananda; the Sri Lankan Buddhist Anagarika Dharmapala (1864–1933); and the Japanese Zen Priest Shaku Soyen (1859–1919)—who spoke with great passion of their respective faiths. In fact, not only did the parliament provide them a unique public forum and gain for them instant notoriety, it also opened the door to what would become a growing influence and flourishing presence of Eastern religions in the West.

Barrows offered nearly twenty positive results of the 1893 Parliament, including providing for Christians an unequalled opportunity to share their faith, inciting a desire for Christian unity, encouraging and giving new impetus to Christian missions, and stimulating the study of comparative religions, which, he was convinced, would “reveal the superiority of Christianity.” Not everyone shared his views, especially in regard to Christian missions, but it would be difficult to disprove his contention that the first parliament accorded African Americans, Jews, Roman Catholics, and women a new status in U.S. religious circles.

**The 1893 parliament opened the door to a flourishing presence of Eastern religions in the West.**

**Different Presentations of Christianity**

Although the 1893 parliament established Judaism and Roman Catholicism as authentically American and Hinduism and Buddhism as viable religious expressions that would attract a significant number of followers, this first world convocation of religious leaders was unabashedly a Christian event. It was planned and directed primarily by Christians. Christian ministers and missionaries were the most frequent program participants. Christian hymns were sung and the Lord’s Prayer was repeated in each day’s worship, and the final session ended with the exultant singing of Handel’s “Hallelujah Chorus.” Thus the first parliament was predominantly a Christian extravaganza based on an underlying assumption held by many of the leaders, including John Henry Barrows, that Christianity would eventually triumph over all other religions. The sessions provided an ideal setting for presenting Christianity as morally, spiritually, and materially superior to all other religious traditions, and they served to vindicate the Christian belief in the rightness of their burgeoning missionary enterprise. Barrows would later declare that anyone present during the 1893 meeting or who read the record of the proceedings could not help but be aware that the first parliament “was a great Christian demonstration with a non-Christian section which added color and picturesque effect.”

No one, I believe, would so characterize the 1993 meeting. In some respects, the situation was reversed. It was predominantly an other-than-Christian assembly, with the Christians who were present maintaining a modest profile and assiduously avoiding Christian claims of uniqueness or superiority. When they spoke, they addressed primarily the more commonly recognized issues and problems such as religious intolerance and violence, the need for nurturing the planet, interfaith understanding and dialogue, and ways to promote justice and peace. Christians did not disguise their allegiance and usually spoke to these crucial questions as Christians, their words often reflecting their faith position. But they were uniformly devoid of the 1893 optimism, and in some cases their comments were indistinguishable from what was said by those of other religious persuasions.

One need only review the titles of many of the 1893 addresses to appreciate the straightforward, occasionally arrogant, and frequently aggressive presentations of the Christian faith—titles such as “The Truthfulness of Holy Scripture,” “Christianity A Religion of Facts,” “The Incarnation of God in Christ,” “Christ the Savior of the World,” “Christ the Unifier of Mankind,” “Man from a Christian Point of View,” and “The Message of Christianity to Other Religions.” It is fair to say, I believe, that there were no comparable presentations in the 1993 parliament—except by non-Christians.

The forthrightness and evangelistic ardor that characterized the Christians attending the 1893 parliament could be seen most vividly in 1993 in Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Zoroastrian, and Muslim presentations. Consider, for example the following: “The Genuine, Authentic Religion We Need Today” (Hindu), “Bhakti Marga and the Unity of Religion,” “Hinduism as a Way of Life,” “Guru Nanak’s Message for Humanity” (Sikh), “Sikh Scripture as Universal Text,” “Simple Sikhism: A Youthful and Modern Perspective on a Young and Modern Faith,” “Old Fashioned Buddhism for Today,” “Zoroastrianism: A Universal Faith,” “Jainism as a World Religion,” “The Solution of Present-Day World Problems from a Jain Perspective,” and “Mohammed the Model for Humanity.”

Christian presenters for the most part addressed crucial, though in a few cases peripheral, issues. Most focused on legitimate concerns such as ecology, religious fundamentalism and pluralism, conflict resolution and peacemaking, strengthening the African American family, human rights, sexual equality and homosexuality, prayer and spiritual development, interfaith dialogue and relations, and Christian reflections on other religions.

To have manifested in 1993 the insensitivity and hubris of some of the Christian spokespersons in the 1893 parliament, or—

**Many leaders of the 1893 parliament believed that Christianity would eventually triumph over all other religions.**

...
Christians were not present. They were in force—Protestants, conciliar and nonconciliar, Roman Catholic, Anglo-Catholic, Orthodox, charismatic and noncharismatic. I counted at least twenty to twenty-five Protestant evangelicals whom I knew. Dr. David Ramage, retired president of McCormick Theological Seminary, was the chair of the Parliament Board and the principal presiding officer. John Templeton and Laurance Rockefeller each made substantial donations of $100,000 or more to underwrite the parliament. Christians were a part of the planning meetings, and they were involved in many of the more than 850 different sessions including plenary, lecture, seminar, workshop, artistic, and worship events. They gave their share of the papers. Yet, the criticism of one evangelical observer, Erwin Lutzer, pastor of the Moody Church in Chicago, cannot be dismissed. “Jesus did not get a fair representation here,” Lutzer declared, and I tend to agree with him, though we may not share a common understanding as to what would have been a “fair representation.” The more difficult question, it seems to me, was, why not?

**Reflections for Christian Witness**

Some analysis and reflection have led me to conclude that there were a number of reasons for the radical difference in the Christian presentations in the two parliaments. By and large, Christians who read papers or spoke in 1993 appeared to be consciously avoiding any intimidation of theological exclusivism or superiority, and Protestant evangelicals who likely would have made traditional claims for Christianity either did not attend the parliament or chose to be spectators. One told me that he did not discover that papers were being solicited by the program planners until it was too late to submit a proposal. This is all the more unfortunate, given the fact that some rather bizarre themes were approved, papers on such subjects as UFO abductions, electronic orality, and “Satanism in West Texas.” One can reasonably assume, therefore, that had Christian evangelicals come forth with valid proposals, they would in all likelihood have been approved and included in the program. If, therefore, “Jesus did not get a fair representation” in the parliament, it appears to me that we Christians have no one to blame but ourselves.

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If “Jesus did not get a fair representation” in the 1993 parliament, we Christians have no one to blame but ourselves.

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**Notes**

4. “Vision and Mission” statement issued by the Council for a Parliament of the World’s Religions (CPWR) as a news release, October 23, 1992. The council’s complete mission statement was more detailed, namely, to plan for and “convene a Parliament of the World’s Religions in Chicago in 1993, to promote understanding and cooperation among religious communities and institutions, to encourage the spirit of religious harmony and to celebrate, with openness and mutual respect, the rich diversity of religions, to assess and to renew the role of the religions of the world in relation to spiritual growth and to the critical issues and challenges facing the global community” and “to develop and encourage interfaith groups and programs which will carry the spirit of the Parliament into the twenty-

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7. The refusal of the archbishop of Canterbury to endorse the meeting did not prevent some Anglicans and Episcopalians from attending. Like many of the other delegates, however, they were self-appointed. Dr. Thomas Richey of the General Theological Seminary of New York delivered a paper entitled “The Relations Between the Anglican Church and the Church of the First Ages,” and one of the first speakers in the final session was the Reverend Dr. Momerie of the Church of England, who was effusive in his praise of the city, the citizens, and the parliament (J. W. Hanson, ed., The World’s Congress of Religions: The Addresses and Papers Delivered Before the Parliament [Syracuse, N.Y.: Goodrich Publishing, 1894], pp. 787–91, 939).

8. A woman, Miss Alice Fletcher, did present a paper entitled “The Religion of the North American Indians.” It is a remarkably insightful discussion, though Fletcher admits that she was risking “formulating something, which although true in the premises, might be unrecognizable by the Indian himself” (ibid., p. 542).

9. Among the new groups represented were the Bahá’í, Sikh, Rastafarian, Native American, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Fellowship of Isis, International Church of Metaphysics, International Society of Divine Love, Wicca, and the Goddesses of the Divine Feminine.


17. Overstatements about the positive and negative effects on Christian missions by supporters and critics of the parliament were multiple. Barrows quotes several of the missionary participants lauding the missiological results of the event (ibid., pp. 314–15, 318, 321), while others insisted that the gathering took the wind out of the sails of the missionary movement. A summary of both positions can be found in George Goodspeed, ed., The World’s First Parliament of Religions (Chicago: Hill and Shuman, 1895).

18. Several African Americans were featured speakers during the parliament, along with a larger number of Jews and Roman Catholics. Most surprising to me, however, was the number of women speakers—twenty or more—at least five of whom were ordained for clergy.

19. See Lorimer’s description of how his melancholy and despair were swept away by the words “Hallelujah! Hallelujah! Hallelujah! And he shall reign forever and ever!” (“Parliament of Religions,” pp. 36–37).


21. Barrows, “World Parliament of Religions,” p. 311. Barrows’s positive assessment of the parliament, his belief in the beneficial effects of Christian missions, and his confidence that ultimately Christianity would be accepted as the single world religion were unqualified (pp. 311–14). He was certainly not alone in this view. Lorimer, a Baptist minister from Boston, declared: “I am confident that Christianity must triumph” (“Parliament of Religions,” p. 32).

22. Two papers deserve mention: “The Contribution of Indian Christianity to the Spiritual Heritage of India,” by M. Ezra Sargunam, bishop and president of the small Evangelical Church of India, and “Christianity ‘Born Again’ for a New Age,” by a member of the Theosophical Society and the Unitarian Universalist Church.

23. Individuals who registered before June 1993 were sent a packet of materials including an invitation to submit proposals for program slots. Accompanying the proposal forms was the statement: “We are now in the process of identifying programs, speakers, etc. for the Parliament and would be happy to work with you to develop your proposal for one or more presentations . . . in the area of your expertise.” A $100 honorarium was offered for each presentation plus a registration pass to all events on the day of the presentation, and “any person giving two presentations would receive a complementary full registration.”


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Archival Sources in Britain for the Study of Mission History: An Outline Guide and Select Bibliography

Rosemary Seton

In 1968 the Group on Records, Libraries and Information, set up by the Conference of British Missionary Societies, recommended that a survey of the archives of British missionary societies be carried out. The work was undertaken by Rosemary Keen of the Church Missionary Society, whose Survey of the Archives of Selected Missionary Societies listed in detail the archives of eighteen major societies. At the time of her survey all the archives listed were in the keeping of the societies themselves. Increasingly, however, societies were finding the task of housing records and servicing researchers too burdensome, and a trend to deposit archives in suitable libraries and repositories began. This process continued in the 1980s as a number of societies found it too costly to maintain expensive premises in central London. Several moved out of London or off-loaded noncurrent and bulky records. This prolonged period of dispersal has been a confusing and bewildering time for researchers and archivists alike. Particularly hard hit have been overseas visitors who have met with “gone away” notices or by new owners in occupation. During the last twenty years or so, many societies have also changed their names to ones more in keeping with the times or have merged with other societies. Both home-based and overseas scholars often have been baffled and perplexed and, on appealing to librarians and archivists, have found them unable to provide accurate and up-to-date information.

1992 Survey of Archives

In the spring of 1992, motivated by a desire to inform and enlighten would-be researchers (and ourselves!) of the present whereabouts and contents of missionary archives in the United Kingdom, David Arnold (professor of South Asian history in the University of London) and I began a project to survey the archives of as many British missionary societies as we could locate. This was planned to coincide with a workshop on missionary archives we were organizing at the School of Oriental and African Studies in July 1992. We obtained a grant from the Nuffield Foundation to finance the work and appointed a field officer (Ms. Emily Naish) to carry out the survey. Between April and June survey forms were sent to all organizations or repositories thought to contain materials, and follow-up visits were made to fourteen different locations. In other cases archivists or administrators kindly completed the forms for us or sent copies of their finding aids. We were not able to trace the present locations of all societies (particularly smaller or more specialized ones), and a tiny minority did not want to be included in the survey. By the time of the workshop, we had obtained a listing of the archives of forty-six missionary societies, which we included, with an introduction, in A Preliminary Guide to the Archives of British Missionary Societies, which was distributed to the one hundred or so participants at the workshop.

