Can Historians Learn from History?

A good many years ago the German missiologist Johannes Rommerskirchen, O.M.I., raised the question, Can missionaries learn from history? The major article of this issue, "From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions," by Dana L. Robert, can be viewed as an answer to another question: Can historians learn from history?—in this case, the history of American Protestant missions.

Sophisticated observers of human affairs no longer accept anyone's research—whether in science or history or religion—without asking about the author's presuppositions. "Objective" scholarship is understood nowadays as a concept that must be carefully qualified.

Robert's probing essay begins by noting the ecumenical bias of mission historian R. Pierce Beaver, which led him, thirty years ago, to project a vision for mission-in-unity, while he undervalued the evangelical legions that were already well on the way to numerical if not qualitative leadership in the cause of Christian overseas ministries. But at least Beaver approached the history of Christian mission with a sympathetic historian's discipline.

Not always so the secular historians. Chary of religious phenomena and other-worldly interpretations of human activity, gurus of American intellectual history have been prone to reduce the engine of Protestant missions to unidimensional enthusiasm for propagating the American way. And attention was almost exclusively focused on mainline missions, while evangelical missions, women's missions, and ethnic missions from America were bypassed.

But historians are learning, even from the history of American Protestant missions. Robert documents the contemporary renewal, and the breaking out from old molds, of the historiography of American Protestant missions. We have moved "beyond missions" to a new reality that acknowledges the Christian movement as a pervasive global factor in human history. American Protestant missions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had more than a little to do with the contemporary global face of Christianity. It will no longer suffice for scholars to write off the spirituality of American missionary women—to take one outstanding example—as a "screen for domesticity," or to take religious piety less than seriously on its own terms. It is no longer plausible to read the missionary impulse as merely a hireling in the service of American national identity. Or to undertake mission studies without due attention to the two-way cross-cultural interchange that accompanied American endeavors.

In any case, the contemporary cadre of historians of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American Protestant missions includes women, blacks, Europeans, and Third World scholars, with the latter writing from their viewpoint as recipients of mission. It is a whole new world, with lessons for us all!
From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of American Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II

Dana L. Robert

In 1964, R. Pierce Beaver, professor of history of missions at the University of Chicago Divinity School, wrote From Missions to Mission. In his book, this eminent American mission historian reviewed the early part of the twentieth century and saw a Christianity that had ridden to success on the coattails of Euro-American imperialism and prestige. Two world wars, however, had demonstrated to growing nationalist movements in the developing world that Christianity was not part of a superior culture and that, furthermore, it was an agent of colonialism. Beaver went on to analyze the current climate for world missions, which included militant nationalism, urbanization, secularization, repudiation of the West, and revivals of non-Christian religions. To move forward in such a context, he said, missions must begin to cooperate among themselves and with younger, non-Western churches on behalf of Christ's mission. Beaver saw embodied in the World Council of Churches the beginning of new approaches to mission that would stress reconciliation over competition, and peace and justice issues alongside proclamation. Missions from the West should become a common worldwide enterprise; pluralism must give way to unity.

Beaver's small volume, its prescience notwithstanding, illustrates the danger of historians drawing on the past in order to predict the future. The ecumenical movement that Beaver touted as the source of new forms of mission had within ten years so modified the definition of mission that confusion over its meaning was widespread in mainline churches. When Beaver retired from the University of Chicago in 1971, his post was eliminated, a practice followed in numerous mainline institutions during the 1970s. "Foreign missions" had become "universal mission," only to evaporate into generalizations. Oddly enough, the North American evangelical missionaries whom Beaver described in 1964 as "sectarian and partisan," and as disrupting the unity of mission "for the first time in three hundred years" (p. 98), surpassed mainline missionaries in number and vigor. Today, with pluralism celebrated and competition among religions fierce, with nondenominational missions dwarfing the efforts of the old mainline, with indigenous Pentecostalism exploding in nooks and crannies around the world, the prospect for mission in the twenty-first century is dynamic and diverse but bears little resemblance to the top-down, unified witness Beaver envisioned in 1964. It is the thesis of this essay that we have moved from "mission" to "beyond missions."

The road from "missions" to "mission" and "beyond missions," traveled so painfully by American Protestantism since World War II, has been trod as well by the historians of North American missions. Mission history prior to World War II was largely a denominational affair, told from the perspective of efforts by individual denominations to spread their form of Christianity around the globe. Beaver and other mission historians of the post–World War II generation envisioned the Protestant foreign mission enterprise through the lens of ecumenical unity. Similarly, American secular historians were captivated by an interpretation of Protestant missions as a symbol of American identity. Important to both secular and church historians was the transition from missions to mission, from a pluralistic enterprise to the symbol of either national or ecclesiastical cooperation. But, as the social changes that Beaver described in 1964 accelerated throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, both the religious vision and the secular vision narrowed. By the late 1960s, there was scarcely a work written on American Protestant missions that did not focus on their role in promoting imperialism. Historical concern for mission died like the chairs of missiology in mainline Protestant institutions: interest was either gone or confined to the negative.

The 1980s witnessed an explosion of renewed scholarly interest in the history of American Protestant missions. The acknowledgment of pluralism both in American society and within American Protestantism freed mission history from its captivity to unity. Intellectual historians discovered a full range of American mission theory that had lain forgotten in mission libraries for decades. Feminist historians recognized the dominance of women in the missionary movement and used the ample documentation provided by mission sources to uncover hidden angles on the history of American women. The "sectarian" evangelicals that Beaver had excoriated in 1964 reached such a level of institutional maturity and ecclesiastical dominance that critical historical analysis became both possible and necessary. Church historians realized that missions were a central preoccupation not only of the mainline but of ethnic Americans, women, assorted subcultures, and Roman Catholics as well. From the ashes of "mission" reemerged "missions," a lively and diverse enterprise, no longer able to fit comfortably into the outgrown garb of denominational history, Christian unity, or American identity.

Before the historiographic trail from mission singular to missions plural is explored, a caveat is in order. This article seeks to cover only "foreign" missions, defined as those efforts to spread Protestant Christianity from North America to cultures and contexts outside its borders. The United States as a mission field itself, including outreach to immigrants and to indigenous peoples of North America, deserves another full essay and cannot be considered adequately without including Roman Catholicism. Arguments can be made that foreign missions should include missions to native Americans prior to the conquest of

Dana L. Robert, a contributing editor, is Associate Professor of International Mission, Boston University School of Theology, Boston.
Books for review and correspondence regarding editorial matters should be addressed to the editors. Manuscripts unaccompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope (or international postal coupons) will not be returned.

Subscriptions: $18 for one year, $33 for two years, and $49 for three years, postpaid worldwide. Airmail delivery is $16 per year extra. Foreign subscribers must pay in U.S. funds only. Use check drawn on a U.S. bank, Visa, MasterCard, or International Money Order in U.S. funds. Individual copies are $6.00; bulk rates upon request. Correspondence regarding subscriptions and address changes should be sent to: INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH, P.O. Box 3000, Denville, New Jersey 07834, U.S.A.

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

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

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

Copyright © 1994 by Overseas Ministries Study Center. All rights reserved.

October 1994 147
rians deepened the focus on mission’s relationship to nationalism. With the World Council of Churches being founded in 1948 as the “United Nations of Christendom,” the 1950s was the heyday not only of “consensus history” but of the Protestant ecumenical movement, a powerful force that deeply influenced mainline church historians. Although they acknowledged that spiritual motives were primary in Protestant mission, church historians like R. Pierce Beaver, William Richey Hogg at Southern Methodist University, and Robert T. Handy at Union Theological Seminary nevertheless examined missions through the prism of unity, either in terms of national identity or as a basis for ecumenical cooperation.

Robert Handy’s interest in church-state relations, the ecumenical movement, and in other Protestant efforts to initiate the kingdom of God on earth, such as the social gospel and home missions, made him a perceptive analyst of Protestant mission’s contribution to nationalism. Handy explored how turn-of-the-century Protestants used foreign missions to propagate so-called Christian civilization. Missions became an imperialistic crusade to spread Western civilization throughout the world, as well as the motivating force behind the ecumenical movement. Mission-oriented Protestants “felt themselves part of one crusade for the

Robert Handy explored how Protestants used foreign missions to propagate “Christian civilization.”

evangelization, the Christianization, and the civilization of the world.” In the first twenty years of the twentieth century, Protestants, according to Handy, “easily idealized the culture and democracy of America. There was a considerable transfer of religious feelings to the civilization and the nation.” Missionary forces had unwittingly become involved in “religious nationalism.”

The idea that Protestant foreign missions were a tool of nationalism and, by extension abroad, imperialism, proved to be an irresistible thesis that has generated numerous monographs from the late 1950s until the present. After consensual interpretations of American history were challenged by the social upheavals of the 1960s, and the ecumenical movement splintered on the shoals of secularized theologies and political disunity, mission increasingly became a metaphor not for national virtue but for imperialistic excesses. The mission of America and, by association, Protestant foreign missions no longer represented America’s virtue but its fatal flaw.

Monographs on American missions and imperialism tended to focus on a particular geographic region or moment in history. One of the earliest works to explore the foreign policy implications of missionary nationalism was an excellent book produced in 1958 on China by Paul H. Varg. Varg concluded that the struggle initiated by missionaries between Chinese and Western culture was so severe that “American nationalism threatened to triumph over the religious.” In 1961, Kenneth MacKenzie wrote about the Philippines, showing how foreign missions were a reason for President McKinley’s decision to keep the Philippines as a colony in 1898.7 The role of New England in early nineteenth-century missionary imperialism was explored by John A. Andrew III.8 Andrew argued that American foreign missions were in fact the result of “cognitive dissonance” by Congregationalists, who sought to compensate for their loss of power at home by extending it abroad to places like the Pacific Islands. One of the finest examinations of missionary involvement in American foreign policy was Joseph Grabill’s study of the Protestant missionary impact on the Near East. Running against the current of seeing missions as supportive of American imperialism, Grabill argued that missionaries promoted internationalism and the protection of minorities in the Ottoman Empire.

Other more recent monographs on American missions’ relationship to nationalism and imperialism include Rosa del Carmen Bruno-Jofre’s study of Methodist mission education in Peru.9 Based on primary sources and written by a Peruvian, Methodist Education in Peru argues that Methodist educational missionaries imported American ideologies couched in theological formulations and the theories of John Dewey. In 1986, Kenton Clymer produced a finely nuanced study of American missionary attitudes toward American colonialism and Filipino culture.

Following the pattern set by intellectual historians, the historiography of American Protestants and foreign missions evolved from identifying the Protestant missionary impulse as the source of American identity (from missions plural to mission singular), to mission as the source of both ecclesiastical and national unity, and from nationalism to imperialism. Given the historical reality that Americans engaged in political imperialism far less than Europeans, who carved out empires in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, it has been important to define the precise relationship between missionary activity and imperialism. Two valuable articles have been written on the nature of American missionary imperialism in general. The first of these was by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.; his essay “The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism” equated American missions with cultural imperialism.10 Missionaries may not have personally wielded economic or political power, he argued, but they represented the purposeful aggression of American culture against the ideas and cultures of other people. In 1982, William R. Hutchison reasoned that the broad support of Americans for foreign missions at the turn of the century was because of the shared belief that “Christianity as it existed in the West had a ‘right’ not only to conquer the world, but to define reality for the peoples of the world.”11 Apologists for American missions were not so much agents of American colonialism as the ideologues of the movement, providing a “moral equivalent” for American imperialism.