The summarized list below has been extracted from the Preliminary Guide with subsequent additions and emendations. The archives of forty-eight societies and associated organizations are listed, at twenty-eight different locations in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Many of these are still in London, a significant number having been deposited in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. But other have moved further afield: the immense archive of the Church Missionary Society has moved to Birmingham University Library; the archive of the Baptist Missionary Society is at the Angus Library, Regent’s Park College, Oxford; the archive of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is also at Oxford, at Rhodes House College; while the Bible Society’s archive has been moved to Cambridge University Library. Most of the Scottish Missionary Societies’ archives are to be found in the National Library of Scotland, while the Centre for the Study of Non-Western Christianity at New College, Edinburgh, contains a range of original and printed missionary materials.

Nature of the Sources

As in the United States,1 missionary papers, as distinct from archives, are scattered throughout many libraries and record offices. Papers of J. H. Oldham, for example, organizing secretary of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910 and editor of the International Review of Missions for many years, are to be found in the Library of New College, Edinburgh; at Rhodes House Library, Oxford; and in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Most archives—typically the records of individual organizations—are located at one address, although where the historical archives have been deposited in a library or record office, recent records are usually kept by the society. This is the case with the Church Missionary Society, which does not deposit records until they are forty years old, and even more so with the records of the Bible Society, which has a seventy-year closure rule. In the case of most societies, records are available for consultation after thirty years from the date of creation. Some records, particularly early ones, can turn up in unexpected places. A section of the early home correspondence of the London Missionary Society, for example, is to be found in Dr. Williams’s Library, in London,2 while some seventeenth-century materials from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are in Lambeth Palace Library.

Many British mission archives have been dispersed from London, creating a bewildering time for researchers.

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Rosemary Seton has been a professional archivist for nearly twenty years, having previously obtained a master’s degree in history. She has been Archivist at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, since 1979. Her first publication was a guide to sources on the history of the Indian Mutiny, published in 1986. She is now chiefly concerned with work on the archives of missionary societies at SOAS, by far the largest part of the SOAS archival collections. She is also engaged in research on the work of British women missionaries.

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In most cases the missionary archives that survive are the accumulated records of the sending organizations. These are, of course, a most valuable source containing, as they do, letters and reports written home to headquarters by missionaries in the field as well as documents recording the formulation and development of mission policy. However, there are often considerable gaps. Many records have been destroyed either deliberately or through negligence. Others have been lost through enemy action in wartime, others by the eternal enemies of time, heat, damp, infestation, and so forth. There are some gaps due to the inherent nature of archives, which tend to consist of letters received rather than letters sent. Copies of instructions to missionaries, for example, can be hard to find. Detailed records created in the field—lists of converts and church members, the records of missionary institutions, the minutes of papers of local mission councils, particulars of itineration work, and so on—were not usually sent to the mission house. Such records, if they still exist, should still be in the mission field, though their location may be unknown and their condition questionable. Their apparent loss is another gap in the archives that can sometimes be rectified by recourse to papers prepared and collected by individual missionaries. The importance of these collections of letters, journals, photographs, and other papers cannot be overemphasized, particularly when read alongside the official records.

Further Help

There is little in the way of a published literature on British missionary society archives. I have included in the bibliography below such guides, catalogs, and useful articles as have come my way. I have also included general and regional guides that I think readers might find useful, though a number of these were compiled twenty or more years ago. The central agency for collecting information about manuscript sources in Britain is the Public Record Office, the National Register of Archives, which is maintained by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts at Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1HP. The search room is open to the public on weekdays and has personal and subject indexes as well as catalogs, guides, and handlists of collections in many British libraries and record offices. Limited inquiries can be answered by mail. The NRA is particularly concerned with British history and may not include detailed references to overseas work, but use of its indexes and lists of sources on religious organizations is particularly recommended. Lastly, I have appended a select list of the published histories of missionary societies. These are based in varying degree on original documentation and, when used judiciously, can be a useful start to scholarly research. In the last few years an increasing number of scholars from

Recently scholars from many disciplinary backgrounds have turned to missionary archives as a source of wide scholarly application.

Archival Sources in Britain

**Abertystwyth**
National Library of Wales
Abertystwyth
Wales SY23 3BU
Tel. 0970 623816


**Belfast**
Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
66 Balmoral Avenue
Belfast BT9 6NY
Tel. 0232 326130


**Birmingham**
University of Birmingham Library
P.O. Box 363
Birmingham B15 2TT
Tel. 021 414 5838


Church Missionary Society. Founded 1799. Anglican. Worked in Africa, Canada, China, India, Middle East, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sri Lanka. Archives, 1799-1949. Extensive series of records covering all aspects of the society’s work; personal papers, photographs. Serial publications include the Church Missionary Intelligence and the Church Missionary Gazette.


**Cambridge**
Cambridge University Library
West Road
Cambridge CB3 9DR
Tel. 0223 333150/333143

British and Foreign Bible Society. Also known as The Bible Society. Founded 1804. The aim of the society is to publish editions of the Bible in any language for which there is a readership, outside the United States. Principal series of archives: minutes of committee and subcommittees, 1804-1920 (some gaps); secretaries’ correspondence; departmental records (especially Editorial Department); agents’ books, 1819-1931 (some gaps). Special series: secretaries’ notebooks (Black books); George Borrow letters, 1833-40; John Paterson papers, 1805-80. A considerable quantity of audiovisual materials. Access: Archives opened to bona fide researchers only. Initial approach must be through the curator of the Historical Society of the United States.

Access:

Archives opened to bona fide researchers only. Initial approach must be through the curator of the Historical Society of the United States.

Notes


2. Dr. Williams’s Library does not hold missionary archives as such.

However, it is a useful recourse for the study of English non-conformity. The address is 14 Gordon Square, London WC1H OAG.

April 1994
Doncaster

Bawtry Hall
Bawtry
Doncaster
South Yorkshire
DN10 6H
Tel. 0302 710790


Edinburgh

Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World
New College
The Mound
Edinburgh EH1 2LU
Tel. 031 225 8400

The center holds a considerable quantity of printed materials relating to missions and Christianity and also archival correspondence of individual missionaries and the following archives. Access: registered readers. Some restrictions on recent records.

International Nepal Fellowship. Founded in 1940 as the Nepal Evangelistic Band. Correspondence, minutes, project files, 1936-89. Some restrictions.


National Bible Society of Scotland
7, Hampton Terrace
Edinburgh EH12 5XU
Tel. 031 337 9701


National Library of Scotland
Department of Manuscripts
George IV Bridge
Edinburgh EH1 1EW
Tel. 031 226 4531


Free Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Board. Founded 1843. United with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1900 to form the United Free Church of Scotland. In 1929 the United Free Church of Scotland merged with the Church of Scotland. Minutes, 1843–1928. Correspondence with missions in India and Malawi (Livingstonia). Women’s Foreign Missions Committee Papers, 1876–1930. Minutes of the Female Society for Promoting Christian Education Among Females of India, 1843–1900.

Scottish Missionary Society. Founded in 1796 as the Edinburgh Missionary Society. Worked in the West Indies, Jamaica, and the Caucasus, but work gradually taken over by other mission boards. Correspondence, 1796–1851.

United Free Church of Scotland Foreign Missions. Founded in 1900 as a result of the union between the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church. In 1929 the United Free Church merged with the Church of Scotland. Worked in India and Malawi. Minutes and various papers, 1900–1929. Includes minutes of the Women’s Foreign Mission Committee, 1900–1929; the Colonial Committee, 1843–1929; the Continental Committee, 1868–1929; and the Jewish Committee, 1838–1929.


New College Library
Mound Place
Edinburgh EH1 2LU
Tel. 031 225 8400


Leeds

West Yorkshire Archive Service
Sheepscar
Leeds
West Yorkshire LS7 3AP
Tel. 0532 628339

Arthington Trust Collection. Robert Arthington (1823–1900) left £1,713,845, which was used to finance missionary enterprises in many parts of the world. There are published reports in 1906. Minute books, accounts, legal papers, correspondence, 1900–1937. Access: to all bona fide researchers.

London

Africa Inland Mission International
2 Vorley Road
Archway
London N19 5HE
Tel. 071 281 1184


BCMS Crosslinks
251, Lewisham Way
London SE4 1XF
Tel. 081 691 6111


Interserve
325, Kennington Road
London SE1 4QH
Tel. 071 735 8227


The library also holds SPC papers, dated 1701 to 1803, including archiepiscopal correspondence relating to overseas. See W. W. Manross, The SPC Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library, Calendar and Indexes (1974).

Mill Hill Fathers
St. Joseph’s Society for Foreign Missions
St. Joseph’s College
Lawrence Street
Mill Hill
London NW7 4JX
Tel. 081 959 8254


Papers of Cardinal Vaughan; large photograph collection; annual reports, 1869–1935. Access: by appointment only.

Oriental and India Office Collections
197, Blackfriars Road
London SE1 8NG
Tel. 071 928 9331


Quaker Peace and Service
Library of the Religious Society of Friends
Friends House
Euston Road
London NW1 2BJ
Tel. 071 387 3601


Salvation Army
Salvation Army International Heritage Centre
117-121, Judd Street
London WC1N 9NN
Tel. 071 387 1656

Founded 1865. The society has worked worldwide. The archives were not established until 1978 and are in the process of reorganization. Files are being arranged alphabetically within each continent. Access: bona fide scholars by appointment. Some restrictions.

School of Oriental and African Studies
Thornhaugh Street
Russell Square
London WC1 5XG
Tel. 071 637 2388

The library contains the archives of a number of major missionary societies as well as a considerable quantity of the papers of individual missionaries. Access: An archives ticket is available for bona fide readers with letter of recommendation. A thirty-year rule applies to most archives.

Commonwealth Missionary Society. Formerly the Colonial Missionary Society, which worked in Australia, North America, New Zealand, South Africa, and the West Indies.


*Available on microfiche from IDC, P.O. Box 11205, 2301 EE Leiden, The Netherlands.

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH
Correspondence, memoranda, pamphlets, and reports. Very little original correspondence survives, and there are many gaps in publications held.

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
Holy Trinity Church
Marylebone Road
London NW1 4DU
Tel. 071 387 5282

Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries
41, Chatsworth Gardens
Acton
London W3 9LP
Tel. 081 992 6444
Founded 1925. Also known as Medical Mission Sisters. Works worldwide. The archive includes the papers of the founder, Mother Anna Dangel, and of Dr. Agnes McLaren. The papers are in the process of being sorted and are not at present open to the public. The archivist is pleased to help with inquiries.

Society of Jesus (British Province)
114, Mount Street
London W1Y 6AH
Tel. 071 493 7811
The British Province of the Society of Jesus was founded in 1609. The archives contain material relating to the following countries: Barbados (1857 to present), Belize (1854–94), Bengal (1830s and 1840s), Guyana (1857 to present), Jamaica (1840–94), South Africa (1894–present), United States (Married and Pennsylvania until 1776). Papers of Father Cary-Ewles; substantial photographic collection. Access: by appointment. A forty-year rule applies.

Trust Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (Moravian)
Moravian Church Archive and Library
5-7, Muswell Hill
London N10 3JT
Tel. 071 883 3409
Founded 1741. Known until 1923 as Brethren’s Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen. Worked in Jamaica, Labrador, Tanzania, Western Himalayas. Archives date from 1768 and include minutes, accounts, some correspondence, chiefly that of C. I. Latrobe (1758–1830), secretary, SFG. The archive will shortly transfer to the John Rylands University Library, Manchester. Access: bona fide researchers by appointment only.

Newbury
Africa Evangelical Fellowship (SAGM)
International Office
35, Kingfisher Court
Hambridge Road
Newbury
Berks RG14 5SJ
Founded 1863 as Cape General Mission. From 1894 to 1965 the society was known as the South Africa General Mission. Correspondence (twentieth century) of the sending councils: America, Australia, Britain, Canada, and South Africa; correspondence and papers, ca. 1896–1990, relating to the mission fields in Southern and Central Africa; films, photographs, and tapes. Access: by request with three days’ notice.

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Select Bibliography

Guides to Archives


Published Histories


CHURCH MULTIPLICATION GUIDE
Helping Churches to Reproduce Locally and Abroad
George Patterson and Richard Scoggins
1994, 8 1/2 x 11 paperback, 128 pages.
"How to" books are abundant and often not every 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.
Robert E. Logan, of Church Resource Ministries, notes "Theing up leaders and reproducing at every level—disciples, cell groups, and churches. I highly recommend it."

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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 $7.95x Special Postpaid Discount $7.50.

KINGDOM PARTNERSHIPS
FOR SYNERGY IN MISSIONS
William D. Taylor, editor
1994, paperback, 304 pages
Published jointly with the World Evangelical Fellowship
The church/missions community must move beyond superficial fellowship and simple networking to true partnerships—cooperative ventures, strategic alliances, mutually engaged projects, and the sharing of material and human resources. The expected result is synergy—a phenomenon where the output is greater than the sum of the individual components. In these pages, twenty-two missions leaders from around the world speak candidly to these issues. It is a call to reflection, relationship and engagement without which the nations of this world will not be discipled for Christ.

WCL249-2 Retail $11.95x Special Postpaid Discount $10.50

WORKING YOUR WAY TO THE NATIONS
A Guide to Effective Tentmaking
Jonathan Lewis, Editor
1993, 8 1/2 x 11 paperback, 204 pages.
Published jointly with the World Evangelical Fellowship
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:
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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
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PRICES ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE
The Legacy of Charles Simeon

John C. Bennett

As the vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge for fifty-four years and a fellow of King’s College, Charles Simeon (1759-1836) was arguably the foremost evangelical clergyman in the Church of England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Well known for pressing evangelicals to observe the discipline and order of the established church, he also contributed significantly to the development of the nineteenth-century British missionary movement, a markedly voluntary phenomenon. Reconciling the tension between his regular Anglican churchmanship and the voluntarism of evangelical missionary efforts is key to understanding Simeon’s mission legacy.

Seeds of 1759

In the birth records of England in 1759 are the names of four men who were to have significant effect on the evangelical Anglican share of the British missionary movement. Most prominent of the four was the younger William Pitt, made prime minister at the age of twenty-five in 1783. Pitt was no evangelical, but he created a political and economic climate that was conducive to the developing British Empire and the missionary movement that would be connected with it. Only slightly less noticeable, and of far more direct influence, was William Wilberforce. His vision for a Christian nation and his evangelical agenda in Parliament—supported by Pitt at key points—cleared the way for mission activity in British India and beyond. John Venn, later rector of Clapham, was also born in 1759. Venn was the leading clerical light of Wilberforce’s “Clapham Saints” and a prime architect of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East.

Reconciling the tension between Simeon’s Anglican churchmanship and his evangelical voluntarism is the key to understanding his mission legacy.

Simeon entered Eton at the age of seven. Later in life he characterized the school as “so profligate . . . [that he] should be tempted even to murder his own son” rather than submit him to the same experience. Simeon found the spiritual climate of Cambridge, when he entered as a King’s Scholar in 1779, to be little better than what he had left behind at Eton. Like many first- and second-generation evangelicals, Simeon’s faith was not shaped by the institutional process; rather he was mentored in the faith. The autobiographical account of his spiritual pilgrimage begins with an encounter with the Scriptures and continues through a series of relationships with a number of the leading lights of the evangelical movement, including John Newton and the elder Henry Venn. The efficacy and value of the evangelical mentoring process was etched into Simeon’s worldview and played an important role in shaping his missionary agenda.

Following his evangelical conversion on Easter 1779, Simeon decided to pursue the Christian ministry. He took his degree in May of 1782 and was made a fellow of King’s and ordained deacon in the same month. Simeon spent the summer as honorary curate to Christopher Atkinson at St. Edward’s Church in Cambridge. When the parish minister of Holy Trinity Church died unexpectedly that autumn, Simeon’s father sought the post for his son. After a squabble between the bishop and the congregation, which favored another candidate, Simeon was made vicar and preached his first sermon in the pulpit of Holy Trinity Church in November. It was, however, not a happy beginning:

The disappointment which the parish felt [because of my appointment] proved very unfavourable to my ministry. The people almost universally put locks on their pews, and would neither come to church, nor suffer others to do so . . . . I put in there a number of forms, and erected in vacant places, at my own expense, some open seats; but the churchwardens pulled them down, and cast them out of the church. To visit the parishioners in their own houses was impracticable; for they were so imbittered against me, that there was scarcely one that would admit me into his house.

With Simeon’s Sunday morning service under boycott, and pastoral minstry largely impossible, Simeon decided to establish a Sunday evening lecture. This, too, the churchwardens prevented by locking the church doors. Nevertheless, Simeon persevered. He took priest’s orders the following September (1783), eventually made peace with his parishioners, and became an evangelical fixture in the parish, his college, and the university for the next half-century.

White Knight of Evangelicalism?

In the one and a half centuries since his death in 1836, Charles Simeon has been the focus of a host of funeral sermons, one memoir, two full biographies, more than ten “remembrances,” and at least a half dozen thematic assessments. Throughout these treatments Simeon is regularly characterized as an evangelical and a committed churchman. Indeed, the most common impression associated with Simeon’s name has always been his twin loyalty to the evangelical cause and the established church.

Smyth’s Simeon and Church Order (1940), the definitive work to date on his churchmanship, speaks of Simeon’s “steadying
influence" on evangelicalism in the established church. According to Smyth, Simeon addressed the two most significant internal problems confronting evangelical Anglicans at the outset of the nineteenth century: the need for adherence to church order, and the means for continuity in parish leadership. Simeon applied himself to the former issue by tutoring his Cambridge students in conformity to church discipline. He attended to the latter concern through innovations in clerical patronage. Elliott-Binns, in *The Early Evangelicals* (1953), seconds Smyth in noting the "parochial terms" in which Simeon expressed his evangelicalism. Even Ford K. Brown, in *Fathers of the Victorians* (1961), acknowledges the quality of Simeon's churchmanship despite his disaffection with Simeon's evangelical agenda.

With the weight of a century of uniform historical opinion pressing upon them, Pollard and Hennell concluded that Charles Simeon, more than any other, was instrumental in retaining the means for continuity in parish leadership. He attended to the latter problem by tutoring his Cambridge students in conformity to church discipline. Elliott-Binns, in *The Early Evangelicals* (1953), seconds Smyth in noting the "parochial terms" in which Simeon expressed his evangelicalism. Even Ford K. Brown, in *Fathers of the Victorians* (1961), acknowledges the quality of Simeon's churchmanship despite his disaffection with Simeon's evangelical agenda.

With the weight of a century of uniform historical opinion pressing upon them, Pollard and Hennell concluded that Charles Simeon, more than any other, was instrumental in retaining the commitment of second- and third-generation evangelicals to the Church of England. Thus, Charles Simeon, "the complete Anglican," emerges from British ecclesiastical history as the white knight of second-generation evangelical churchmen.

### In Search of Charles Simeon

To label Charles Simeon of Cambridge as an evangelical and churchman cannot be incorrect. It is, however, an incomplete description of the man, his worldview, and his work. His complexity becomes especially apparent when his involvement in the British missionary movement is considered.

First, although we have in Simeon an Anglican clergyman with a fundamental concern for ecclesiastical order, he nevertheless championed the formation of a voluntary missionary society—the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Moreover, Simeon knew that the CMS would be governed exclusively by evangelical churchmen, that it would operate independently of the hierarchy of the established church, and that it would compete with the church's existing missionary societies. This was Simeon the voluntarist.

Second, in Simeon we have an evangelical clergyman and founder of a evangelical missionary society who insisted on the submission of that society and its missionaries to the hierarchy of the established church. Simeon urged the CMS to subject itself to the Church of England, although its power structure had become known for its ambivalence, if not opposition, to the missionary agenda. This was Simeon the churchman.

Third, in Simeon we have a university figure who, although endeavoring to impart missionary vision to the established church, and aiding the creation of voluntary missionary societies for churchmen, failed to direct a sizable number of students toward missionary service through either channel. Instead, Simeon encouraged large numbers of "his" missionary candidates to seek employment as chaplains with the British East India Company and then used his influence with the company's Court of Directors to secure the appointments. This was Simeon the mentor and patron.

These interconnected and contradictory developments were not the product of ordinary evangelicalism and Anglican churchmanship. Such conflicting outcomes were made possible by a certain tolerance for paradox.

### Simeon's Missionary Agenda

The roots of Charles Simeon's evangelicalism, his commitment to Anglican order, and his penchant for the exercise of patronage merged in their effect on the British missionary movement. The net result was an agenda for promoting Christian mission with three interacting centers of gravity: churchmanship, voluntarism, and personal patronage. The churchman in Simeon, the activist in Simeon, and the mentor-patron in Simeon found appropriate roles in the missionary movement. True to paradoxical form, Simeon also argued for the supremacy of each aspect of his work. The interplay between the three facets of Simeon's missionary agenda is apparent in a brief chronology of his chief mission-related efforts.

1787. From the outset of his ministry Charles Simeon championed Christian mission as the appointed means for the global proclamation of the universal grace of God in Christ. An opportunity to apply his support for missionary work arose in 1787. In that year Simeon undertook the promotion of a "missionary establishment" in Bengal under East India Company patronage. However, he was surprised and disappointed by the opposition of the company and Parliament to the plan.

1797. By 1797 Simeon was openly encouraging voluntary effort for Christian mission. However, he had discovered that he could not expect Anglicans to support the "undenominational" (London) Missionary Society (LMS), and he would not ask his evangelical colleagues to limit their backing to the SPCK and the SPG. An alternative society for evangelical churchmen had become necessary.

1799. For two years Simeon had crisscrossed England from the Midlands to Cornwall in support of an evangelical missionary society for the established church. During his travels to numerous clerical meetings Simeon had become impatient with the reluctance of his evangelical colleagues to take definitive action. Consider Simeon's plea to the Eclectic Society at its meeting on March 18: "What can we do?—When shall we do it?—How shall we do it? . . . We cannot join the [London] Missionary Society; yet I bless God that they have stood forth. We must now stand forth. We require something more than resolutions—something ostensible—something held up to the public. Many draw back because we do not stand forth.—When shall we do it? Directly: not a moment to be lost. We have been dreaming these four years, while all England, all Europe has been awake." Simeon's spirits were greatly lifted by the creation of the CMS the following month.

1800. With the founding of the CMS, Simeon's concerns turned to recruiting candidates for missionary service. Simeon discouraged volunteers per se, that is, those who stepped forward from personal enthusiasm or vocational despair: "When a man asks me about a call to be a Missionary, I answer very differently from many others. I tell him that if he feels his mind to be strongly bent on it, he ought to take that as a reason for suspecting and carefully examining whether it is not self rather
than God which is leading him to the work. The man that does good as a Missionary is he who ... says, 'Here am I; do what seemeth good unto thee; send me.' Simeon advocated a sending strategy in which God, via a mentor, discovers missionary potential, shapes it, and channels the candidate toward a sphere of activity, perhaps through an appointment arranged by the mentor.

1804. By the end of the CMS's first half-decade, Simeon had become concerned over the unwillingness of most university students to consider missionary service. Owing to the pioneering work of the Dissenting societies (e.g., the Baptists and the LMS), missionaries had developed a reputation as artisans and schoolteachers. University graduates found little to recommend these vocations. Moreover, Simeon had become frustrated with the establishment's restrictions on missionary work in India. His relationship with the CMS also became strained by his unsuccessful efforts to recruit missionaries for the society. Simeon began to search for alternatives to missionary service with a voluntary society. His connection with David Brown and Charles Grant, dating back to 1787, proved to be formative.

1805: Simeon gave serious thought to an alternative channel for missionary activity. East India Company chaplaincies—a respectable vocation for university graduates—would allow Simeon to send his best students to India while avoiding the establishment's restrictions on missionaries per se. From 1805 to 1820, Simeon encouraged more than three dozen of his students to apply for India Company chaplaincies. With the support of Grant, twenty-one of Simeon's disciples made successful applications. It is significant that more than half of this activity occurred after the 1813 renewal of the India Company's charter lifted most of the restrictions on missionary access to India. Simeon's indirect influence in India, through "his" chaplains, extended far beyond his death in 1836.

1809. The alternatives to the CMS continued to emerge for

**Noteworthy**

Announcing

The Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut, announces the 1994 grantees of the Research Enablement Program. Twenty-one scholars, representing Australia, China, Hong Kong, Republic of Ireland, Israel, New Zealand, Palestine, Sierra Leone, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States, received awards for research projects in the area of Christian Mission and World Christianity. The Research Enablement Program is funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and administered by OMSC. The grants, which will be dispensed for work in the 1994-1995 academic year, total approximately $242,000.

Dr. Gerald H. Anderson, OMSC's director who also serves as director of the Research Enablement Program and chair of the Review and Selection Committee, states, "Competition for the 1994-1995 research awards was unusually stiff, reflecting the high quality of the proposals. The awards committee is confident that the grantees will make a solid contribution to the advancement of scholarship in Christian Mission and World Christianity."