The tendency inherited from intellectual history to evaluate Protestant foreign missions in relation to American nationalism has had both strengths and weaknesses as an interpretive framework. The greatest strength has been its refusal to evaluate the mission movement apart from the larger stream of American history. American missionaries, after all, retained American attitudes no matter where they worked. The benefits, however, must be held in tension with the weaknesses of nationalist mission history. For one thing, nationalist mission history has too often turned the mission impulse into a hireling at the service of national identity. In the 1950s, parallel support for national and church unity made missionaries into heroes, the shock troops of the eminently compelling “American way”; by the late 1960s, the missionary had become the villain of American foreign policy. In either case, until the 1980s missionary thought and activity was seldom studied in its own right, nor was the role of the missionary as transmitter of cross-cultural information to America taken seriously. In sinologist John K. Fairbank’s words, “The invisible man of American history” was the missionary.
Another weakness of nationalist mission history was that its focus on national identity led it to concentrate on the so-called mainline churches as the “thought leaders” of American Protestantism. Consensus intellectual history was biased toward texts produced primarily by white male New Englanders, to the exclusion of women, conservative evangelicals, Anabaptists, African-Americans, Pentecostals, and other groups deemed marginal or insignificant. Popular piety was ignored in favor of formal theological and political pronouncements. Intellectual focus on national identity led it to concentrate on the so-called produced primarily by white male New Englanders, to the mainline churches as the “thought leaders” of American Protestantism. Consensus intellectual history was biased toward texts in relation to the mission work of other nations, or in relation to sources superseded other forms of documentation, with the social biography of the missionary force seldom examined except where it fed nationalist identity or Christian unity, as in the case of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. 18 One of the most egregious failures of nationalist mission history was, surprisingly enough, its parochialism. With the exception of studies of the ecumenical movement or of missionaries in China, rarely was Protestant missionary activity assessed in relation to the mission work of other nations, or in relation to the indigenous cultures and religions impacted by the missionary. Seldom was the question raised about how people of other cultures viewed the mission enterprise; indigenous converts became by implication “running dogs” of American imperialism. In effect, the study of Protestant foreign missions tended to function as a subsidiary of a political agenda, either in the service of national identity or in the debunking of the same.

Discovery of Mission Theory

By virtue of their pattern of using selected mission thought as a basis for constructing national identity, until the 1980s American intellectual historians seemed uninterested in the full range of mission thinking, regardless of its undeniable importance for American history and culture. The causes for neglect were several: the captivity of missions to the national mission of America; the embarrassment of secular historians at ideas smacking of either conservative Christianity or “proselytization”; and the neglect of cross-cultural issues in historical studies generally. Interest in mission theory was confined to the missiologists, who were seldom in dialogue with intellectual historians. The noteworthy exception was Beaver, whose commitment both to missiology and to history resulted in writings with “crossover” value. In the 1950s he produced two of the earliest articles addressing American mission theory from a historical perspective. 19 In 1967, Beaver collected the works of the most important nineteenth-century mission theorist, Rufus Anderson of the American Board. 20 In rediscovering Anderson, Beaver uncovered the source of much mission theory that Americans had long taken for granted, particularly the indigenous church principles of self-support, self-government, and self-propagation. Another valuable source book for mission thought was Beaver’s collection of early American missionary sermons. 21 In 1968 he contributed a groundbreaking overview of American missionary motivation. 22 Although outside the scope of this article, Beaver also wrote pioneer scholarly works on the relationship of missions to American Indians. 23

In the 1970s, a smattering of works on the history of mission thought appeared to whet the appetite of historians. In 1970 Denton Lotz wrote a dissertation at the University of Hamburg, “The Evangelization of the World in This Generation: The Resurgence of a Missionary Idea Among the Conservative Evangelicals.” While Lotz’s dissertation was never published, it was important because not only did it deal seriously with American

can mission thought, but it traced a key idea from its origins in the late nineteenth-century evangelical mainline to conservative groups in the present. In 1970 the publication in Holland of J. A. DeJong’s work on millennialism and missions traced a particular theme in mission thought prior to the beginning of explicitly American foreign missions. 24 Charles Chaney in 1976 published a thorough study of mission thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. 25 In 1977 appeared a seminal essay by missiologist and historian Charles Forman of Yale, “A History of Foreign Mission Theory.” 26 In the mission library of Yale Divinity School, Forman had discovered 150 serious works written by American mission theorists between 1890 and 1950, virtually none of which had been read by academic historians. Roger Bassham placed American mission thought in its global context in a work on ecumenical, evangelical, and Roman Catholic mission theology since World War II. 27 The academic study of American mission theory received a major boost in 1977 when missiologist Gerald H. Anderson revived the periodical Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library, which in 1981 became the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH. Anderson had written a doctoral dissertation in 1960 that was the first comprehensive study of twentieth-century Protestant mission theory. 28 With a historian’s training and sensibilities, Anderson began a series on the legacies of major mission theorists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, recruiting experts to write biographical sketches of such mission thinkers as E. Stanley Jones, Daniel Fleming, Rufus Anderson, and A. J. Gordon. The series continues today, and every quarter the mission thought of another hitherto neglected mission theorist is brought to light. Probably more than anything else, the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN’s legacy series has created scholarly interest in mission theory among missiologists and evangelical church historians. Besides the series, the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN publishes other articles relevant to American mission theory. 29 In 1988, Anderson’s own article “American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission: 1886–1986” appeared in a centennial volume for the American Society of Church History. 30 His article was a helpful overview of both mission thought and activity over a century. One further recent Anderson article requires mention, “Mission Research, Writing, and Publishing: 1971–1991,” which provides an overview of the entire field of mission research, including mission history. 31 Currently Anderson is editing a biographical dictionary of Christian missions. Scheduled for publication by Simon & Schuster, it will be the first-ever work of its kind.

Mission theory moved out of the missiological ghetto and into mainstream history with the 1987 publication of William R. Hutchison’s eagerly awaited history of American Protestant mission theory. 32 As an intellectual historian rather than a missiologist, Hutchison examined mission theory “as American.” While granting integrity to the body of mission thought,
Hutchison’s book flowed out of intellectual history’s quest for national identity. *Errand to the World* represented the first book-length attempt to grapple with a full range of mission thought. Its sources were nevertheless limited almost entirely to “high texts” from the Reformed tradition, broadly defined. Hutchison’s book, while a brilliant piece of work, should be viewed as the beginning rather than the end of mainstream historical research into Protestant mission theory.

Hutchison’s focus on the “Americanness” of Protestant mission thought has been shared by historians of non-Western Christianity. In 1970 Norman Etherington wrote “An American Errand into the South African Wilderness.” Etherington applied his extensive knowledge of South African mission history to show how American Board efforts to evangelize the Zulus in the 1830s were an attempt to reproduce “the American experience among the primitive peoples of Africa.” An important example of viewing American missions as quintessentially American was an essay by Scottish professor Andrew Walls, “The American Dimension in the History of the Missionary Movement.” Walls is probably the most profound analyst of global Protestant mission history today, and his article analyzed the particularities of both American thought and culture as evident in Protestant missions.

The history of Protestant mission theory in its fullness is just coming into its own; increasingly, secular scholars are realizing that they cannot generalize about missionaries but must take into account the ideological tradition out of which they operated, not to mention their social location. The historical study of Protestant mission theory has its limitations, however. For one thing, as essentially an exercise in intellectual history, it faces the same problems of sources as does nationalist mission history. Another problem is its tendency not to be grounded in study of actual missionary practice. Until studies of mission theory can be cross-checked with how such theories played themselves out in different mission fields, and in comparison with non-American missiologies, the full implications of mission thought are unknowable. Lacking also have been historical examinations of mission theory in the broader context of American theology. As in the case of nationalist mission historiography, the focus of the study of Protestant mission theory so far has been largely limited to understanding American identity.

**Protestant Missions and Pluralism**

One fruitful by-product of the collapse of consensus over American identity in the 1960s and 1970s was the unshackling of foreign missions from national purpose. Historians began to realize that foreign missions were not activities confined to male New England Congregationalists in the early nineteenth century but were intrinsic even to apparently marginal Protestant groups, ethnic minorities, and women. By the 1980s, pluralistic mission history became possible, with the relationship of various groups to nationalism only one of the questions asked of the data. Ethnic and gender analysis, the techniques of social and cultural history, and increased historical awareness by denominations ranging from Mennonites to Southern Baptists to Nazarenes to Assemblies of God produced a range of new studies, although it must be said that most of the denominational literature is still being neglected by the academy.

**Missions and Ethnicity**

In 1982, three books appeared on the mission history of African-Americans. Despite its coverage of a narrow time period, the best overview of the subject is Walter Williams’s exploration of the way in which missions in various denominations stimulated interest in Africa among African-Americans and thus prepared the way for pan-Africanism. Sylvia Jacobs edited a volume that included articles on African-American missionaries, motivations, and missionary ideology. The third important book of 1982 on African-Americans was edited by David W. Wills and Richard Newman. Their volume contained valuable essays on prominent antebellum missionaries, such as Daniel Coker, Francis Burns, Alexander Crummell, and Lott Carey. Wills and Albert Raboteau are coediting “African-American Religion: A Documentary History Project,” which will contain considerable information on African-American contact with Africa, including foreign missions.

Although brief overviews exist in broader denominational histories, book-length treatments of African-American missions by denomination are rare. An exception is Sandy D. Martin’s history of black Baptist missions to Africa. In 1989, James T. Campbell wrote a dissertation on the relationship between black Americans and South Africans, the role of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in educating South Africans, and debates over “industrial education” for blacks. Biographies of important black denominational mission leaders that have appeared recently are of James Theodore Holly, founder of the Episcopal Church in Haiti; Lott Carey, first African-American missionary to Liberia; Alexander Crummell, Episcopal missionary; Henry McNeal Turner, African Methodist Episcopal bishop and pan-Africanist; and William Sheppard, Presbyterian missionary to the Congo.

Many ethnic Protestant denominations such as Lutherans, Mennonites, and Moravians have received more attention for their work with immigrants or their substantial work with Native Americans than for overseas missions. With overseas mission work organized relatively late, the historiography of traditionally ethnic denominations is not as well developed as that of the Protestant mainstream. Nevertheless, a number of full-length accounts appeared in the 1970s and 1980s. Articles on particular aspects of these missions are occasionally found in denominational periodicals and newsletters.

**Missions and Evangelicalism**

One of the most important directions in the pluralization of Protestant mission history has been recent study of twentieth-century evangelicals. Although evangelicals have been the most active proponents of foreign missions since 1945, until 1990 there was virtually no examination of evangelical missions as a whole. The reason for such neglect was probably that most critically trained church historians were biased toward church unity and saw twentieth-century evangelicals to be fissiparous and on the margins of American history. The first attempt at a general interpretation appeared as the result of a conference sponsored by the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, published in 1990 under the title *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals*...
NOW BOARDING

Take yourself to the front lines of ministry! Discover local and abroad missions-oriented opportunities, network with unlimited missions organizations during Missions Conference week, and study under experienced, renowned missionaries devoted to equip you for effective cross-cultural ministry!