The intensity of the competition is reflected in the increased number of applications—162 for 1994-1995 as compared with 110 in the previous year. Twenty percent of the applicants were women, and nearly fifty percent were citizens of countries outside Europe and North America. The grantees represent Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox ecclesial communities.

The Research Enablement Program is designed to support both younger scholars undertaking dissertation field research and established scholars engaged in major writing projects dealing with mission and Christianity in the non-Western world. The grantees, listed by category, are as follows:

**Dissertation Field Research**

*Graeme Batley*, Melbourne College of Divinity: "Analytical Evaluation of Emic Christian Theologizing Taking Place Among the Samban People of New Guinea"

*Anthony Bryan*, University of South Carolina: "Third World Analysis of Mutuality in Mission: Advancement or International Debt Trap"

*Li Li*, University of North Carolina: "Joining the Chinese—Sophie Lanneau and Wei Ling Girl's Academy, 1900-1950"  

*Thomas Reilly*, University of Washington: "The Legacy of the Taiping Rebellion for Chiang-nan Christianity"

*John Wendel*, University of Rochester: "Mission Education and Personhood in Micronesia"

**Postdoctoral Book Research and Writing**


*Jane Ellis*, St. Antony's College: "Mission in Russia: Relations Between the Russian Orthodox Church and Foreign Protestant Missions"

*Erick Langer*, Carnegie Mellon University: "Asking for Pears of the Elm Tree: Franciscan Missions Among the Chiriguans"

*Paul Liu*, Georgetown University: "Development of Christianity in Post-Mao China"


*Mitri Raheb*, Bethlehem Bible College: "The Koran—A Contextualization of the Biblical Message?"

*Willem Saayman*, University of South Africa: "Mission in Context: A Missiological Interpretation of the Life of Professor Z. K. Matthews"

*Evgeny Steiner*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem: "Russian Orthodox Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan in Comparison with Western Christian Missions to That Country"

**Missiological Consultations**


*Peter Ng*, Chinese University of Hong Kong: "Historical Archives of Pre-1949 Christian Higher Education in China"
Simeon. He began to give serious attention to a moderate form of millenarianism and, as a result, developed an enthusiasm for the conversion of the Jewish people. Simeon came to believe that Jewish converts would become a strategic means to evangelize traditionally non-Christian societies. This conviction, combined with continued difficulties in recruiting and placing missionaries, motivated Simeon to participate in the work of the London Society for Propagating Christianity Amongst the Jews (LSPCJ). Simeon’s most significant contribution to the LSPCJ was its reorganization in 1814 as a society governed by churchmen.

1814. With the creation of the Calcutta episcopate in 1813, Charles Simeon had anticipated a close and profitable relationship between the CMS and the bishop of Calcutta. However, Simeon became concerned for the CMS’s commitment to church order when the society balked at the submission of its missionaries in India to the new bishop. The General Committee of the Society had become suspicious of T. F. Middleton from the first notice of his appointment in 1814. Middleton was no evangelical. The society would not instruct its missionaries to submit to the bishop until he licensed them. In turn, Middleton refused to license the missionaries because he was unsure of their loyalty. Problems of this sort plagued the CMS’s work in India until the 1840s. In contrast, Simeon consistently urged proper cooperation between the CMS and the bishop of Calcutta. Simeon’s influence in the matter was also indirectly exerted through his former students who were then chaplains in India.

1818. Although the CMS’s ecclesiastical policies and practices troubled Simeon and strained his relationship with the society, he did not abandon the CMS. He regularly encouraged his Cambridge congregation to support the society. Moreover, Simeon supported the development of auxiliary Church Missionary Associations (CMAs) from the inception of the plan in 1813. However, Simeon delayed his backing for the Cambridge association until 1818. He had deferred his support for a local

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**English Translations**

Robert Schultz, Life Enrichment Center, Seattle: “Sent to Heal: English Edition of Christopher H. Grundmann’s *Gesandt zu heilen*”

**Oral History Projects**

Jay Crain, California State University, Sacramento: “Conversion on the Periphery: Oral Histories of Christianity in Inner Borneo”


**Planning Grant for Major Interdisciplinary Project**

Andrew F. Walls, Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, and Leslie E. Shyllon, University of Sierra Leone: “Sierra Leone Church History Project”

In addition to these mission research grants, the Pew Charitable Trusts have announced the awarding of a $291,000, three-year grant in support of a major collaborative missiological research project. The “Christianity in South India” project, headed by Robert E. Frykenberg (University of Wisconsin-Madison), involves a team of Indian and American scholars. The members of the Review and Selection Committee for last year’s round of grantmaking in this field of collaborative research were Joel A. Carpenter (PCT Religion program director), Samuel H. Moffett (Princeton Theological Seminary), Lamin Sanneh (Yale University Divinity School), and A. Christopher Smith (PCT Religion program officer).

Another cycle of grant-making in this research category was announced by The Pew Charitable Trusts in the January 1994 issue of the *International Bulletin* (p. 39).

The American Society of Missiology will hold its 1994 annual meeting on June 17-19, at Techny Towers, Illinois (near Chicago). The theme of the meeting will be “Images of Church—Images of Mission.” The *Association of Professors of Mission* will meet June 16-17 at the same place in conjunction with the ASM. The theme of their meeting will be “Integrating Spirituality.” Mary Motte, F.M.M., of the Mission Resource Center in North Providence, Rhode Island, is president of the ASM, and Jonathan Bonk of Providence College and Seminary in Otterburne, Manitoba, is president of the APM for 1993-94. For further information and registration for both meetings, contact George R. Hunsberger, Western Theological Seminary, 86 East 12th Street, Holland, Michigan 49423.

**Personalia**

W. Stanley Rycroft, one of the most noted Protestant lay missionaries in Latin America of this century, died November 30, 1993, in Princeton, New Jersey. He was 94. After missionary service in Lima, Peru, under the Free Church of Scotland in the Colegio Anglo-Peruano from 1922 to 1939, he was elected secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America in New York City. In 1950 he became Secretary for Latin America of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and in 1960 was designated its first Secretary for Research. After retirement in 1969 he continued active in many civic and religious causes. Rycroft wrote *On This Foundation* (1942), *Indians in the High Andes* (1946), *Religion and Faith in Latin America* (1953), *The Ecumenical Witness of the United Presbyterian Church* (1968), and *Memoirs of Life in Three Worlds* (1976). A life-long friend of John A. Mackay and a traveling companion of John R. Mott, Rycroft knew well the early ecumenical encounters in Latin America.

Carroll Stuhlmueller, C.P., coauthor with Donald Senior of *Biblical Foundations for Mission* (Orbis, 1983), died February 21, 1994, at age 70 after suffering a massive stroke. A leading figure in Catholic church movements in the U.S., he was a charter member of the faculty of Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, where he served as professor of Old Testament studies. Editor of the journal *The Bible Today*, he authored twenty-three books and scores of articles on biblical topics.
CMS auxiliary because of continued trouble between the society and Middleton and the residual tensions in the town from the founding of the Bible Society's auxiliary in 1812.

The 1820s. During the closing decade and a half of his life, Simeon did not fail to continue to mentor and influence second- and third-generation leaders for the evangelical Anglican missionary movement. Consider, for example, his relationship with Henry Venn (junior), the distinguished honorary secretary of the CMS, and Daniel Wilson, the evangelical bishop of Calcutta. By means of his influence on the two men, Simeon indirectly helped the CMS to strike a balance between its ecclesiastical and missionary priorities. Venn and Wilson made peace between the society and the Calcutta episcopate in 1838. Charles Simeon is, perhaps, owed some of the credit for the achievement of this "Concordat." Although it was an indirect product of his efforts, it serves as a fitting reminder of the evangelical Anglican who strove for balance between churchmanship, voluntarism, and individualism in the first decades of the British missionary movement.

Legacy of Charles Simeon

As has been suggested, Charles Simeon approached his missionary agenda as a voluntarist and a mentor-patron. His intense efforts on behalf of the formation of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, later renamed the Church Missionary Society, highlight his willingness to rely on voluntary means in order to forward the missionary agenda. Simeon's role in the creation of the CMS establishes him as a voluntarist to no lesser extent than Wilberforce and the Clapham Saints. When the CMS became a less fruitful channel for his missionary patronage, Simeon turned to the East India Company as an alternative, demonstrating the independent spirit of his patronage. It is certainly true that Simeon's work in support of the CMS and his partnership with Grant in appointing EIC chaplains were consistent with his evangelical commitment, but this fact does nothing to lessen the tension between his missionary activities and his churchmanship.

The standard secondary sources on Charles Simeon, such as those by Smyth, Pollard and Hennell, and Hopkins, do not attempt to resolve this tension. Simeon's missionary agenda is not the major consideration in these accounts of his life and work. The fact that Simeon's involvement with the CMS had greatly diminished by 1804 may have caused these authors to connect his embrace of the CMS's voluntary principles with the other irregularities of his early years. Moreover, the limited emphasis on Simeon's missionary efforts in these studies is consistent with their ecclesiastical (versus missionary) focus. However, it would be a mistake to relegate Simeon's missionary concerns to the periphery of his agenda. The frequency with which missionary affairs were addressed in Simeon's correspondence, sermons, autobiography, and Carus's Memoirs suggests that the global progress of the Gospel was a central concern to Charles Simeon.

The voluntarism and independence of action that is inherent in Simeon's missionary agenda stands in contrast with his churchmanship. Nevertheless, the Cambridge minister's reputation as a regular churchman was well deserved. The reality is that Simeon's pragmatism and tolerance of paradox made room for these divergent agendas. Recognizing this tension is the key to understanding Charles Simeon's legacy for the British missionary movement in the early nineteenth century.

Notes


2. The term "evangelical(s)") is used in this article to refer to evangelicals in the Church of England. This was common usage at the time. Evangelical Nonconformists were no less "evangelical," but they were unable to escape the label "Dissenters."


4. William Wilberforce's notion of a Christian nation and its impact on his worldview may be seen in his Practical view of the prevailing religious system of professed Christians in the higher and middle classes in this country contrasted with real Christianity (London, 1797). This work may be the clearest example of evangelical thought at the time. For a good account of the life of Wilberforce, see John Pollack's Wilberforce (Tring, Herts: Lion Press, 1977).


6. Henry Venn quoting Simeon in a letter to a friend, September 18, 1782, in W. Carus, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., Late Senior Fellow of King's College and Minister of Trinity Church, Cambridge, 3d ed. (London, 1848), p. 28. Simeon never had opportunity to carry out his threat: he remained a bachelor.

7. See Bennett, "Simeon," p. 150, for Simeon's views on the spirituality he found at Cambridge.


10. A summary of these works may be found in Bennett, "Simeon," pp. 406ff.


16. A chief complaint against the CMS was its inherent competition with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG).

17. Simeon's missionary expectations for India Company chaplains are considered in depth in Bennett, "Simeon," chapter 6, "The Missionary Agenda by Other Means," pp. 291ff. Simeon saw "his" chaplains...
as hardly less missionary than those he might send to India with the CMS. This is readily apparent in his correspondence with Charles Grant (senior), a member of the company’s Court of Directors from 1794 to 1816 and Simeon’s chief ally in securing chaplaincy appointments for more than two dozen men. In one sequence of letters Simeon discussed the expected impact of the “native schools” proposed by chaplain Thomas Thomason—one of Simeon’s men—on the progress of the missionary task in India. See Simeon to Grant, March 15 and December 17, 1814; and July 1 and August 5, 1815 (Simeon MSS, Ridley Hall, Cambridge).

18. D. M. Rosman has observed that a tolerance of paradox was a mark of nineteenth-century evangelical expediency (“Evangelicals and Culture in England, 1790-1833” [Ph.D. diss., Keele University, 1979], p. 19). The argument is valid, but it is an incomplete explanation for Simeon’s ability to embrace contrasting values. Simeon genuinely believed that the Scriptures affirm principles that appear to be contradictory. For this reason he did not fear to do the same. One paradox in particular stands out in connection with Simeon’s name: On biblical grounds Simeon spoke of himself as a Calvinist, as an Arminian, and as neither of these. See Bennett, “Simeon,” pp. 19ff.

19. I.e., the September 1787 “Plan for a missionary establishment in Bengal and Behar,” as proposed from Calcutta by David Brown, William Chambers, Charles Grant, and George Udny (Simeon MSS).