Look at all we offer you:

- **Doctor of Missiology**
- **Doctor of Education**—only Christian Ed.D in the U.S. in cross-cultural education
- Concentrations in cultural anthropology, leadership, urban ministry, church planting, health care development

Start your missions career today, call **800-992-4652**.

BIOLA UNIVERSITY
School of International Studies
13800 Biola Avenue, La Mirada, California 90639
and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980. The volume contained valuable essays on conservative evangelical mission theory, evangelical missionaries in several parts of the world, and a very important essay on conservative missions by American historian Joel A. Carpenter. 41 Probably the greatest contribution of Earthen Vessels was that it opened the way for further studies on the topic of evangelicalism and missions. It also included an article by Grant Wacker that explored the views of liberal Protestants toward other religions. 42

There have been several good studies of twentieth-century evangelicals in actual mission situations, although what exists is only a drop in the bucket of what is possible. 43 The most detailed analysis of an evangelical/fundamentalist mission in relation to the indigenous culture in which it worked is David Sandgren's study of the Africa Inland Mission in Kenya. 44 Sandgren's research was remarkable in its use of oral interviews obtained from indigenous converts, but its use of missionary documentation was narrow. The area in which the study of evangelical missions has excelled is in-house denominational or parachurch institutional histories. Although the in-house materials are of varying quality and are usually pioneer attempts to chart the basic parameters of the mission society's work, some of them contain critical insights. 45

In 1993, the Wesleyan/Holiness Studies Center at Asbury Theological Seminary held a conference on the theme "Mission in the Wesleyan/Holiness Traditions," which should result in a volume on the Holiness movement in American missions, to be edited by David Bundy. When Pentecostalism emerged from the Holiness movement, it carried with it the Holiness movement's commitment to missions. At present, no survey of Pentecostal mission history exists, although the fine work of Gary McGee on the Assemblies of God must be mentioned. 46 An in-house periodical that frequently contains high-quality articles on Pentecostal mission history is Assemblies of God Heritage, edited by archivist Wayne Warner. Finally, reference must be made to the Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, which contains valuable entries on Pentecostal missionaries, mission organizations, and mission theory. 47

The surge of interest in evangelical history in general has stimulated a number of works on the "home base," the context out of which twentieth-century conservative Protestant missions emerged. Bible schools provided most of the training for evangelical missionaries, and Virginia Lieson Brereton explored their history in 1990. 48 Timothy Weber examined the ideological developments that produced the turn-of-the-century conservative missionary movement, including missions to the Jews. 49 Dana Robert's doctoral dissertation on mission theorist Arthur T. Pierson, published in Korean in 1988, looked at the transition from denominational missions to faith missions during the same time period. 50

Evangelical and Pentecostal mission history from many angles will continue to increase in importance as interpreters gain historical distance from the topic, and that becomes self-evident that the future of world Protestantism belongs more to Pentecostalism than to the old "mainline." The story of how Pentecostalism has affected missionary activity and emerging indigenous Christianity is just beginning to be told. 51 Topics in the greatest need of future research include evangelical missionary attitudes toward other cultures and religions, the relationship between American and non-Western evangelicals, and studies of evangelical work "in the field." The most serious barriers to evangelical mission history are the tendency toward hagiography among evangelicals, for whom missionary biography is primarily a source of spiritual inspiration, and the activist orientation that provides support for missions but considers historical analysis to be a waste of time. An important exception to the biography-as-hagiography tendency with a focus on evangelicals was Ruth Tucker's biographical history of missions published in 1983. 52

The biggest problem in writing twentieth-century evangelical history is that of sources. Activistic evangelicals are notoriously poor at keeping records, especially when their theology predisposes them to look toward an imminent second coming of Christ. The age of the telephone has also preempted traditional source material such as letters, personal journals, and regular mission correspondence. Fortunately, places like the Billy Graham Center Archives at Wheaton College and the Assemblies of God Archives are collecting oral histories of evangelical and Pentecostal missionaries. Another important resource is the Ida Grace McRuer Missions Resource Centre, sponsored by missiologist Jon Bonk at Providence College and Seminary in Otterburne, Manitoba. The center collects ephemeral material such as fund-raising literature and prayer letters sent free of charge by nearly six hundred evangelical mission organizations.

Missions and Women

Aside from work on evangelicals, the greatest amount of recent historical work on a subgroup in Protestant missions has been on women. Since the late nineteenth century, women have been in the majority in the mission field, and in all denominational traditions they have dominated educational and social work, as well as mission support in local churches. In terms of the transmission of American culture abroad, the role of missionary women has been paramount. Although the early twentieth century saw a massive amount written by women on women and missions, little of this penetrated the male-dominated history profession. The bias toward intellectual history also kept the contributions of missionary women hidden from view because women tended to produce "popular" writing.

Once again missiologist R. Pierce Beaver pioneered the way for historians when he wrote All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission. 53 An institutional history of the women's missionary movement, Beaver's book reflected his bias toward Christian unity and therefore concentrated on women in the mainline churches and the movement toward ecumenism. Consequently, there was no reference to twentieth-century evangelical or Pentecostal women in the first edition. A revised edition issued in 1980 claimed that the women's missionary movement was "the first feminist movement in North America" but failed to define feminism or put the material into the context of women's history. Beaver's volume is still useful as an institutional overview of mainline women in mission in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

By the late 1970s feminist historians had begun to appreciate the importance of studying missionary women for understanding gender relations in America. As a popular movement involv-
ing millions of women, the women’s missionary movement became a filter through which women historians could analyze the roles of Protestant women in America. Barbara Welter opened the topic with her essay “She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women’s Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America.”64 Welter argued that although women’s careers as missionaries were varied and fulfilling, mission careers for women typified the phenomenon of men’s abandoning an occupation to women when they lost interest in it. In 1980, Joan Jacobs Brumberg issued a study of the Judson family, Adoniram and his three wives Ann, Sarah, and Emily. Adoniram and Ann Judson were the pioneer missionaries of the Congregationalists and later the Baptists.65 Although Brumberg’s group biography was an important social study of evangelicalism, its chief importance was in showing how mission wives as role models contributed to the self-understanding of American Protestant women.

In 1984, Jane Hunter forcefully demonstrated the value of examining women missionaries as representatives of American female culture in a doctoral dissertation, that was later published. Relying on the correspondence and journals of mainland China missionaries, Hunter uncovered how female missionaries were representative of the struggle of middle-class Protestant women between public outreach and private home life. Women missionaries were “the most successful emissaries” of American culture abroad.66 Continuing the exploration of missionary women as “civilizers,” or promoters of Western culture and social change, Leslie A. Flemming in 1989 edited a volume on women missionaries and social change in Asia.67

The largest contingent of American Protestant women abroad in the early nineteenth century were the Congregational missionary women in Hawaii. The Hawaii women were in a unique position to reproduce New England female culture in a controlled setting where it could be studied, and ample documentation through correspondence exists. Studies of these women began to appear in the 1980s. Char Miller discussed the impact of domestic responsibilities on their missionary work in “Domesticity Abroad: Work and Family in the Sandwich Island Mission, 1826–1840.”68 A book-length examination of the stresses and strains of missionary life, particularly of enforced domesticity and gender discrimination, appeared in 1989 by Patricia Grimshaw.69 The most recent and well-nuanced examination of the Hawaiian missionary wives, particularly sensitive to their religious motivations, is Mary Zwiep’s 1991 study of the first group of Congregational missionary women.70

Consideration of the home base of the woman’s missionary movement began with the publication of a book by Patricia Hill, the first in-depth analysis of the mainline women’s missionary movement at its height.71 Hill argued that the success of the women’s missionary movement was based on its gender-based ideology, and the collapse of the movement occurred when professionalization and secularization undercut its distinctive rationale. The most important inter-Protestant women’s organization at the height of the missionary movement was undoubtedly the Young Women’s Christian Association. The history of the missionary wing of the YWCA has been ably chronicled by Nancy Boyd.72

Gender analysis from a conservative evangelical perspective first appeared in 1988, when Ruth Tucker produced a biographical history of women missionaries.73 Although Guardians of the Great Commission is anecdotal rather than systematic, it contains helpful observations on domesticity, gender relations, and mission theory scattered throughout the biographical sketches. The greatest significance of Tucker’s book is that it was the first book on women in mission to cover twentieth-century evangelical women.

Denominational historians have produced material of quality on women and missions in their own tradition. Noteworthy among these are studies of missionary women in the Southern Baptist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, United Methodist, Congregational, and Canadian Methodist denominations.74 A number of denominational women’s organizations have issued popular books containing biographical sketches of prominent missionaries or home base leaders.75 One of the most illuminating biographical studies of women leaders at the home base is Louise A. Cattan’s treatment of Helen Barrett Montgomery and Lucy Waterbury Peabody. The two American Baptist women were important American leaders of the ecumenical women’s missionary movement in the twentieth century.76

The discovery of women missionaries by feminist historians has been valuable for American history. Analysis of women missionaries permits study in a microcosm of self-conscious, articulate groups of women who either deliberately or despite themselves were bearers of American culture to other groups. Feminist history of the women’s missionary movement has been outstanding in its sensitivity to cultural issues, even though the explanatory category of separate male and female “spheres” has probably been overemphasized. Missionary women represented Protestant Christianity both in its most self-denying and in its most culturally imperialistic forms. The weakness of the feminist history approach toward missionary women, however, parallels the weakness of nationalist mission history. Religious piety has sometimes been treated as a screen for domesticity or for social control of non-Western women, or as cultural imperialism, rather than being taken seriously on its own terms, thus reflecting a bias against considering religiosity as a category separate from race, class, or gender. Feminist analysis of women missionaries has concentrated on American gender identity and ideology, much as nationalist history focused on American identity. Unsurprisingly, feminist historians have studied almost exclusively mainstream Protestant women during the height of the imperialist era. Except for self-avowed evangelical historians, the twentieth-century conservative evangelical woman has been relegated to marginality, as retrograde in the development of the women’s movement.

A recent theme in women’s missionary history is to move away from preoccupation with how missionaries did or did not reflect the domestic women’s movement and social change, toward examination of women’s motivations, piety, and mission theory both in their own right and in relation to the total missionary enterprise. Although written in different styles and for different audiences, Mary Zwiep’s and Ruth Tucker’s aforementioned works are examples of this approach. Emphasizing a comparative approach so as to analyze how social context affected the development of women’s mission theory, missiologist
and historian Dana Robert has produced several articles in preparation for a forthcoming history of American women's mission theory.57

The examination of American women's mission history by non-Westerners is another new development that promises to help historians evaluate American culture and theology from the so-called receiving end. The December 1986 issue of Indian Church History Review focused on the roles of women missionaries in India.98 Kwok Pui-lan's recently published study of Chinese women and their appropriation of Christianity is a model of how Western missionary women's materials need to be used to evaluate the missionary movement from broader perspectives than those defined by American agendas.60

Missions and Denominationalism

Finally, in the discussion of the pluralization of Protestant missionary history, it is important to revisit the idea of mainline denominational history. Now that the hold of nationalist interpretations of mainline mission history has been broken, the time has come to look at the mission work of Methodists, Presbyterians, American Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples, and others with new eyes. How did denominational mission movements not only reflect American identity and create church unity but change over time in connection with the wider debates in American Christianity? How have missions transmitted knowledge of other cultures back to American Protestants? How have the social-reform agendas of the mainline been evaluated by indigenous historians? Rather than seeing Protestant mission as a monolith, were there differences among denominations that led to differing relationships with non-Christian cultures and religions? How has the drastic change in mission thought and the decline of the mainline missionary force since the 1950s affected the vitality and self-understanding of American Protestantism? From the perspective of the twenty-first century, how should historians evaluate the record of mainline missions in the twentieth century, the most productive century in mission history thus far? Rare is the denominational mission history that integrates the contributions of men and women into a balanced whole. That is the key task for mission history in the 1990s. Beginnings in taking a new look at mainline mission history was exemplified by one on another.

The rewriting of mainline denominational mission history is at the beginning of a much-needed renaissance. In addition to the missionary dynasties, the lives of "ordinary" missionaries should be mined for the perspective they provide on American history. Privately printed and limited-edition missionary journals are sometimes issued by family members. Important missionaries sometimes write their autobiographies.72 These first-person accounts are the primary sources of twentieth-century missions and should be collected by libraries interested in mission history, but frequently they are not considered of sufficient interest to justify the expense. Some missionary biographies are published by university presses with an interest in particular geographic areas. Probably the part of the world that has generated the largest number of mainline missionary biographies is China.73 Edwin Mellen Press publishes a mission series that includes scholarly missionary biographies and collections of writings.74 Autobiographies and biographies of leading home-base leaders and ecumenists have also found a market.75 Among missionary biography, denominational history magazines, and archival projects, there is reason to hope that mainline mission history is at the beginning of a much-needed renaissance.

Mission History in International Perspective

The study of Protestant foreign missions has been important to American history because it has shown how commitment to the spread of Christian faith has helped to shape American identity, both in religious and in secular realms. The continued importance of mission history, however, lies not only in what it will reveal about changing American self-perceptions but in its function as a bridge to understanding the United States in relation to

154 INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH
BUILDING BRIDGES
FOR THE GOSPEL...

Crossing cultural barriers and building bridges for the gospel of Jesus Christ are more important now than ever before! That’s why the School of World Mission is offering a new Doctor of Ministry degree in Global Ministries as part of the D.Min. program at Fuller Theological Seminary.

The Global Ministries D.Min. degree is especially designed for men and women in ministry throughout the world who want to increase their effectiveness in crossing barriers—cultural, social, economic, and religious.

The faculty of Fuller’s world renowned School of World Mission, the largest resident faculty of any school of its kind, will teach a broad array of classes to meet individual needs. Some of the 1994-1995 course offerings include:

- Trends Facing the Worldwide Church’s Worldwide Mission
  Paul E. Pierson and Joseph Webb

- Lifelong Leadership Development
  J. Robert Clinton

- Developing Leaders in Your Ministry
  Edgar J. Elliston

- Equipping Leaders for Short-term Ministries
  Elizabeth S. Brower,
  Douglas Millham and Jacquelyn Millham

- Chinese Culture: Reflection and Response
  Hoover Wong

- Understanding and Reaching the Chinese
  Hoover Wong

These courses, combined with more than 25 existing D.Min. courses, offer even greater flexibility in the design of each student’s program.

Fuller Seminary is located in Pasadena, California, one of the most culturally diverse metropolitan areas in the world. Build bridges now—with a Doctor of Ministry degree in Global Ministries at Fuller Theological Seminary.

For further information, call:
800-235-2222
and ask for the Doctor of Ministry Office
(in area code 818, call 584-5315)
Or write:
Doctor of Ministry Office

FULLER
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
135 North Oakland Avenue
Pasadena, CA 91182

Dr. J. Robert Clinton (L) and Dr. Edgar Elliston (R) are recognized pioneers in the emerging discipline of Leadership. Faculty members of the School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary, they are specialists in leadership and mentoring.
the rest of the world. The triumphantistic tendency to see the world as the playground of Yankees is being left in the past. New world realities demonstrate that American Protestantism’s importance for the future might lie not so much in its own destiny but in the role it has played in the rise of Christianity in the non-Western world. Even as Protestantism struggles to hold its own in the West, the growth of the church in Africa, Asia, and Latin America is shifting the dynamic center of Christianity to the Southern Hemisphere. Future considerations of American Protestant foreign missions must take into account that the old Rome is giving way to the new; Boston and Nashville are yielding to Seoul and Nairobi.

Increasingly, the significance of missions for American history lies in international relationships. Scholars should no longer study missionaries without recognizing how they were affected by indigenous peoples, or how the cultures in which they worked shaped their mission theories. Historians should study how the interaction of Christianity with other religions has shaped its message in different settings. Since American Protestantism resides in a global village, it must be studied in relation to European, African, Asian, and Latin American Christianity. We indeed have moved “beyond missions.”

Indigenous historians of Christianity bring their own agendas to the source material and can thereby enrich with new perspectives American self-understanding. One theme that international scholars have isolated from their study of American Protestant missions is the role played by missions among the larger forces of modernization in non-Western cultures; American missions were frequently an important path to Westernization and/or nationalism. Ethicist Masao Takenaka examined how American missionaries contributed to the transition from feudalism during the Meiji Restoration in Japan. In 1967, historian Sushil Madhava Pathak studied the interplay between Hinduism and Protestant missionary thinking, including the social modernization and Hindu renaissance stimulated by Christianity. Sociologist Chung Chai-sik has written on how progressive Koreans in the late nineteenth century deliberately accepted American missionaries as agents of modernization. H. K. Barpujari developed an important study of Baptist missionaries among the Assamese. He showed how through their mission work, translation work, and study of the people’s culture, missionaries played a vital role in the identity formation and rejuvenation of the Assamese in Northeast India. Studies of missionaries by indigenous scholars demonstrate convincingly how the values and practices offered by missionaries were used by converts for their own ends; converts were not passive victims of a monolithic American imperialism.

The influence of American missionaries on indigenous evangelism and church-planting in non-Western cultures is another topic addressed by indigenous church historians. To take the influence of American Protestant missions on South African churches as but one example, two works by South Africans have traced the influence of conservative American missionaries on the founders of black Zionist churches. A Rhodes University dissertation dealing with the American sources of Indian Pentecostalism in South Africa was written by Gerald John Pillay. In 1992, the influence of American Methodism on black Methodism in South Africa was explored in an article by South African missiologist Daryl M. Balia. Balia showed how the famous revivals of American Methodist William Taylor were in fact dependent on the indigenous preacher Charles Pamla. Increasingly, works on church-planting written by indigenous historians show that American missionaries interacted with and were dependent on indigenous Christians for their success in evangelism. The “lone ranger” Western missionary capable of single-handedly evangelizing thousands of people was a rare or nonexistent phenomenon.

The new era of world Christianity demands that American mission history be considered as part of a whole, as part of the dynamic interplay of cultures and religions that characterizes our world today. The global nature of Christianity in many ways gives a greater urgency to the study of Protestant mission history than it has had previously. There is a greater legitimacy in the academy to studying American foreign missions today than

---

Noteworthy

Announcing

The World Council of Churches has announced that the next Conference on World Mission and Evangelism will begin on November 25, 1996, in Salvador, Bahia, in northeastern Brazil. The focus of the conference for five hundred or more participants will be the relationship between Gospel and culture, under the theme “Called to One Hope: The Gospel and Diverse Cultures.” One of the issues to be addressed at the conference will be the debate about proselytism and “competitive mission,” according to Ana Langerak, who is executive director of the World Council of Churches’ Unit II—Churches in Mission: Health, Education, and Witness.

The Edinburgh Review of Theology and Religion is a new journal designed to reflect the challenges to Western-dominated theology from the religious cultures of the non-Western world, the encounter of the Christian faith with other faiths, and the rethinking in the social sciences brought by the impact of non-Western cultures. Edited by Professor James P. Mackey and published by Edinburgh University Press, the first issue includes articles by Andrew Walls, Kwame Bediako, Edmond Tang, J. I. H. McDonald, and R. P. Tiongco. The journal welcomes contributions from scholars all over the world. Subscriptions may be sent to: Edinburgh University Press, 22 George Square, Edinburgh, EH8 9LF, Scotland.

Since 1988 the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH has been indexed in the H. W. Wilson Company’s Humanities Index, which is published in print and as an electronic database on CD-ROM, on-line, and on magnetic tape. Now, in response to the users of the Humanities Index, the full text of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN is available as part of the electronic formats of this index. Beginning with the January 1994 issue, articles are scanned electronically at the time they are indexed, recorded as ASCII searchable text, and then made available to Humanities Index subscribers on CD-ROM, on-line, and on magnetic tape.

The full text of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH can be found also in Information Access Company.
there was twenty five years ago, a factor perhaps of the dawning realization that Christianity is global and that mission history can provide an entrée into the larger reality.

Increasingly, Protestant foreign missions are being studied by international teams of scholars who bring with them expertise in various languages and histories that American historians often lack. One example of the team-based approach is the projected eight-volume study to be called “Christianity in Its Religious Contexts,” to be edited by patristics scholar Frederick Norris along with seven others. The project seeks to examine how Christian mission has interacted with other religions, and how other religions shaped Christianity at points of initial contact. Missiologists Andrew Walls of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World (University of Edinburgh) and Lamin Sanneh of Yale Divinity School have held a series of consultations bringing together American with European mission historians, along with secular historians in related fields. Sinologist Daniel Bays of the University of Kansas is heading a project funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts to create a database of pre-1949 Christianity in China. Chinese and American scholars are working collaboratively to make the database possible, which, when completed, will be a valuable addition to what exists in Western mission archives. In another major Pew-funded, team-based project, Indologist Robert Frykenberg of the University of Wisconsin is coordinating research into Christianity in South India, including transcultural interactions between Indian and Western Christians. Although American Protestant foreign missions constitute only one aspect of the projects listed here, they will be analyzed in broader contexts and by people from the so-called receiving end as well as the sending end of missionary activity.

In the nineteenth century, foreign missions captured the imagination of American Protestants and turned their eyes toward the rest of the world. In the twentieth century, North American Protestantism became one of the most powerful forces for world mission in the history of Christianity. In the twenty-first century, American Protestant foreign missions must take their place as part of a larger world that they helped to create, but that they can neither organize nor control.

**Directions for Further Research**

The journey from “mission” to “beyond missions,” from unitary interpretation of the American missionary enterprise toward decentralized and pluralistic interpretations, is a welcome trend in the historiography of American Protestant missions since World War II. A rebirth of mission history that includes denominational missions but is more inclusive than the old formulas has the potential to reimagine the history of American Protestantism. The essence of American Protestantism—a crucial source of its vitality—has lain in what William Hutchison and others have called its activism; at many times in American history, Protestant activism and missions were coterminous. Even in periods of relatively reduced missionary activity, foreign missions represented the cutting edge of theological application, international relations, and conscious cultural interaction on the part of American Protestants.