22. “Not one of them says, ‘Here I am, send me’” (Simeon to Thomas Scott, August 22, 1800, CMS Archives, University of Birmingham, G/AC 3; also cited in C. Hole, The Early History of the Church Missionary Society [London, 1996], p. 62).

23. This problem had become apparent to Melville Horne a decade earlier. See Horne’s Letters on missions addressed to the Protestant ministers of the British churches (London, 1794; reprint, Andover, 1815), p. 32 and throughout.

24. For a complete summary of Simeon’s efforts in aid of Jewish evangelism, see J. B. Cartwright, Love to the Jewish nation: A sermon preached at the Episcopal Jews’ Chapel, Bethnal Green, London, on Sunday morning, November 27th, 1836, on the occasion of the death of the Rev. Charles Simeon (London, 1836), pp. 31-43.

25. There is evidence to suggest that Middleton refrained from licensing any missionaries, whether CMS or SPCK, until he could license all of them, and that more than a legal technicality hindered him vis-à-vis the CMS. See Bennett, “Simeon,” chapters 4 and 5, where this important example of church-mission tension is considered in some detail.

26. For example, the first parochial collection on behalf of the CMS was taken at Holy Trinity Church in 1804. See Hole, Early History, p. 96.

27. In 1836, Daniel Wilson proposed four “rules” to guide the bishop of Calcutta in his relationship with the CMS’s clerical missionaries in India: (1) determine the missionary’s fitness for licensing, (2) approve the stationing of the missionary, (3) superintend his ecclesiastical work (versus his missionary work), but (4) receive regular reports from the society on the missionary work of the clergyman (Wilson to the CMS General Committee, June 9, 1836, CMS Archives, University of Birmingham, C11/0/8/4). “Appendix II” to the thirty-ninth Report of the CMS, drafted by Henry Venn in 1838, reflected the acceptance of Wilson’s proposal. These principles were formalized in Venn’s “Concordat” of July 1841, incorporating them into “Law 32” of the society. With the publication of the new regulations, the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishop of London finally consented to serve the CMS as vice-patrons. (See W. Shenk, “Henry Venn as Missionary Theorist and Administrator” [Ph.D. diss., University of Aberdeen, 1978], pp. 242-53.)

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The Legacy of Claudius Buchanan

Wilbert R. Shenk

Claudius Buchanan has been credited with playing the decisive role in opening India to Christian missions in the early years of the nineteenth century.1 By the twentieth century, however, he was largely forgotten.2 Never commissioned a missionary himself, Buchanan worked to break down the considerable barriers to missionary work that existed until 1813, and he contributed to the development of institutional infrastructures that would sustain missions. Buchanan is a worthy case study in evangelical activism.

Family and Education

Claudius Buchanan was born March 12, 1766, at Cambuslang, Scotland. His father, Alexander, was the local schoolmaster. His maternal grandfather, Claudius Somers, was an elder of the Cambuslang kirk when George Whitefield preached in the valley in 1742 and the family came under the sway of the Evangelical Revival. He was his grandfather’s pride and joy, and the family early marked out Claudius for the ministry. In his teens, however, he turned away from the church. Between 1782 and 1787 he spent three terms at the University of Glasgow and then left Scotland. By the time he reached London, he was in dire straits and had to abandon further travel. Eventually, he got work as clerk in an attorney’s office. In 1790 his inner turmoil reached a crisis. His mother wrote, advising that he seek out John Newton, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth. Newton not only led Buchanan to a satisfying spiritual experience but took a great personal interest in him.

Two weeks later Claudius was arrested by the words from Isaiah: “How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace!” This awakened in him the long-suppressed call to the ministry.4 At age twenty-four he was beginning to find direction. Newton urged him to prepare for the ministry. As a member of the evangelical circle of movers and shakers, Newton introduced Buchanan to Henry Thornton, who immediately offered to support Buchanan while he pursued theological studies. It was decided that Buchanan should go to Cambridge to secure proper credentials for ministry in the Church of England. The autumn of 1791, at age twenty-five, he entered Queens’ College, whose principal was Dr. Isaac Milner, a respected evangelical.5

At Cambridge he became one of the “Sims,” attending the Sunday evening event Charles Simeon held weekly for earnest students. Simeon also tutored him in public speaking. Because of his age and sense of obligation to Henry Thornton, Buchanan did little else than study. Later he would attribute his chronic poor health to overwork while at Cambridge.

The 1790s were a period of ferment and innovation. The Baptists organized a missionary society in 1792, followed by a string of new societies in Europe, Great Britain, and the United States. When the charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1793, William Wilberforce tried to get Parliament to amend it so as to allow missionaries to enter India. The antimissionary forces deflected this attempt, but the charter did require the company to continue to provide chaplains to the expatriate Indian civil service and military.

During his four years at Cambridge Buchanan corresponded regularly with John Newton. In 1792 he dined with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Grant in Cambridge and heard from Grant, a director of the East India Company, “various accounts of the apostolic spirit of some missionaries to the Indies.”6 In 1794 Newton pressed on him the possibility of the India chaplaincy, still the only legal basis for evangelical work in British India.6

A Passion for Mission

Upon graduation from Cambridge in 1795 Buchanan was ordained deacon and became Newton’s curate. In early 1796 Charles Grant got Buchanan appointed a chaplain to the East India Company. That summer the bishop of London, Dr. Porteus, ordained Buchanan priest for the chaplaincy. Following a brief visit to his family in Scotland, he sailed for India in August, arriving March 10, 1797, two days before his thirty-first birthday.7 At Calcutta the senior chaplain, the Reverend David Brown, who had been in India since 1786, received him cordially. The two men worked together harmoniously for the next ten years.

Buchanan was posted to the Barrackpur military garrison, sixteen miles upriver from Calcutta. His next two years were frustrating because the soldiers were totally indifferent to religion. He occupied himself with the study of the Persian and Hindustani languages. “Not knowing what may be the purpose of God concerning me,” he wrote, “I have thought it my duty to attend early to the languages of the country.”8 Indeed, this gave impetus to much of his work during his years in India.

In April 1799, he married eighteen-year-old Mary Whish, who had come out to India with her older sister and aunt. She bore two daughters but soon became ill with consumption. On doctor’s advice, accompanied by her two daughters, Mary Buchanan sailed for England in January 1805 to seek medical treatment. She died en route in June. Already at Barrackpur the health of Buchanan himself was a constant concern. In addition, to the usual attacks of malaria and dysentery, signs of a heart condition began to show.

Buchanan had come to India as a chaplain, but his passion was missions. Although the East India Company charter barred missionary work, Buchanan and his contemporaries refer freely in their writings to “missions” and “missionaries.” His first conversation with William Carey focused on the best missionary approach to the people of India. Carey cautioned against the view of an early wholesale conversion of Hindus to the Christian faith. He said that he was “employed in laying the foundation of

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future usefulness ... translating the Bible into the Bengal tongue." In a phrase that was prophetic, Buchanan added: "This like Wickliffe's first translation, may prove 'the father of many versions.'"

At the same time he was sensible of the fact that a less direct approach to evangelization, based on this sober estimate of the prospects, might make it more difficult to enlist support for missions. Buchanan struggled to find a formulation that was both realistic and compelling. As an heir of the Evangelical Revival, he put a premium on wholehearted response to the call of Jesus Christ.

The Buchanan legacy consists of four interlocking roles: promoter of Bible translation and distribution, architect of an ecclesiastical establishment for India, publicist and researcher, and ecumenical statesman.

Promoter of Bible Translation and Distribution

In 1799 Lord Wellesley, the forceful governor-general of the East India Company, appointed Buchanan a chaplain to the presidency, which meant that he moved from his Barrackpur exile to Calcutta. Shortly thereafter Wellesley enlisted Buchanan to draft plans for a college whose main purpose would be to train young Britons for the Indian civil service. This assignment gave full play to a Buchanan characteristic that was to show itself repeatedly: his flair for bold and visionary planning. The new college would offer a complete European curriculum plus the study of the Indian languages, history, customs and manners, Islam and Hinduism, with their respective codes of law. In addition, a department of Bible translation—a feature that must have appeared curious indeed to the Court of Directors in London—was to be established. In Buchanan's words, the object of the college was "to enlighten the Oriental world, to give science, religion, and pure morals to Asia, and to confirm in it the British power and dominion." The College of Fort William opened in August 1800 with David Brown as provost and Cladius Buchanan as vice-provost. Buchanan was also professor of classical languages. By 1801 Brown and Buchanan had persuaded the governor-general to appoint the Baptist William Carey as instructor in Bengali and Sanskrit.

Buchanan took direct responsibility for the Bible translation department from the outset. During the first five years, the translation department worked on projects in five languages. Like the Baptist enterprise at nearby Serampore, this was a veritable translation factory, or "emporium ... of Eastern Letters." To critics of this approach Buchanan replied in his immensely popular Christian Researches in Asia: "We have no hesitation in laying down this position: the more translations, the better. Even in their most imperfect state, like Wickliffe's version in a remote age, they will form a basis for gradual improvement by succeeding generations. Besides the very best translation must, in the lapse of ages, change with a changing language, like the leaves of a tree which fall in autumn and are renewed in spring" (p. 131). This rationale contained linguistic insights that were not fully appreciated until the twentieth century.

Buchanan early became aware of limitations under which a self-taught Carey labored, but publicly he spoke of Carey and his associates with respect, crediting them with having revived "the spirit for promoting Christian knowledge, by translations of the Holy Scriptures." Furthermore, he defended this "factory" approach as viable because the missionary was not the actual translator. This approach could be followed only where it was a team effort, and "it is to be understood, that the natives themselves are properly the translators" (p. 129), while the missionary supervised. Of course, neither the missionary nor the native speaker at that time had the tools of linguistic science, and much of the work of that generation has not stood up well.

Buchanan shared the Serampore enthusiasm for producing as many translations in as many languages as possible. This tactic was buttressed by his almost boundless confidence in the power of the Christian Scriptures to "witness" to people, if only they were given access (see p. 70).

In 1806 the Court of Directors in London ordered the college curtailed, and the department of Bible translation was closed. Brown and Buchanan had seen this coming and arranged to have the various language projects taken over by missionary societies.

Some of his linguistic insights were not fully appreciated until the twentieth century.

Meanwhile the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), founded in 1804, began providing support to groups like the Serampore mission. At this time Buchanan's erstwhile cordial relations with the Baptists were breached when he took decisions without consultation and proposed a British "Propaganda" that would have put them under the control of the established church. Unsurprisingly, the Serampore Mission rejected the proposal out of hand.

Ecclesiastical Architect

In 1800 Church of England canon law had no provision for the extension of the church to territories beyond British political jurisdiction. This was fully consistent with a Christendom concept, which defined the church territorially as coextensive with the state rather than missionally.

Before Cladius Buchanan left for India in 1796, Bishop Porteus discussed with him the need for an ecclesiastical arrangement for India. In 1805 Buchanan submitted to Porteus a detailed proposal entitled Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India: both as the means of perpetuating the Christian religion among our own countrymen; and as a foundation for the ultimate civilizing of the natives, a document that ran to 176 printed pages. The subtitle accurately states the thesis: the pastoral care of British subjects resident in India as well as the evangelization of the Indian peoples required a full-fledged ecclesiastical structure.

It is beyond our purposes here to discuss details of Buchanan's proposal. A few summary observations will suffice. First, Buchanan accurately anticipated future needs of the Anglican Church in India, and his aide memoir set the stage for the appointment of the first bishop for India in 1814. Second, he was sailing in stormy waters as far as his mission theory was concerned. The Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799 on the church principle rather than the High Church principle. Anglican evangelicals rejected the notion that a bishop should lead each mission, but the High Church view was similar to the Catholic. This long remained a contentious issue. Third, Buchanan was typical of evangelicals in his firm commitment to maintain the "church as by law established." Fourth, this means that
Buchanan’s rationale called for transplanting Christendom to India, even while he enthusiastically promoted vernacular translations and study of vernacular languages and cultures that would eventually lead to its breakup.19 Buchanan’s proposal was received enthusiastically in London, and in 1806 the archbishop of Canterbury sounded out Buchanan concerning his willingness to be consecrated as the first bishop for India. This honor and responsibility he declined because of his own precarious health. In 1806 Buchanan had been so ill he expected to die and had made arrangements with David Brown for his funeral and the administration of estate.