In addition to what it shows about American Protestantism, mission history can be used as a prism through which to illuminate many aspects of American culture. Freed from its prison as a subject of interest only in theological seminaries and Bible colleges, the history of Protestant missions needs to be taken in new directions, some of which have already been suggested by the scholarship reviewed above. In international perspective, the study of American foreign missions provides a bridge to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Just as transatlantic dialogue with Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mediated cultural change and provided a mirror for American self-understanding, so has traffic with Asia, Africa, and Latin America increasingly defined North America in the twentieth century. Not only have missionaries carried American culture abroad, but they also have been the chief interpreters of non-Western culture in churches and communities throughout the heartland of America. There is urgent need to study missionaries as messen-
The number of missionary children who have become seminary
geers of non-Western culture, critics of American foreign policy,
and mirrors reflecting American identity for the “folks back home.”

In significant ways, foreign missionaries have created America’s image of the rest of the world in the twentieth century. The number of missionary children who have become seminary professors, shapers of American foreign policy, or leaders in international business has often been noted but seldom studied. As multicultural elites, foreign missionaries have played a major role out of proportion to their actual numbers in the conduct of the United States abroad. The American obsession with communism in the 1950s, for example, needs to be studied in relation to the missionary mediators who were critics of anti-Christian or Marxist political systems. The influence of anti-Communist former China missionaries should be balanced against that of a mission­aries who supported the nationalist struggles of indigenous peoples, such as the efforts of Ho Chi Minh. The “missionary factor” in mid-twentieth-century foreign policy is but one area that needs critical scholarly analysis.

The development of international ethical movements around such issues as world peace and human rights cannot be under­stood apart from missionary influence. Another neglected area of research in mission history is the role played by foreign missions in the pacifism and focus on world friendship that emerged between the two world wars. The extensive dialogue between Protestant women in the United States and Japan prior to World War II is but one small example of an important but unstudied contribution of foreign missions to internationalism. The full story of missions and refugee relief has never been told. Missions have frequently been analyzed in relation to American nationalism. Unexamined but equally important is the contribu­tion made by missions to internationalism and America’s ability to transcend its own narrow self-interest.

In the theological arena, the nexus among mission theory, missionary thought, and American understanding of non-Chris­tian religions has been seriously neglected. Changing American attitudes to non-Christian religions could be charted by review­ing missionary literature of the past century. Although formal interfaith dialogue would not exist without the centuries of missionary effort that have gone before, theologians, philoso­phers, and comparativists seldom acknowledge that the ground­work for their study was laid by the very missionaries they sometimes denigrate. Sound historical scholarship on the rela­tionship of missions to interfaith understanding is needed to correct the unidimensional portrait that now exists.

Study of mission institutions in their social contexts is an­other area desperately needing research. In the early twentieth century, American mainline Protestants supported seven inter­denominational women’s institutions of higher learning in China, Japan, and India, as well as thousands of lower-level schools. Western medical practice was mediated to the rest of the world by missionaries, and mission discoveries in the field helped to change the Western understanding of disease and treatment. The impact of missionary institutions on their social, economic, and cultural contexts on both sides of the water has yet to be ana­lyzed, although a beginning is being made in current doctoral­level research. Missionary institutions are an unexplored source of important transcultural interactions and social change.

As areas of further research into American Protestant for­eign missions are mapped out, and the complex and diverse picture of American Protestant missions takes shape, the histo­riographic task will of necessity revolve around interpretation. Taken in its fullness, what has the mission impulse meant for American Protestantism and for American culture, society, and theology? How has the mission experience, broadly defined, affected the larger course of American history and of world history? In 1964, R. Pierce Beaver unrealistically prophesied in From Missions to Mission a future for Protestant missions that flowed from ecumenical unity and confidence. But despite his failure as a prophet, his assessment of missionary historiography made in 1968 still stands today. Writing for a study called Reinterpretation in American Church History, Beaver noted of American mission history that interpretation needed to take place before reinterpretation could occur.91

A generation after Beaver, the tools for interpretation are being shaped and honed. The historiographic task began with denom­inal missions and from there proceeded to mission. Following a narrowing of historical interest in mission, mission studies collapsed in the late 1960s. The last decade has seen a revival of mission history with the growing realization that it has the potential to enliven numerous other fields of inquiry and to provide an entree into non-Western Christianity. At last the historiography of Protestant foreign mission is maturing, grow­ing through adolescence into adulthood, through and beyond missions to perspectives that may reveal the global historical signifi­cance of American Protestant foreign missions for the first time.

Notes


For example, see Ann Fienup-Riordan, *The Real People and the Children of Thunder: The Yup'ik Eskimo Encounter with Moravian Missionaries* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1991).


40. For example, see Martin Schrag, *Societies Influencing the Brethren in Christ Toward Missionary Work*, *Notes and Queries in Brethren in Christ History*, January 1967, pp. 1–12.


51. See, for example, an unpublished paper by Daniel H. Bays, “The Impact of Early Pentecostalism on Established American Missions in China,” written for the conference “Pentecostal Currents in the American Church” held at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, in March of 1994.


74. A large recent history of missions to seamen includes a section on American activity in this field; see Roald Kvernadal, Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth (Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1986).

75. This, for example, Charles Miller, Religion in the Modern World: Mission in a World of Modernity (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995).


80. See, for example, C. Howard Hopkins, John R. Mott, 1865–1955 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1979); and John Coventry Smith, From Colonialism to World Community: The Church's Pilgrimage (Philadelphia: Geneva Press, 1982).

81. American historians who are fluent in languages other than English are also beginning to evaluate the influence of American missionaries in disseminating modern ideas that impacted larger issues in non-Western cultures. For example, historian Richard Elphick is working on a manuscript that analyzes how missionaries inserted liberal ideas into twentieth-century South African political discourse.

A critical usage of mission sources can also reveal how indigenous Christians opposed mission policy and learned from the unwitting missionaries ways to promote their own independent agendas. See the case study by Myra Dinnerstein, "The American Zulu Mission in the Nineteenth Century: Clash over Customs," Church History 45, no. 2 (1976): 235–46.


83. Sushil Madhava Pathak, American Missionaries and Hinduism: A Study of Their Contacts from 1813 to 1910 (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967).

My Pilgrimage in Mission


This autobiographical sketch, divided neatly into four parts, hardly embraces the realities, the complexities, and the mysteries of my life experienced as a river of six decades flowing too rapidly. The parts overflow into one another. Ambiguities, uncertainties, and lacunae abound. The names of selected persons, standing symbolically for many others, are included. These provide a thread of grateful acknowledgments running through the four sections. After all, our relationships with others, and what we learn from them, are the major influences in our lives.

My First Naïveté

An early influence on my choice of vocation, my ecumenical interests, and focus on Africa was a warm relationship with my next-door neighbors during the days of my childhood. The Reverend and Mrs. Leroy Ferguson were the only African-Americans living on our street in Boston. Further down the street was our friendly dentist, Dr. Hersh, who introduced me to the wonders of the synagogue, where he demonstrated for me his skills as a cantor. My ecumenical feelings were further enhanced by my Baptist uncle Herbert Montgomery and my Episcopalian cousin Laura Hillman. With such friends and relatives, I could never believe that any people should be discriminated against on the basis of race or religion, nor could I imagine that Catholics never believe that any people should be discriminated against on this ground.

While in high school I decided, with a rationale I cannot now reconstruct, to become a missionary in Africa. This decision led me to the Holy Ghost Fathers. Faithful to the vision of their founders, they emphasized commitment to the least, the lost, and the left-out populations of our planetary village.

After a standard seminary training that was oriented toward the pastoral ministry in American suburbia, I was hardly prepared for cross-cultural ministry in Africa. Lacking any formal missionary preparation by seminary faculty members with missionary experience themselves, I read whatever I could find on the meaning and methods of missionary activity. The writings of Yves Congar, Henri de Lubac, Pierre Charles, Jean Daniélou, and Anscar Vonier were my best sources, together with some encyclopedic letters by two popes dealing explicitly with the meaning and methods of missionary ministry in the Catholic tradition.

The most exciting aspect of this self-education was the discovery of anthropology and the rich meanings of the word "culture." I owe this disclosure to a Fordham University professor of anthropology, J. Franklin Ewing, whose lectures I attended in 1951, a few months before I was sent to Tanganyika Territory, now Tanzania. He directed my introductory readings in anthropology until I found myself, years later, carried along enthusiastically by such writers as Monica Wilson, Victor Turner, and Clifford Geertz. These were complemented by the anthropologists I met in Africa doing their original field research: Alan Jacobs among the Masai, and Robert Gray among the Batem.

My first appointment was to teach theology in a Catholic seminary on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. As I had done no formal theological studies beyond the master of divinity level, my only claim to expertise was a serious research paper I had written as a seminarian, "On the Morality of Boxing." This was published in Theological Studies (1951), creating an impression that I might be capable of teaching moral theology. Instead, I was assigned to teach courses in Old Testament, liturgy, ecclesiastical...
history, and the theology of grace. My first year in Africa was thus one of intensive book learning that ended with my removal from the seminary because of my “dangerous ideas.”

Against the prevailing pedagogy of the seminary, I had argued that the students should be encouraged to read contemporary books and journals and should be discouraged from memorizing their Latin textbooks. Moreover, I had raised questions about the morality of colonialism and the Christian acquiescence in this evil. I had even wondered aloud about such topics as the relevance of a Latin liturgy in Africa, the exclusive use of foreign forms of prayer and music in the churches, and the imposition of Jewish and European names at baptism. Nor did my history course avoid mentioning the institutional church’s seamy side. Worse still, my interest in African cultures had led me into intensive discussions about the colonial attitudes and ethnocentric methods of missionaries who, when not condemning local cultures, generally ignored them.

The Christian Gospel was being presented to African peoples as though they had no cultures of their own. They had only to memorize the catechism and keep all the rules made by dead, white European males, while cultivating all the post-Reformation animosities of separated Western Christians. In schools and churches the people were being resocialized systematically into all the culturally conditioned and historically dated confessional practices and pieties developed through the various Euro-American experiences and interpretations of Christianity. Indigenous languages were bypassed in parts of Tanzania and Kenya. Christian communication was mainly through Swahili, even among peoples for whom this Bantu language was as foreign as Greek.

Safely distanced from the seminary, I became the first Catholic missionary sent to evangelize the Masai people in Tanzania.

The Africans had only to memorize the catechism and keep all the rules made by dead, white European males.

Following the customary method of using schools as factories for producing new Christians, I became a builder of schools throughout Maasailand. I also established a number of medical dispensaries, one of which developed into a hospital. These activities were in conflict with the British colonial policy of benign neglect. A Masai population, conscientiated through schooling and biblical notions of justice, would make it more difficult for the colonial administration to continue dispossessing these people of their best land. This relentless reallocating of land for the benefit of white settlers, game-park hoteliers, foreign companies, and politically significant Africans has been, since the advent of colonialism, progressively pauperizing the Masai people on both sides of the Kenya-Tanzania border.

My “Protestant Enlightenment”

The mission to the Masai on the priority list of the Lutheran Church was only slightly higher than it was on the Catholic agenda. Eventually, my activities caught the attention of the Lutheran leadership, and they assigned a couple of zealous American missionaries to the area. Indirectly, therefore, my efforts contributed to a revitalization of Lutheran operations among these people. In retrospect, I think our rivalries were mutually stimulating, leading eventually to varying degrees of reciprocal respect and ecumenical dialogue. Our disagreements were probably as much anthropological as theological. These differences are set forth at length in H. Richard Niebuhr’s Christ and Culture. Is the missionary’s own historico-cultural experience of the “good news” of Christ meant to be a force against, and a substitute for, a people’s traditional ways of being human and religious? Or is the Gospel supposed to be a transforming leaven that acts gradually and imperceptibly within, and in the terms of, their particular cultural world?

My introduction to critical theology was through Bishop Robinson’s Honest to God and, at another level, Oscar Cullmann’s Christ and Time. Gerald H. Anderson’s Theology of the Christian Mission, with chapters by Barth, Tillich, and others, introduced me to some of the giants of Protestant theology. Their writings and the works of the Anglican missiologist Roland Allen greatly influenced my understanding of the church’s missionary vocation. Countless discussions and arguments with my colleague Vincent Donovan and some thoughtful exchanges with Adrian Hastings were most helpful in this regard. These same influences were also moving me toward the broader ecumenical vision articulated, with increasing insistence, in my own writings: The Church as Mission (1965), The Wider Ecumenism (1968), and Many Paths (1989).

The idea of a wider ecumenical dialogue, which would include non-Christian religions, was implicit in the teachings of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). A major cause of this development was Karl Rahner’s influential theology of grace, over against those who thought that “grace would no longer be grace if God became too free with it.” My thinking on this point had been clarified and encouraged by Rahner himself during my several conversations with him at his mother’s house in Freiburg im Breisgau, between the first and second sessions of Vatican II.

Although my contribution to Vatican II was modest, some of my proposals and sentences found their way into the conciliar decree on the missions. This was a consequence of my participation in the preparatory discussions, and in the drafting of the recommendations, of the bishops representing Eastern Africa and Madagascar. Some years later, however, as questions about the council’s achievements became bolder, two Italian cardinals complained ominously that my writings on the universal availability of grace would somehow undermine the urgency of missionary work.

Is the church’s mission compromised by God’s magnanimous proffering of grace to all nations through the religious systems available to them in their own cultural worlds, not only before but also after the arrival of missionaries from Europe or North America? Is the Creator’s saving love for a people constrained by the late arrival among them of these lisping and bickering preachers? My confidence in the ubiquity of saving faith was enhanced by the general behavior of my numerous pre-Christian friends, still immersed fully in their own cultural world. Nakudana ole Sunkuiya and Kamonduli ole Ngari, like the rest of us, appeared consistently to be both “saints and sinners at the same time” (Luther), or “saints always in need of purification” (Vatican II).

A wider ecumenism of interreligious dialogue was not the only idea frowned upon by elements of ecclesiastical officiamentum. The apostolic nuncio to East Africa, Archbishop Satorelli, took exception to a paper of mine, presented to a conference of some seventy African bishops, on the possibility of taking a more
tolerant attitude toward the good-faith polygamous marriages of people who subsequently wished to participate fully in the sacramental life of the Christian community. Ironically, my research and report on the polygamy problem had been requested by Satorelli’s predecessor, Archbishop Del Mestri. For this enlightened prelate, who later became a cardinal, I had done field research and submitted reports on socioeconomic problems and development projects after the extensive East African drought and famine of the early 1960s. Nevertheless, my part in the perennial debate over polygamy eventually spelled the end of my seventeen years in Tanzania, as the new nuncio prevented my continuation in East Africa. “Dangerous ideas” again.

Thanks to the helping hand of David B. Barrett, well known to the readers of this journal, I found refuge as an Ecumenical Fellow at Union Theological Seminary in New York. Here I earned a master’s degree in 1970, with a thesis on Christianity and culture, directed by Hans Hoekendijk. Elected to the governing assembly of Union Theological, I served on the faculty search committee that urged the appointment of Raymond E. Brown and on the advanced degrees committee—together with such notables as John Macquarrie and Roger Shinn.

From there I moved to Canada’s St. Paul University and the University of Ottawa, earning a Ph.D. with a social ethics dissertation on African plural marriage and the Christian churches, later published as Polygamy Reconsidered (1975). This book’s arguments have since convinced the leaders of at least two mainline denominations to work out a more compassionate and culturally sensitive discipline regarding the baptism of polygamists who had entered into good-faith marriages before encountering the Gospel.

Prevented by the nuncio from working directly for the Catholic Church in East Africa, I returned as the Africa director of Christian Children’s Fund. In this post I found great satisfaction directing assistance to arid-zone children who had so often suffered neglect in the past from both government departments and voluntary agencies. However, a serious case of typhus with complications required my leaving this work. So, I found myself again in the academic world, first as a visiting professor at St. John’s University in New York, then as a research fellow and visiting lecturer at Yale University Divinity School, where I taught a required course in the graduate program: “The Christian Mission in a Pluralist World.”

When Archbishop Satorelli was finally transferred from East Africa, I returned to Kenya for a period of missiological research as a Walsh-Price Fellow of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America. My field research was published as The Roman Catholic Apostolate to Nomadic Peoples in Kenya (1980). This led to my research project, undertaken for the Church of the Province of Kenya (Anglican), on the feasibility of their establishing a new diocese in northern Kenya. There followed several years of mixed activities, alternating between missionary ministry among the Kenya Masai, a period at the University of Nairobi as a research professor in the Institute for Development Studies, and teaching at Salve Regina University in Newport, Rhode Island. I served in Kenya for a total of eight years.

Teaching Experience

Teaching seminarians not only at Yale but also at Maryknoll and at Weston School of Theology was a rewarding experience that forced me to organize more systematically my understanding of the theology of Christianity’s missionary outreach. But teaching social ethics in Salve Regina University’s graduate program in international relations has been no less satisfying. The quality of the students I had in large numbers for several years was impressive: middle- and senior-rank military officers assigned to the U.S. Naval War College in Newport. This has been, for me, a time of new research, learning, and critical dialogue with mature and widely experienced students facing contemporary issues such as war and peace, wealth and poverty, world hunger and population growth, “moral man and immoral society.” I learned to speak of sinful social structures in the secular terms of modernity, and to appreciate the relevance of liberation theology worldwide.

In two other courses, designed for doctoral students in the humanities, I deal with the implications of science-based and capital-driven technology, touching variously some of the same questions of culture and value addressed by Bishop Lesslie Newbigin and other Christian thinkers in recent years (e.g., Ian Barbour, Langdon Gilkey, Jacques Ellul and John Staudenmaier). The global reach of modernity, systematically assaulting traditional religious and ethical systems throughout the non-Western world, has had many helping hands provided by the mission-sending agencies of Europe and North America. At last, the chronic ethnocentrism of our missionary presuppositions and methods are now getting some of the criticism they deserve. See, for example, Eboussi Boulaga’s plea captured in the title of his Christianity Without Fetishes (1984), Peter Matthiessen’s novel and film At Play in the Fields of the Lord, George Tinker’s Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide (1993), and Robert E. Hood’s response to the question in the title of his Must God Remain Greek? (1990).

Such voices, however shrill they may seem at first, urge us to reexamine critically some of our missiological assumptions. In our haste to turn others into carbon copies of our pious selves, have we too readily bypassed the traditional religious and ethical systems of the peoples being evangelized? Thanks to the writings of scholars like Bernard Meland, Carl Starkloff, Bernard Lonergan, David Tracy, and so many others already noted, there is no excuse now for the ethnocentrism still perverting so much of the missionary ministry of the Christian churches.

My Second Naïveté

At this stage in my pilgrimage it is possible to glimpse, more clearly than in the past, some of the larger and more profound meanings of the Jesus events in the history of humankind. If the incarnational mission of the divine Word in Jesus of Nazareth is paradigmatic for the Christian missionary enterprise, then we must have an “incarnational” method for inserting the Gospel, as a leaven, into the cultural worlds of other peoples. We must recognize their traditional symbol systems and social structures as instruments capable of serving God’s good purposes. History provides no evidence that the Holy Spirit works more efficaciously through Western systems and structures than through...
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. This manual is an important step in identifying and clarifying the “tentmaking” concepts in today’s world. Dr. Jonathan Lewis has given the church a valuable new tool for understanding tentmaking. Contributors are:
Don Hamilton (Planning for Success), J. Christy Wilson, Jr. (Getting Perspective), David Tai-Woong Lee (Cross-Cultural Servants), Jonathan Cortes (Critical Considerations of Deployment), Joshua Cortes (Biblical and Doctrinal Foundations), Joshua K. Ogawa (Biblical and Doctrinal Foundations), Elizabeth Vance (Personal Readiness), Jim Chew (Two Essential Skills), James Tébéé (Team Dynamics and Spiritual Warfare), Elizabeth Goldsmith (Understanding the Host Culture), Carlos Calderon (Dealing With Stress), Marcelo Acosta (Becoming a Belonger). Appendices are A Personal Action Plan and Resources.

THE GOSPEL UNHINDERED Modern Missions and the Book of Acts
Doug Priest Jr., Editor
1994, paperback, 225 pages
The unhindered spread of the gospel is Luke’s passion in the Acts of the Apostles. That same gospel continues to penetrate the world to this day and claims more followers than any other faith. Fifteen missionaries address questions we all ask in the proclamation of the gospel. Is the current approach to Bible translation into new languages too slow? What happens to a church undergoing persecution? Have missionaries overlooked spiritual warfare in work with animists? Is there any hope for a greater understanding between Muslims and Christians?

TO ORDER... Send check or money order to:
WILLIAM CAREY LIBRARY, P.O. Box 40129, Pasadena, California 91114
Add $1.00 for handling. California residents add 7.25% for tax. L.A. County add 8.25%. To place your order using MASTER CARD or VISA phone TOLL FREE 1-800-MISSION (647-7466)
PRICES ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE
the other cultures that have always served the vast majority of humankind.

The Christian mission should not contribute to the destruction of the cultural worlds of other peoples and promote among them foreign ways of being human and religious—ways borrowed uncritically from the historic-cultural experiences of Western peoples. The incarnational principle tells us that the Word of God should be expressed not only through the linguistic symbol systems of each people but also through all their other cultural forms and structures, including their traditional religions, which are, like languages, culturally and historically constructed symbol systems of meaningful communication. This approach is exemplified in the mission of Jesus, a culturally conditioned Palestinian Jew of a particular historical period, fully human in everything except sin.

What God has done for “his people,” standing symbolically for humanity, is signified in the Jesus events of history. These wondrous deeds are still celebrated by the believing community in a ritual meal of fellowship and thanksgiving, initiated by Jesus himself as a memorial. The essential structure and elements of this commemorative gathering were not imported from heaven, much less borrowed from some distant cultural world; they came, together with their pristine significance, directly from the pre-Christian religious tradition of the participants themselves. The meal’s primary religio-cultural and historical import, readily understood and felt by the invited guests, was neither ignored nor destroyed by the Lord as he added new meanings to be appreciated only gradually.

Pre-Christian religious rites need not, therefore, be either ignored or abolished in the name of Christ. They are to be transformed by a kind of melanosis, even as newly baptized believers are reborn through baptism without ignoring or abandoning their historically and culturally conditioned understanding of their being-in-the-world. Only personal sin and sinful social structures are to be renounced as incompatible with Christianity. And we know from the history of the socioeconomic institution of slavery in the Western world how long it can take for Christians to recognize an evil that is deeply incompatible with their faith.