Researcher and Publicist

If one were to single out Buchanan’s most important contribution to the cause of missions in his time, it would undoubtedly be that of publicist. He both wrote and found ways of stimulating others to write in support of the cause of missions. Pearson summarized Buchanan’s interests succinctly: “Publicity and inquiry were therefore his great objects.”20 Buchanan was always intent on awakening the British public to “the duty and the opportunity of promoting the moral and political welfare of our fellow subjects in India.”21 To do this required fresh and accurate information, and he had a journalist’s feel for issues.

In 1803, with the backing of Lord Wellesley, Buchanan proposed a prize competition to the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Trinity College, Dublin, for essays on “the best means of extending the blessings of civilization and true religion among the sixty millions, inhabitants of Hindostan, subject to British authority.”22 Buchanan paid out more than £1,650 from his personal resources in prizes during the several years of the competition. More than twenty of these prize essays and poems were published. In recognition of Buchanan’s work the University of Glasgow in 1805 conferred on him the degree of doctor in divinity (an honorary degree by modern standards).

In March 1806 the governor-general authorized a leave of absence so that Buchanan could engage in research. From Fort William College, Brown and Buchanan had corresponded with people throughout India and elsewhere in Asia soliciting information about religious and social conditions, but they found that the reports were often contradictory. This convinced them that reliable information needed to be assembled. They wanted to know the state of Christianity and of other religions. In addition, Buchanan was eager to take an inventory of scriptures of various religions in the vernacular languages.

In spite of his precarious health, Buchanan traveled by elephant and horse overland from Calcutta to Madras, and then by ship as far as Cape Comorin. On a second trip he went to Malabar and Travancore, and he visited Ceylon three times. He experienced firsthand the importance of on-site observation. Buchanan visited major Hindu temples along his route, including the great Juggernaut in Orissa, and Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Syrian churches. He also made special inquiry into the Jewish communities in Asia. Wherever he went, he gathered samples of whatever scriptures were available in the various languages.

Buchanan’s findings were published in 1811 as Christian Researches in Asia. The book was an immediate success. It went through twelve editions in two years and was republished as late as 1858.23 In it he gave graphic accounts of Hindu religious ceremonies and brought to the attention of Christians in the West the existence of the ancient Syrian churches. Particularly compelling was the account of his visit to the dreaded inquisition at Goa, which he visited when en route to Great Britain in January 1808.24

His return to Great Britain opened a new phase in Buchanan’s career as promoter of missions. He was in demand as a speaker and writer. His sermon “The Star in the East,” preached in February 1809, went through repeated printings and aroused wide interest. As a speaker, Buchanan was solid but not flamboyant. Cambridge University made him a doctor in divinity in 1809 and appointed him to preach the two commencement sermons that year. In the appendix to his Cambridge sermons he made a vigorous statement about the importance of an “increased cultivation of the female mind” (p. 59, also p. 154), stimulated by what he observed of the status of women in Asian society. Buchanan is thus one of the earliest advocates for increased scope for women in ministry.

Those who had been involved in the 1793 campaign to amend the East India Company charter to allow missions to enter India knew their next opportunity would come in 1813. In connection with the successful antislave trade campaign in 1807 evangelicals had forged an effective system for enlisting public support for their causes in Parliament.25 The basic instrument was the public petition signed by thousands of citizens. Publicity based on authoritative information was essential. Buchanan’s ten years in India, his extensive knowledge growing out of his firsthand observations, and his ability to formulate ideas in accessible form made him an important ally in this new campaign. Unfortunately, every step he took was dogged by his declining health.

William Wilberforce tried to protect Buchanan from too much direct public exposure, which led to inevitable personal attacks, but he relied heavily on Christian Researches and other Buchanan pamphlets for his information as he led the fight to change the company charter. In 1813 Parliament did change the charter to allow missionaries to work in British India and to allow the founding of an ecclesiastical establishment. Without Buchanan’s research, writing, and bold proposals, the outcome might have been as it was in 1793.

Ecumenical Statesman

The crisis in 1806 caused by the Court of Directors’ order to curtail operations at Fort William College threatened the Bible translation scheme so dear to Brown, Buchanan, their Serampore colleagues, and others. Faced with the demand either to close down or take an alternative route, Buchanan and Brown chose an alternative. Now that the centralized approach they had promoted through Fort William College had to be abandoned, they hived off the various language projects to denominational mission bodies: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Baptists, Lutherans, Scottish, and Roman Catholics. The main criterion seemed to be a commitment to producing Bible translations in the vernaculars.26 Always the promoter, Buchanan, with Brown’s collaboration, wrote an appeal for financial support that
went to potential subscribers in Great Britain and Asia. And he proposed expansion of Bible translation into still other Asian languages. To some extent the difficulties he had run into with the Baptists over his “Propaganda” proposal were mitigated by his continuing efforts on their behalf in the Bible cause.

Reference has already been made to Buchanan’s visits to the Syrian Christians at Malabar. These churches traced their origins to the Apostle Thomas. In the sixteenth century Catholic missionaries encountered the Malabar churches and took steps to incorporate them into the Roman Catholic Church. A minority of some 40,000 Syrians refused to accept the authority of the Roman pope. This was the group Buchanan met in 1807. He easily established rapport with Metropolitan Dionysius, who agreed that a translation of the Bible into Malayalam, the language of the people, was urgently needed. As a token of friendship, the metropolitan gave Buchanan an old manuscript copy of the Syrian Bible, which he later deposited in the Cambridge University library. Buchanan also broached the sensitive subject of possible relationship between the Syrians and the Anglicans. Buchanan himself did little more in relation to the Syrian Church than to assist them with their Bible translation project.

But the way in which he publicized the Syrians in India through *Christian Researches* created a precedent. At the time of his death Buchanan was planning a trip to the Middle East for the purpose of visiting the ancient churches there. As a result Anglican missions from that time showed a sympathetic interest in the historic churches in Ethiopia, Egypt, the Arabian peninsula, and Persia, on the basis of Buchanan’s contention that these ancient churches had the potential to evangelize their own people much more effectively than could foreigners, provided they were revived and purified. This was done by making the Scriptures widely available in the vernaculars and by providing adequate theological training. Later it became apparent that Buchanan did not have an adequate grasp of the history and tradition of the Syrians and, consequently, was misled in some of his conclusions. Yet he showed exemplary sensitivity in insisting that the starting point in such a relationship is one of mutual respect and patient listening to one another.

**Buchanan’s Last Years**

After Buchanan returned to Great Britain in 1808, he hoped he might sufficiently recover his health to return to India. Alas, his health did not improve, and he decided he must give up any thought of going out to India again. In 1810 he met and married Mary Thompson. Within the next three years two sons were born to them, neither of whom lived; Mary died in 1813. In 1811 Buchanan suffered the first of several strokes, which left him partially paralyzed. Never flagging in his passion, he continued to write on behalf of the opening of India to missions and to plan a visit to the Middle East.

In January 1815 he attended the funeral of Henry Thornton in London. On February 9 Buchanan died, a month before his forty-ninth birthday, and was buried in Yorkshire beside his second wife. He was survived by daughters Charlotte and Augusta. At the time of his death he was reading the proofs for the Syriac New Testament, which he spent several years editing and preparing for the printer.

**Notes**

1. This is Stock’s judgment (*History of the Church Missionary Society*, 1:97), which may seem overdrawn; but see Neill’s appreciation (*History*, p. 256).

2. I have not been able to consult A. K. Davidson’s Aberdeen Ph.D. dissertation, “The Development and Influence of the British Missionary Movement’s Attitudes Towards India, 1786-1813” (1973), which studies Buchanan’s role as publicist in particular.

3. Buchanan read Newton’s *Life* at this time and saw in Newton’s wasted youth a parallel with his own.

4. “It occurred to me, that that envious office was once designed for me; that I was called to the ministry, as it were, from my infancy. For my pious grandfather chose me from among my mother’s children to live with himself. He adopted me as his own child, and took great pleasure in forming my young mind to the love of God” (*Pearson, Memoirs*, 1:33).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 77. Since at least 1787, schemes had been put forward for establishing missions to India for the purpose of evangelizing the whole population. Charles Grant, along with William Chambers, George Udny, and David Brown, in 1787 circulated “A Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Behar.” Charles Hole noted: “The claim which the natives had upon the British Government was forcibly set forth” (*Early History*, p. 71). The proposal called for eight missionaries and various projects to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular languages.

6. The standard gloss on this account is that Buchanan got to India because of Simeon’s influence (see Stock, *History*; Hole, *Early History*; Gibbs, *Anglican Church*). But see Smith, *Conversion of India*, p. 107. Pearson indicates John Newton was his “father in God.”

7. Neill incorrectly reports that Buchanan reached India just before his thirtieth birthday (*History*, p. 256).

8. Pearson, *Memoirs*, 1:148. Cf. the description of Carey’s work routine once he settled at Malda in 1794: “His time was systematically apportioned to the management of the factory, the study of the language, the translation of the New Testament and addresses to the heathen” (*Marshman, Life and Times*, p. 69). Carey and Buchanan assumed language study and Bible translation to be foundational.


11. When word came of the disastrous beginning of the London Missionary Society venture in Tahiti, Buchanan commented: “I hope this South Seas scheme will not discourage the missionary societies. They have done no harm: and if they send out their next mission with less carnal éclat, and more Moravian diffidence, they may perhaps do more good” (*ibid.*, p. 183).


15. In 1799 Buchanan reported: “I explained to him [i.e., Carey], from sources with which he seemed unacquainted, the plan and progress
of the Tamulian Scriptures, and the circumstances attending the publication” (Pearson, Memoirs, 1:184). Henry Martyn arrived on the scene in 1806 and soon expressed serious reservations about the quality of translations produced at Serampore (Potts, British Baptist Missionaries, p. 54).

16. One can conjecture that this point about collaboration, which Buchanan makes so strongly, was largely lost sight of because of the pressures on the missions system to raise financial support, which, it was assumed, could be done only by keeping the missionary central to the operation. But this resulted in a distorted view that reinforced Western domination and falsified the whole story (see Sanneh, Translating the Message). Buchanan maintained this collaborative view of translation rather consistently. In the Introduction to Christian Researches he identifies the principal “Oriental” translators for the versions then recently published (p. 2). His views on the importance of such collaboration are expressed in a letter (Pearson, Memoir, pp. 254-55).

17. Hooper and Culshaw, Bible Translation, pp. 15-20; Smalley, Translation as Mission, pp. 47-50.

18. Potts, British Baptist Missionaries, pp. 54-55; Owen, History, p. 99; Buchanan, An Apology, p. 67 n.


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The publishers are to be thanked for reproducing Carey's *Enquiry* at the end of the volume, along with some interesting photographs.

—A. Christopher Smith

A. Christopher Smith is a British Baptist missiologist who works as Religion Program Officer of the Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia. He has spent seven years researching and writing on the Serampore Trio.

The Legacy of Scottish Missionaries in Malawi.


Malawian Christian comment in print on the Scottish missionary enterprise in Malawi goes back almost a century. Yet in the period since independence in 1964, comparatively little has been written by Malawian Christians themselves to help us understand how they view the work of Scottish missionaries during the last 120 years. For this reason alone this book should be welcomed. Harvey Sindima is a Malawian Presbyterian minister, currently teaching at Colgate University in New York State. He is well placed to survey the historical interaction between Malawian Christians and Scottish missionaries.

The book looks at the work of the two major Scottish missions in Malawi—the Blantyre Mission of the Church of Scotland, and the Livingstonia Mission of the Free (later United Free) Church of Scotland. It highlights several important points: the lack of missionary sensitivity to many aspects of African culture, the injustices of early colonial land policies, the low priority given to theological education, and the slowness to ordain African clergy.

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disappointment on several fronts. To begin with, there is little in the way of new insights. Most of what Sindima has to say has been said—and said better—by other historians in the last fifteen to twenty years. Indeed, large parts of the book read like a regurgitation of other people’s work. In addition, the work is full of mistakes—spelling, grammatical, and bibliographic—all of which tend to reduce its impact. More important, perhaps, is the fact that the author, even when he is factually accurate, seems to take little account of internal policy debates and disagreements within the missions (e.g., the educational debate of the 1920s).

In spite of all that, it is a book worth reading as a brief introduction to a Malawian perspective on mission history, though one will continue to hope for something much more trenchant in the future.

—Jack Thompson

Jack Thompson is Lecturer in Mission at the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World at New College, University of Edinburgh. Between 1970 and 1983 he was an Irish Presbyterian missionary in Malawi.