Further reflections on the implications of the incarnation of the divine Word are offered in my slim volume Towards an African Christianity: Inculturation Applied (1993). This is an effort to demonstrate the need for a dynamic and reciprocal relationship between missionary evangelism and interreligious dialogue. Some may see this as an example of my naïveté. But if this implication of the incarnation is taken seriously as a principle of action by missionaries in the field, it might prove to be a transforming leaven even more illuminating and revitalizing than the current dialogue among separated Christians.

As noted by Raimundo Panikkar, the traditional Christian churches in parts of the Western world appear to be nearly “exhausted” or even “effete.” These conditions may indeed be attributed in some measure to the centuries of cultural and conceptual in-breeding among Euro-American Christians, whose chronic ethnocentrism might be the basic problem. Is it perhaps time now to rethink the meaning of the Christian mission in terms of a mutually enriching dialogue with the other cultures and their respective religious components, allowing the Holy Spirit to speak to us through them, even as we expect the Spirit to speak to them through us?

---

Dandeson Coates Crowther and the Niger Delta Pastorate: Blazing Torch or Flickering Flame?

Jehu J. Hanciles

"Archdeacon Crowther was the Niger Delta Pastorate et vice versa. The whole history of the Pastorate is indis­solubly linked up and interwoven with his biography; to all intents and purposes, they constitute one record. He could be regarded as an institution on a parallel with that of the Pastorate itself." This statement could be deemed remarkably effusive, especially since Dandeson Coates Crowther’s role and involvement within the Niger Delta has been accorded very little historical significance by African historiographers. It would seem that his career has been completely eclipsed by the outstanding historical significance of Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther (his father), and the notable efforts of African nationalists like James Johnson and E. W. Blyden may have been emphasized at his expense. But was his career worthy of note? Could he really be described as one of those unsung heroes whose triumphs have wrongly been enshrouded by the passing of time and submerged in the sea of events? These questions form the basis of this essay.

Dandeson Coates Crowther was born in Freetown, Sierra Leone, on September 24, 1844, the youngest of Bishop Crowther’s sons. Educated both in Sierra Leone and in Nigeria, he became employed as his father’s private secretary, accompanying him on his travels; later he was sent to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) college at Islington in North London for further training and preparation for the ordained ministry. He was ordained by his father on June 10, 1870, in St. Mary’s Parish Church, Islington, and admitted to priest’s orders the following year, on March 12. In 1871, he proceeded to Bonny (in the Niger Delta) as senior pastor to undertake the superintendence of ministerial duties, both there and at the Brass River. He thus became one of the few educated African missionaries in the whole of the West African Mission. In time, D. C. Crowther assumed leadership of the Niger Delta and was made archdeacon of the same in 1874. His leadership was to be both threatened and strengthened by the crisis that engulfed the Niger Mission in the early 1890s.

Few subjects in the history of Christianity in West Africa have raised as many questions or received as much attention as the developments in the Niger Mission in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, and a great deal has been written about the Niger “crisis” of the 1890s. For any writer coming anew to the

Jehu J. Hanciles, born and educated in Sierra Leone, is a doctoral candidate at the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh.
field, there are many well-trodden paths, a surfeit of opinion, and much debate. The event, as portrayed by national historians like G. O. M. Tasie and E. A. Ayandele, depicts a saintly—if fallible—African bishop (Crowther's father) hounded to his death by a new breed of young and zealous European missionaries; meanwhile the structures that he had spent a lifetime erecting were arbitrarily dismantled in a surge of reforming zeal. These actions are normally seen as predicated on the growing conviction while the structures that he had spent a lifetime erecting were completely dismantled in a surge of reforming zeal. These actions are normally seen as predicated on the growing conviction that the systematic introduction of Europeans into the Niger in the 1880s and early 1890s. To discuss the details of this whole incident would be both tedious and repetitive. Certainly, the CMS response to the widespread defects of the Niger Mission produced a catalog of conflict and confrontation that—given the aura of sad inevitability. In the event, the society ended up with a cocktail of racial conflict, high-handed reform, strong local antipathy, rebellion, and dissent. As far as events in the delta are concerned, the infamous meeting of the Niger Finance Committee at Onitsha in August 1890 was most certainly the flashpoint. This meeting marked the beginning of the rupture and the subsequent founding of the Niger Delta Pastorate.

For twenty years the Delta Mission had been an entirely African mission, mainly under the superintendence and control of Archdeacon Crowther, with the most satisfying results. However, as part of its restructuring program, the CMS revealed plans to introduce European missionaries, who would act in an evangelical capacity (like the Sudan Party) not only in the Upper Niger but also, for the first time, in the Lower Niger and Delta Mission—specifically in the Brass and Bonny districts. The society resolved that these Europeans would "reside and work, where climate's consideration will allow, side by side and in full cooperation with their African brethren."

It is possible to argue that because of the relative success of the mission, delta Christians were less likely to accept European intrusion and supervision with supine indifference, and that for that reason alone, conflict between the African missionaries and their European counterparts was extremely likely. For his part, Archdeacon Crowther was greatly offended at his own untimely suspension (at the Onitsha meeting) and at the indignity his father had suffered at the hands of men young enough to be his grandchildren. The archdeacon embarked on a tour of West Africa, during which he addressed congregations and church committees in the native pastorates of both Lagos and Sierra Leone. As one of the most respected leaders in the Niger Mission, and one who had only recently suffered from European domination of the Niger, what he had to say had great impact. The press made the most of it. His own personal grievances aside, he was resolved then that a mission like the delta, which had thrived so well without European involvement and was partly self-supporting, could well survive independently of foreign assistance. He had found the attitudes and actions of the European missionaries most objectionable and was convinced that the issue of race was at the bottom of the crisis. Wherever he went he asserted that "on the Niger the African was simply a victim of white racial prejudice." This belief fired him with a determination to prove that Africans were capable of running their own affairs without European intervention.

In January 1891, the CMS produced a report that among other things deplored the low moral and spiritual condition of the Niger congregations and upheld the introduction of Europeans into the Niger. It recommended that the administration of the Niger Mission be placed in the hands of a European secretary "to reside with the Bishop at Onitsha" and an assistant secretary "to reside with the Archdeacon at Bonny." This must be regarded as a barefaced example of missionary imperialism, for with the appointment of these secretaries, both bishop and archdeacon were divested of control, and the latter at least was rendered a subordinate. European domination of the whole Niger Mission was complete.

**The Delta Revolt**

By 1891, the idea of a church independent of the CMS had gained great momentum. But where would the necessary finances for self-support come from? Such was the degree of solidarity generated among West African Christians over the Niger crisis that Dandeson was assured of financial support from the other churches in Lagos and Sierra Leone. How much of this was purely lip service to an ideal is hard to say. The overwhelming support and involvement of the Sierra Leonean Christians in the whole affair is a most interesting circumstance, especially when it is considered that the Sierra Leone church (the oldest mission of the CMS) was itself still in the grip of foreign domination, with a European bishop at its head. Significantly, it was in Sierra Leone (in March 1891), at a conference Dandeson held with the Sierra Leonean Christians, that it was resolved that the Niger Delta should be severed from the CMS and operate solely under native agency and control.

The Sierra Leonean Christian community (both Anglicans and non-Anglicans, it must be said) immediately began lobbying for money to support the new scheme. Tasie seems to suggest that the pastorate scheme was mainly a device by which Dandeson and the other delta agents (all but one of whom were Sierra Leoneans) tried to substitute European domination with Sierra Leonean or Creole control. He claims that it was not thoroughly explained to the delta Christians what they were being let into and argues that Dandeson obscured the facts and employed the propaganda of racism to win their allegiance. Admittedly, it is not unlikely that the rank and file of the delta converts hardly understood the full implications of the independence scheme, particularly its financial responsibilities and ecclesiastical nature. But such shortsightedness at the grass roots is not uncommon in such mass movements and should hardly be interpreted as an attempt by the leaders to delude their followers.

It seems safe to assume that the delta chiefs—who were reported to be "considerably superior in education and intelligence to any of the Niger Chiefs"—would have given the proposed venture considerable thought before leading their subjects in its support. Moreover, in July 1891, the chiefs and converts at Bonny, Okrika, and New Calabar wrote to the bishop assuring him of their unreserved support and resolution to go through with the bid for independence. It is difficult to see them as mere puppets of a Sierra Leonean minority; one is forced to conclude that the Niger Delta revolt was a populist one. Epelle's...
PATHS OF AFRICAN THEOLOGY
ROSI!O GIBELLINI, editor
Many of the best-known theologians in Africa explore the dynamic religious movements taking shape there. Includes an annotated bibliography of resources.
0-88344-974-9 $18.95 paper

THE SCANDAL OF A CRUCIFIED WORLD
Perspectives on the Cross and Suffering
YACOB TESFAI, editor
Offers powerful and poignant interpretations of the meaning of the cross for those of the "two-thirds" world.
0-88344-976-5 $16.95 paper

EMBRACING EARTH
Catholic Approaches to Ecology
JOHN E. CARROLL and ALBERT LaCHANCE, editors
Original and seminal contributions from Richard Rohr, David Toolan, Paula Gonzalez and others explore the Christian view of nature and our place in it.
0-88344-966-8 $18.95 paper

SPIRITUALITY OF THE THIRD WORLD
A Cry for Life
K.C. ABRAHAM, editor
Third World theologians declare that third-world theology should be decisively shaped by the spirituality of the marginalized.
0-88344-977-3 $19.95 paper

FEMINIST THEOLOGY FROM THE THIRD WORLD
A Reader
URNSULA KING, editor
Demonstrates the great diversity and depth of feminist theology in the non-Western world.
0-88344-963-3 $19.95 paper

ECOTHEOLOGY
Voices from South and North
DAVID G. HALLMAN, editor
Essays explore the Christian attempt to deal whitely with our environmental crisis.
0-88344-993-5 $16.95 paper

LIVING MISSION
Challenges in Evangelization Today
JAMES H. KROEGER, M.M.
A seasoned missioner synthesizes theological and spiritual insights on the nature and obligation of the Church to engage in "mission to all peoples."
0-88344-921-8 $16.95 paper
Mission Studies

TOWARD A THEOLOGY OF STRUGGLE
ELEAZAR SINGSON FERNANDEZ
The popular Filipino "Theology of Struggle," rooted in the history and culture of colonial oppression, seeks to return Christian symbols to the poor. 0-88344-982-X  $18.95 paper

DOING THEOLOGY IN CONTEXT and
DOING ETHICS IN CONTEXT
JOHN de GRUCHY and
CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO, editors
These introductory-level texts survey the range of approaches to theology and ethics in the South African context.
Theology: 0-88344-989-7
Ethics: 0-88344-990-0
$18.95 each paper

POLITICAL HOLINESS
A Spirituality of Liberation
PEDRO CASALDÀLAGA and JOSÉ MARÍA VIGIL,
Theology & Liberation Series
A prophetic Brazilian bishop and a Nicaraguan theologian join to produce the first systematic treatment of the spirituality of liberation.
0-88344-979-X  $16.95 paper

MISSION LEGACIES
Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement
GERALD H. ANDERSON, ROBERT T. COOTE, NORMAN A. HORNER, JAMES M. PHILLIPS, editors
American Society of Missiology Series
All 78 biographical sketches from IBMR's popular "Mission Legacies" series are edited and gathered in this attractive volume—a major reference for churches, libraries, students, and scholars. December
0-88344-964-1  $34.95 cloth