A History of the Dalit Christians in India.


Dalit is a term meaning “oppressed.” Its current application arose about twenty years ago. It applies to all those hundreds of jatis, those “birth-groups” or caste communities, that, lying at the very bottom of each local social structure, make up over a fifth of India’s population. “Outcastes,” “backward” and “depressed” classes, “untouchables,” or “fifths” (panchamas): this category applies to peoples who have been put below or kept beyond the pale of the “four-color ranking system” (varnashramadharma) devised and surveyed by Brahmins since prehistoric times; it pertains to those registered as belonging to “Scheduled Castes and Tribes” under the Raj. Such beings were deemed so polluting that they could not be part of any proper human society and, hence, were “disposable.” (Dalits could not drink water from any common well, lest they bring pollution, and until the nineteenth century, they could not walk in any public building, street, or proper bridge.) Gandhi called them Harijans (Offspring of Krishna). But they themselves were not fooled; the term stuck in their throats. It offended all who, by dint of education and self-improvement, had managed to escape from, or to rise out of, such oppression. The label “Dalit” is the term by which such people have chosen to label themselves. It is their way of describing, for themselves, the totality of the degradation that they still suffer. The term itself represents protest and resistance, it is part of an ongoing war of words in the struggle for dignity, equality, liberation, and self-assertion.

Almost two centuries ago people from Dalit communities began to turn to Christianity in large numbers. Had they not done so, what is now called the Dalit movement might never have gained impetus. Dalit Christians, John Webster cogently argues, made their greatest contributions to liberation in the first of three important stages of this movement. It was only after great mass movements of radical conversion had brought hundreds of thousands to Christianity, a process that began in the 1790s, that a growing public became conscious of the plight of such peoples and began to make it public issue. Not until the 1920s and 1930s, as Gandhi led Indian nationalism into massive movement campaigns against the Raj, did the Dalit movement enter its second stage. Yet, as Dalits entered the political arena

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Provides a fascinating look at the documents, their meanings for the church and their significance for all those concerned with current issues in mission theology and interfaith dialogue. $19.95 paper

Encountering the West: Christianity and the Global Cultural Process
Lamin Sanneh
How modernity creates “cultural believers” and “religious agnostics” and how the refusal to confuse this bias depresses both Christianity and Western culture. $24.95 cloth

Jonathan J. Bonk is Professor of Mission Studies, Providence College and Seminary, Otterburne, Manitoba, Canada.

Peaks of Faith: Protestant Mission in Revolutionary China

In his research, Chinese historian T'ien Ju-K'ang covers more than eight decades of modern Chinese history, including the period of multinational unification under the Communists. His low-key narrative of the Gospel of Jesus among the networks of Christian tribal minorities is both inspiring to the believer and heuristic to the liberationist, whose forte is the integrity and particularity of peoples.

T'ien shows how Christianity brought a new world to the marginal minority...
people of Yunnan, freeing them from a demeaning self-worth, alcoholism and opium-smoking, thievery, internecine tribal warfare including headhunting, and other evidences of cultural malaise and degradation. In the larger picture T’ien explores a viable ideology that can assure China’s quickest path to modernization. In the late 1980s, when this study was done, Communism was already problematic in China, and Confucianism was facilely dismissed by T’ien (as by most intellectuals) as “not the path to a modern society” (p. 3).

This study shows how the disenfranchised tribal peoples were affirmed and influenced by the selfless devotion of the missionaries. The loving concern of these outsiders for them as human beings in Han China was empowering and contagious. Having suffered for centuries under the chauvinism and hegemony of the majority Chinese, the tribal minorities found in the Gospel of Jesus the well-spring of their own liberation and selfhood. They have both met resistance in, and themselves resisted, being assimilated into the Confucian ways as well as the Communism of the majority Han Chinese. Even the Christianity associated with Han officialdom was not acceptable to them.

From this pragmatic and relatively objective account of Christianity in a far corner of China bordering Burma, Laos, and Vietnam and viewed from the bottom side of history, the reader can gain fresh insights into the true nature of the Gospel, which affirms without deculturalization and which unites without domination. It shows also that the salvation of a people can come from an outside catalytic force that makes all the good things in their past—often too familiar, taken for granted, and fossilized—new again.

—Franklin J. Woo

Franklin J. Woo, now retired, was director of the China Program, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and Modern Africa.


The long-awaited publication of Bediako’s Theology and Identity is one of the most significant contributions to the literature on African Christian theology in recent years. For me, the importance of the book lies first in the fact that it comes out of the author’s personal spiritual quest. Bediako is the founder-director of the Akropong-Kristaller Memorial Centre for Mission Research and Applied Theology in Akropong-Akuapem, Ghana; he is also active in missiological and theological research and reflection internationally. As he indicates in the preface, his interest in the relationship between Gospel and Culture began soon after his conversion and “is rooted in the development of my own Christian self-understanding” (p. ix). The book is therefore more than an academic exercise.

The basic thesis, according to which the development of Christian theology is a by-product of Christian self-definition, is solid. Likewise, the call to treat the second century and modern Africa as parallels is compelling. Whether it is possible to provide a detailed support for these two major aspects of Bediako’s argumentation remains an open question. Nevertheless, this should not cause one to lose sight of the thrust of the argument, namely that “the encounter of the Christian faith with the African religious heritage ceases to be the meeting of ‘Western culture and African values’” (p. 6). The need for Chris-
rian self-definition occurs regardless of external factors such as Westernization in the case of Africa.

As the subtitle suggests, the book is divided into two parts. Part 1 deals with the question of Christian identity against the background of barbarism and Hellenism in the second century. Part 2 focuses on the modern African Christian predication as it relates to identity. While some of the parallels Bediako draws between Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and Idowu and Mbiti or between Tertullian and Kato are accurate, the second-century grid for understanding the complexity of contemporary African self-theologizing is forced at times. One also regrets that the author did not find it important to do a complete rewriting. The dissertation style may make the text less accessible to some. These quibbles, however, are not meant to diminish the importance of the book. Theology and Identity is must reading for everyone interested in Christianity in contemporary Africa.

—Tite Tiénot

Tite Tiénot, a contributing editor, is President and Dean of the Faculté de Théologie Evangélique de l'Alliance Chrétienne in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, where he serves with the Christian and Missionary Alliance.


Coakley is an unusual combination of New Testament scholar and mission historian; the language of Syriac, a dialect of Aramaic, provides the link. Formerly of Lancaster University, England, he is now senior lecturer in Near Eastern languages at Harvard.

He has produced the first study of this Anglo-Catholic, nonproselytizing mission, which worked for educational and theological renewal in the ancient "Nestorian" church effectively from 1880 to 1915 (eventually closing down in 1938). It is remarkable for its archival detective work, scholarly precision, and appreciative tone.

The book is the fruit of ten years’ study which included sorting and arranging chronologically his primary sources, the Assyrian Mission Papers in Lambeth Palace Library, London. He has also listened to the other side of the story, "the rival missionaries from America, France, and Russia; often the Syrians themselves; the Kurds; and the Muslim population and governments of Persia and Turkey" (p. 3).

The church is Syrian linguistically not geographically. It covers a mountainous area, 200 kilometers east to west, straddling what was then the Turkey and Persian border and including Azerbaijan. Coakley diplomatically avoids the popular name "Nestorian Church" (fiercely rejected by its members) but considers it "Nestorian" by nature.

There are some wonderful photographs and fascinating footnotes. Henry Layard, then attached to the British embassy in Constantinople, illustrates the problems of mission and unity when writing to the Morning Chronicle (London), September 5, 1843, concerning the American Presbyterians: "Had the Church of England cooperated with them as Protestant Christians, instead of opposing them as heretical enemies, the disasters which we have described would not have occurred; as it is, one of the most ancient and most interesting sects in the world . . . has been sacrificed to the religious quarrels of American Independents, English Puseyites, and French Roman Catholics" (p. 373).
In the fine bibliography mention is not made of an important two-volume work by Joseph Masters, *The Nestorians and Their Rituals in 1842–1844* (London, 1852). This records how, in 1842, George Percy Badger, the key early figure in the Anglican-Church of the East link, visited the tomb of Henry Martyn, the pioneer Anglican missionary translator. He was shown the tomb in Tokat, Armenia, by the Armenian Orthodox priest who had buried Martyn in 1812. Badger “lifted up a secret prayer that God in His mercy would raise up many a like spirit to labour among the benighted Mohammedans of the East.” Perhaps this was a formative event for the later Assyrian Mission, in which renewal was meant to help the Assyrians evangelize their surrounding Muslims?

—Graham Kings

Graham Kings is the Henry Martyn Lecturer in Missiology in the Cambridge Federation of Theological Colleges, England. He was formerly vice-principal of St. Andrew’s Institute, Kabare, Kenya.

Is There a New Imbalance in Jewish-Christian Relations?


This book, the fifty-sixth volume in the series Studia Missionalia Upsaliensa, is a revised edition of the work published in 1986 by its author, an associate professor of the philosophy of religion at Uppsala University, and it is used as a textbook in missiology at his university.

Sadly, however, it is a disappointing book. On one level, it is difficult to read; there are scores of typographic errors; it is repetitive and should have been two-thirds of its current length; and it reads like a computer manual, rather than a work of theological reflection. More important, the bibliography, and hence the substance of the text, is too limited, reflecting several areas of imbalance in da Silva’s own research and contribution. First, he does not deal with several key scholars whose writing in the field of Jewish-Christian relations is extremely important (e.g., Thoma, Mussner, and Jocz). Second, he omits the distinctive work being done by contemporary practitioners of Jewish mission (e.g., the Lausanne Consultation on Jewish Evangelism, The Church’s Ministry among the Jews). Finally, he neglects the highly significant contribution of those in the burgeoning Messianic Jewish movement (e.g., Juster, Stern, Schiffman).

There is some useful material here for Christians who are new to the whole issue, especially in his gathering of representative quotes from Christian theologians in the traditions of the WCC and Vatican II, and from certain leading Jewish thinkers. However, even here there is little attempt to contextualize the quotes or those who uttered them. His setting out of the main preconditions of the modern dialogue (p. 84) and of the evangelical Christian reaction to the relativizing of Christianity (pp. 18–20) are also useful, but overall he does not wrestle with the full range of missiological contributions and leaves the reader dissatisfied.

—Walter Riggans

Walter Riggans is a Tutor in Biblical and Jewish Studies at All Nations Christian College in England, and his Ph.D. dissertation on the contemporary Messianic Jewish movement was done through the Center for the Study of Judaism and Jewish-Christian Relations, in the Selly Oak Colleges at the University of Birmingham, England. He previously lived for nine years as a pastor and teacher in Israel, serving with the Church of Scotland, and then with the Israel Trust of the Anglican Church.

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Seventy years ago, most Americans knew something about Aimee Semple McPherson, the Canadian-born evangelist who had become something of an American celebrity. Newspapers everywhere reported her comings and goings, and her radio station in Los Angeles beamed her voice to millions. She had a genius for publicity, a magnetic personality, and a reassuringly familiar evangelical message.

Daniel Mark Epstein, a Jewish novelist, poet, and mystic, has written an appreciative biography that relies heavily on McPherson's own stories about herself and others. Noting that most writings on McPherson have emphasized either the controversial aspects of her life (especially her alleged kidnapping in 1926 and the months of incessant, sensational press stories that followed) or the power of her religious message, Epstein set out to explore McPherson, the woman. The result is a well-told story, full of empathy.

The book's principal weakness is its uncritical reliance on McPherson's multiple renderings of her own story. Epstein takes at face value her telling of the family's background and of her own early years. At some important points relating to her early life, Epstein failed to get the facts straight. He is not familiar with the nuances of the complex world of early Pentecostalism, either. In short, he is not a historian, but he is a talented storyteller. The book is good reading, but unfortunately it fails to disentangle the facts from the myths that have long fed the McPherson legend.

—Edith L. Blumhofer


Religion Under Socialism in China.


This is a most interesting volume, though some readers will be irritated by the overt Marxist jargon and dogmatic caricatures of religion that characterize parts of it. It is the only Chinese academic work on religion in China in the 1980s to be based on field research, and it tries to focus its analysis on concrete observations of religion in specific conditions, not on rarefied Marxist theory. It was published in 1987 by the Institute for Research on Religion, under the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and the field research underpinning it was carried out mainly by scholars of the institute. The translators are Don MacInnis, longtime coordinator for China research at Maryknoll, with considerable experience in China, and Zheng Xi'an, president of the Anglo-Chinese College in Fuzhou, China. Bishop K. H. Ting, dean of the Nanjing Theological Seminary and head of the Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM), has a foreword to the translated edition.

The context of this work is all-important; thus the foreword by Bishop Ting and MacInnis's own preface, as well as editor Luo Zhufeng's preface and the introduction from the original volume, should all be read with care. The underlying context is the sensitive task faced by

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the Chinese authors—to reassure the academic and political establishment, of which they are part, that they have orthodox “socialist” attitudes toward religion (preventing future accusations of being too favorable to it), while also drawing attention to the vibrant reality of religious life in China in the 1980s, especially of Christian communities but of other religions as well.

The first 160 pages consist of seven chapters, on various themes such as capsule histories of religions and of the state’s religious policy. To be frank, none of these is very useful except the last one, which categorically rejects the old saw “religion is the opiate of the people.” But the last 80 pages, with nine field-study reports (five on Christianity, two on Buddhism, one on Islam, and one on Daoism), are much more interesting and revealing. The long report (pp. 210–37) on the Catholic fisherfolk of Qingpu is especially good.

All in all, this book is not fully satisfactory, as Bishop Ting says in his preface, and it must be used perceptively, reading below the surface rhetoric. It should not be used as an introduction to the subject, in my opinion. But it is a unique work and can be read with real profit by those who know its context.

—Daniel H. Bays

Daniel H. Bays is Professor of Modern Chinese History at the University of Kansas, Lawrence. He is director of a study program on the history of Christianity in China funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, 1993–96.

Announcing 1994–1995

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OMSC welcomes into residence this year Drs. Marc Spindler, Ted Ward, and Mary Motte, F.M.M., as Senior Mission Scholars. In addition to sharing in the leadership of OMSC’s Study Program, these mission colleagues will offer personal consultation and tutorial assistance. Marc Spindler is Director of the Interuniversity Institute for Missiological and Ecumenical Research, Leiden, Netherlands. Ted Ward holds the G. W. Aldeen Chair of International Studies and Mission, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois. Mary Motte is Director of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary Mission Resource Center, North Providence, Rhode Island.

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Senior Scholar, Fall 1995: Dr. Arthur F. Glasser

To Meet and to Greet: Faith with Faith.


Cragg’s earlier books invite us to recognize that God does not only travel inside Christian luggage. In this new book, he invites us to meet and to greet people of other faiths, as we walk the streets of “Cosmopolis” (chap. 1). He is not concerned with superficial meeting but with meeting at the deepest levels of mutual honesty, penitence, and discovery (see chap. 3–5).

Chapter 2, “From Adamant Square and Cavil Row,” questions both a simplistic and arrogant exclusivism that closes itself to truth without claiming that all truth already resides within and a “facile inclusivism” that “discredits all sincerities by confusing what they earnestly differentiate” (p. 38). Cragg’s middle option takes similarities and differences seriously by wrestling with the implications of both. For example, Christian belief in divine passion needs to be brought into conversation with Muslim belief in God’s impassibility; Christian, Jewish, and Muslim condemnation of idolatry needs to converse with the “endless images” of Hindu India (p. 87).

Common honesty involves confronting our own “worst” selves as well as celebrating our “best.” Thus, such meeting is rarely easy but usually disturbs and challenges. Cragg’s extensive experience of encounter and dialogue colors the book’s tone and content. Chapter 6, “Towards Joint Liabilities,” suggests that dialogue can also contribute to achieving a better, more peaceful, just, and sustainable Cosmopolis. Chapter 7 addresses the controversial question of shared worship.

For Cragg, people of faith always “meet and greet... as those who come and go from homes of conviction and communities that house the selves we are” (p. 168). While emphasizing the need to adjectively “be Christian” among others, he...
also defends mission and witness: "Christian faith cannot be itself without the will to discipleship" (p. 166); "There can be no question of some abeyance, still less repudiation of mission" (p. 160). Yet, while witnessing to the truth as they perceive it in Christ, Christians must also be prepared "to welcome the presence of what is 'synonymous' with Christ" outside "the Christian frame of reference" (p. 161). Thus, the church finds its raison d'être in mission but can neither control nor predict the result. Cragg therefore sees good reason for nurturing the church's continued vigor and health within the world of diverse faiths, as "the place where Christians live, the house of Jesus interpretation into which others are invited" (p. 173).

The book is not always easy to read. Few of Cragg’s are. However, with all that Cragg has offered, the effort will prove worthwhile.

—Clinton Bennett

Clinton Bennett is Lecturer in the Study of Religious and Assistant Chaplain at Westminster College, Oxford. He has served with the BMS in Bangladesh, was on the staff of the British Council of Churches, and holds a Ph.D. in Islamic Studies from Birmingham University.

Isaac Hecker: An American Catholic.


Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819–88), the son of German immigrants, never associated himself with his parents’ homeland or the Methodist church of his mother. Influenced by transcendentalism and other Romantic impulses circulating in the New England communalism of Brook Farm and Fruitlands, Hecker’s spiritual journey culminated in his conversion to Catholicism in 1844. As David J. O’Brien notes, Hecker’s unique blend of mysticism and social activism led him to the Catholic faith; his conversion experience was a gradual response to an internal illumination rather than a particular event.

Deeply introspective and intensely spiritual, Hecker committed himself to the religious life as a Redemptorist in Europe and America from 1845 until 1858, when he founded the Paulists, a society of priests grounded in the founder’s charism to evangelize the nation with an apologetic representing a blend of American ethos and Catholic tradition. Hecker established the Catholic World to explore those vital areas of Catholicity and American culture. He founded St. Paul’s Church in New York City, which became a center of the Paulist mission to non-Catholics as well as to parishes in the burgeoning cities.

In this excellent biography O’Brien deftly narrates Hecker’s spiritual explorations and his missionary self-understanding and, with insightful analysis, places Hecker in the American social, intellectual, and religious contexts. The author of a comprehensive study entitled Public Catholicism and of many other works focusing on ways Catholics have mediated their faith in American pluralism, O’Brien has captured the elusive personality of the “American Paul” with suitable attention to Hecker’s quixotic fluctuations from a buoyant optimism to a brooding melancholy. O’Brien is particularly insightful in relating Hecker’s own conversion to Catholicism with his mission to evangelize America and to reconvert Europe.

The first biography of Hecker, written by Walter Elliot, C.S.P., some years after Hecker’s death, engendered derisive commentary by right-wing polemists in...
France, who coined the term "Heckерism" as an ideology to be deplored. The controversy prompted Pope Leo XIII to condemn "Americanism" in his apostolic letter Testem Benevolentiae. Recent scholarship, including this biography, elucidate the ecclesiology and spirituality of Americanism as a vital movement in American Catholicism, one indebted to Isaac Hecker's synthesis of religion and culture. In his epilogue O'Brien explores Hecker's legacy within contemporary struggles to develop a vital apologetic for an effective Catholic evangelization.

With recognition of the Hecker scholarship of John Farina, William Portier, and Margaret Reher, O'Brien has written the first thoroughly erudite biography of Isaac Hecker. Informed by recent trends in ecclesiology, spirituality, and missiology, this work is post-Vatican II scholarship at its best.

—Christopher J. Kauffman

Christopher J. Kauffman is Catholic Daughters of the Americas Professor of American Church History at the Catholic University of America. He is also Editor of U.S. Catholic Historian.

Dissertation Notices

Basolene, Kamate M.
"Aspirations and Values of African and Asian Theological Students: A Case Study in the United States of America."

Carbonneau, Robert Edward.
"Life, Death, and Memory: Three Passionists in Hunan, China and the Shaping of an American Mission Perspective in the 1920s."

Diaz, Vicente Miguel.
"Repositioning the Missionary: The Beatification of Blessed Diego Luis de Sanvitores and Chamorro Cultural History."
Ph.D. Santa Cruz, Calif.: Univ. of California, 1992.

Friesen, John Stanley.
"Missionary Responses to Tribal Religions at Edinburgh, 1910."
Ph.D. Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa, 1992.

Gormley, Regina Maria.
"The Liturgical Music of the California Missions, 1769-1833."

Horton, Wade Alston.
"Protestant Missionary Women as Agents of Cultural Transition Among Cherokee Women, 1801–1839."

Hoyle, Lydia Huffman.
"Missionary Women Among the American Indians, 1815–1865."

Kim, John Man-Soo.
"Horace Grant Underwood: Ecumenism and Inter-Religious Dialogue in a Korean Missionary Context."

Lopez, Salatiel Palomo.
"Toward Reformed-Liberating Hermeneutics: A New Reading of Reformed Theology in the Latin American Context."

Mutunga, Stanley Mutuku.
"Contextual Leadership Development for the Church: An Investigation into Rural-urban Migration to Nairobi."

Puni, Erikia Fereti.
"Toward a Contextualized Organizational Structure for the Seventh-day Adventists in Samoa."
Martha Lund Smallley Sept. 12-14, 1994
“How to Develop and Preserve Church and Mission Archives.” Intensive workshop led by archivist of Day Missions Library, Yale Divinity School. Mon. 2:00 p.m.-Wed. 4:00 p.m. $75

Jean-Paul Wiest and Cathy McDonald Sept. 15-17
“Doing Oral History: Helping Christians Tell Their Own Story.” The researchers for the Maryknoll History Program introduce skills for documenting church/mission history. Thurs. 9:30 a.m.-Sat. noon. $75

Gerald H. Anderson Sept. 20-23
“Toward the Twenty-first Century in Christian Mission.” OMSC’s Director surveys major issues in mission on the eve of the third millennium. Cosponsored by American Baptist International Ministries, Mission Society for United Methodists, United Church Board for World Ministries. Four sessions. $65

Duane Elmer Sept. 28-Oct. 1
“Conflict Resolution: When Human Relationships Are Tested in Cross-Cultural Mission.” Dr. Elmer, Wheaton College, combines lectures and group processing to strengthen interpersonal skills. Cosponsored by World Relief Intl., and Wycliffe Bible Translators. Seven sessions, Wed. 2:00 p.m.-Sat. noon. $95

David Pollock and Shirley Torstrick Oct. 3-7

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Marc Spindler Oct. 17-21
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“Effective Communication with the Folks Back Home.” OMSC staff member Robert Coote helps increase the impact of missionary correspondence and turn mission experiences into publishable manuscripts. Cosponsored by Worldwide Ministries Division, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). Eight sessions. $95

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“Pentecostals in World Mission Today.” Dr. McClung, Church of God School of Theology, draws lessons from the contributions of a twentieth century phenomenon. Cosponsored by Latin America Mission. Eight sessions. $95

Paul Hiebert Nov. 7-11
“Evangelization Today: Distinctions Between Tribal, Peasant, and Metropolitan Societies.” Dr. Hiebert, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, applies anthropological insights to mission. Cosponsored by OC International, and Maryknoll Mission Institute. Eight sessions. $95

Ted Ward Nov. 14-18
“Patterns and Trends in Mission Since World War II: Toward a New Era.” Dr. Ward, OMSC Senior Mission Scholar, explores motives and styles of mission and pinpoints needs for change in a new era. Cosponsored by MAP International, Samford University Global Center, and SIM International. Eight sessions. $95

Bryant Myers Nov. 28-Dec. 2
“Evangelism and Development: Struggling Toward Holistic Mission.” Director, MRC/World Vision, explores the intersection of evangelism and development in ministries among the poor. Cosponsored by American Leprosy Missions, Christian Reformed World Mission, Moravian Board of World Mission, United Church Board for World Ministries, and MRC/World Vision. Eight sessions. $95

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Costelloe, M. Joseph, translator and introduction.
The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier.
St. Louis, Missouri: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992. Pp. xxx, 488. $34.95; paperback $27.95.

Ellacuria, Ignacio, and Jon Sobrino, eds.
Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology.

Hennelley, Alfred T., ed.
Santo Domingo and Beyond: Documents and Commentaries from the Fourth General Conference of Latin American Bishops.

Lefebure, Leo D.
The Buddha and the Christ: Explorations in Buddhist and Christian Dialogue.

Myers, Bryant L.
The Changing Shape of World Mission.

Oleksa, Michael J.
Orthodox Alaska: A Theology of Mission.

Pontificia Università Urbaniana.
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Segaard, Viggo.
Media in Church and Mission: Communicating the Gospel.

Speelman, Ge, Jan van Lin, and Dick Mulder, eds.

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