A VISION BETRAYED
The Jesuits in Japan and China 1542-1742
ANDREW C. ROSS
Provides a history of issues in inculturation of the Gospel and contemporary tensions between Asian cultures and the Christian movement. December
0-88344-991-9  $34.95 cloth

BEYOND THEOLOGICAL TOURISM
Mentoring as a Grassroots Approach to Theological Education
SUSAN B. THISTLETHWAITE and GEORGE F. CAIRNS, editors
Demonstrates an immersion program that goes beyond the limits of traditional programs.
0-88344-965-X  $19.95 paper

Orbis Books
58310 W. 101st, Box 302
Oakknoll, NY 10545-0302
VISA 1-800-258-5838

DOING THEOLOGY in Context
South African Perspectives
Pedro Casaldàlaga and José María Vigil

Beyond Theological Tourism
Mentoring as a Grassroots Approach to Theological Education
Susan B. Thistlethwaite and George F. Cairns
The Niger Delta Pastorate

Back in the delta, Dandeson embarked on an intense campaign to prepare the delta churches for the impending step. At an informal conference “of the clergy and lay delegates of the only seven churches in the Niger Delta held at Bonny…a resolution for the organisation of the churches into a Native Pastorate was adopted.” With the exception of Brass—which was later won over by the CMS—the delta Christians, under Archdeacon Crowther’s leadership, adopted a firm stand. Any intimation to the fact that D. C. Crowther’s actions during this period were governed by motives of self-aggrandizement and excessive ambition must be treated with caution. Dandeson Crowther was first and foremost a champion of a cause, and of a people. Historical circumstances forced upon him a position of leadership, which he sought to discharge in the best interests of those he served. L. Sanneh suggests that “his filial obligation, his official position with the mission, his duties as a committee member, and his status as an educated African all combined to thrust upon him a mandate for action.” Like his father (though to a lesser degree), he often displayed the spirit of self-effacement and diffidence. Twice he declined offers of more superior ecclesiastical positions, including that of assistant bishop. Nonetheless, Archdeacon Crowther possessed “a dogged spirit and an usual strength of character”—two attributes that characterized his leadership of the “delta revolt.”

The Niger Delta Native Pastorate was launched on April 29, 1892. Inauguration services were held at Bonny, Okrika, and Opobo. These three stations, plus New Calabar and Benin, constituted the new pastorate. D. C. Crowther defended the secession by making pointed reference to Venn’s theory about native stations and congregations had nearly doubled to 21. Within seven years after the inauguration of the pastorate, “no fewer than 120 mission stations were established,” as a result of evangelistic efforts that penetrated as far as fifty miles into the hinterland; attendance at the delta churches generally remained at a high-water mark. Even the CMS was forced to recognize the success of the body that had seceded from it; in 1896 it “expressed its confidence in the work of the Niger Delta Pastorate, by handing over its own work at Abonema to the Pastorate.” In a very real sense, the success of the pastorate was a supreme vindication of D. C. Crowther’s position and the cause that he had championed. In the end, however, fiscal changes in the delta region (which undermined the financial status of the pastorate), a paucity of ordained pastors for want of episcopal functions, an unsuccessful bid for a native bishop, and D. C. Crowther’s own abiding loyalty to the Anglican Church conspired to end the secession.

The Niger Delta Pastorate

D. C. Crowther’s remarkable achievement in leading one of the first significant attempts at creating a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating church in West Africa has often been overlooked. For twenty years, the Niger Delta Mission thrived under his supervision and direction and exemplified, after a fashion, an ideal mission. It is against this background that his actions must be understood. Though his leadership of the “delta revolt” evolved within a matrix of racial conflict, spiritual fervor, and nationalistic sentiments, underlying it all was his tremendous sense of devotion and personal identification with the delta church.

One is left with the suspicion, however, that D. C. Crowther stopped somewhat short of being a full-blooded rebel. He lacked the forceful, domineering disposition of, say, James Johnson, and his actions were often tempered by deferential considerations. When he was not hamstrung by a filial sensitiveness for his father’s position and feelings, his determination was subverted by an overriding sense of allegiance to the Anglican Church. Throughout the period of secession, he adamantly and repeatedly asserted that the delta church was part of the Anglican communion. He explained that the pastorate was “a legitimate branch of the Church of England” and was in union and communion with it, adding that “its liturgy is none other than that of the mother Church, which it had always used before.”

The archdeacon’s strong attachment to the church of his birth, one that he had devoutly served for so many years of his life, symbolized the triumph of self-determination over chronic dependence and subordination.
life, is understandable but may have been something of a handicap. As L. Sanneh puts it, “The issue of institutional integrity in the church was a stronger matter with Dandeson than the wish to avenge a sense of wrong.” This tendency constantly distracted from the efficacy of his leadership and has the uncompensatory effect of relegating his actions to the shadow of his father’s outstanding career. Unsympathetic commentators might even argue that he won the support of the delta Christians because he was his father’s son. Nonetheless, D. C. Crowther rose to the demands of a historic moment in the process becoming the champion of a movement and the hero of a people. It would be unfair to judge him by what he did not do, or by what he should have done. At a time of great upheaval, when the great stream of events left many nonplussed and impotent, he took the helm and sought to pilot the ship of mission in pursuit of an ideal. This activity was more than just a flash in the pan, for it served as a beacon at a critical period and symbolized—albeit briefly—the triumph of self-determination over chronic dependence and subordination.

It is significant that “in initiative, in capacity for organisation and administration, territorial expansion and statistical success the Niger Delta Pastorate achieved more than any other African Church in Nigeria before the First World War.” Thus D. C. Crowther’s life and work merit a place of importance in the history of Christian missions in West Africa. In the words of a delta historian, “The Archdeacon was an embodiment of faith and of persistent perseverance by dint of which he overcame and triumphed over several obstacles in whatsoever form they appeared. His manner of life was beyond reproach—a blazing torch.”

Notes

3. At this meeting, African agents in the delta were arbitrarily suspended, in the presence of the bishop who ordained them, while the bishop himself was reduced to trembling indignation. Even Archdeacon Crowther was accused of untruthfulness and summarily suspended from office. He was later cleared of the charges made against him, however, being informed by the CMS that his suspension, insofar as his ecclesiastical position was concerned, “was null and void.” (Land to Archdeacon Crowther, January 23, 1891, CMS, G3/A3/L3.)
9. As well as being D. C. Crowther’s home, Sierra Leone was the main supplier of native agents in the Niger. In the early days, Venn had often referred to Sierra Leone as “the nursery for Missions” in West Africa; see CMS, C A1/L5, pp. 195 and 225.
10. Ibid., p. 119.
18. Even J. A. Robinson, one of the European reformers, had proposed the nomination of Dandeson as assistant bishop to his father.
19. A day that commemorated the commencement of the Niger Delta mission (at Bonny); see Epelle, Church in the Niger Delta, p. 38.
20. The Brass Mission joined the delta pastorate only fifteen years later, in June 1907; see ibid., p. 38.
21. Henry Venn, honorary secretary of the CMS from 1841 to 1873, formulated the concept of a native pastorate as the settlement of a native church under native pastors, free from all supervision by foreign agency. This, he argued, was the supreme object of mission. For details of his strategy, see W. R. Shenk, Henry Venn—Missionary Statesman (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1983); and, more recently, C. Peter Williams, The Ideal of the Self-governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990).
22. First Paper, 1851. Venn wrote three papers on the organization of native churches. See CMS, G/AZ1/1, nos. 116 and 146.
26. Tasie, Christian Missionary Enterprise, p. 123. According to Epelle, the first native pastor, Rev. David Kopra Pepple, was ordained in 1898 (Church in the Niger Delta, p. 47).
27. Epelle, Church in the Niger Delta, p. 38.
34. After some skillful negotiations by Bishop Tugwell (of the Niger Mission), a new constitution was drawn up for the Niger Delta Pastorate, which (upon its inauguration in April 1898) brought it under the control of the Anglican Church.
35. See Epelle, Church in the Niger Delta, p. 126.
37. Sanneh, Translating the Message, p. 143.
38. Ayandele, Missionary Impact, p. 244.

Bibliography

Books

The Legacy of William Taylor

David Bundy

William Taylor (1821–1902) is a prominent figure in the history of Methodist missions. During his career as missionary, which began with his appointment as missionary to California in 1849 and ended with his retirement in 1896, Taylor, more than any other, was responsible for the extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church beyond the boundaries of Europe and North America. He personally worked on six continents and was instrumental in the establishment of Methodist Churches in Peru, Chile, South India, Burma, Panama, Belize, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, and Zaire. As well, he assisted the Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church beyond the boundaries of Europe and North America. He personally worked on six continents and was instrumental in the establishment of Methodist Churches in Peru, Chile, South India, Burma, Panama, Belize, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, and Zaire. As well, he assisted the Wesleyan Methodists in Austria, New Zealand, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), South Africa, and throughout the Caribbean. During the Moody campaigns in England (1873–75) he preached as “Mr. Moody’s Coadjutor” at Moody’s invitation. As missionary bishop, he worked to establish the mission in Liberia as a viable and independent church and expanded that effort to indigenous peoples.

His travel and the expense of establishing churches was financed primarily through the sale of the seventeen books that came from his pen. The sales were encouraged by numerous periodicals that he edited, as well as by the weekly or monthly reports of his exploits, which he submitted to many Methodist and Holiness periodicals. These were read and provided models for ministry both within and outside of the Methodist tradition. Within the Wesleyan/Holiness traditions he became a crucial figure, but he was appreciated also by Baptists, Friends, Presbyterians, “Keswickian” evangelicals, and eventually Pentecostals both in North America and Europe.

Despite this fame and influence, despite having spent the last twelve years of his career as missionary bishop (1884–96), and despite having established patterns for “self-supporting” missions, writers as diverse as official historians of Methodist mission and Robert Speer, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, sought to undercut the legacy of William Taylor. As a result he disappeared from the historiography of mission; even Stephen Neill and William Hutchison are silent about him. Who, then, was William Taylor, and what is his legacy?

Taylor as Missionary, to 1875

Taylor’s father, Stuart (married Martha E. Hickman in 1819), was converted in a Methodist camp meeting in the hills of Virginia and became an evangelist. William Taylor attended the local one-room school, where he received all of his formal education. Like his father, who belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, he also had a religious experience at the Panther Gap Camp Meeting (Virginia) and, after a few months of teaching school (1842), entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He married Ann Kimberlin in 1846. She accompanied him on his early travels but thereafter mostly stayed at home to care for their five children. The next seven years saw a slow, painful adaptation of a lower-class country youth to the demand of ministry. In 1845 he became a member of the Baltimore Methodist Conference. Under the influence of Walter and Phoebe Palmer, he became a lifelong advocate of “holiness.” He pastored both in Georgetown and North Baltimore, where he attracted the attention of Bishop Beverly Waugh of the Baltimore area, who was the driving force of Methodist Episcopal missions to the West.

Waugh recruited Taylor as a missionary to California. With

David Bundy is librarian and associate professor of church history at Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis, Indiana. A United Methodist layman, he is a graduate of Seattle Pacific University, Asbury Theological Seminary, and the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium. He taught at Asbury Seminary before coming to CTS.
a portable church building and his family, Taylor sailed from Baltimore on April 19, 1849, rounded South America, and arrived in San Francisco after a stressful voyage (a child died on route). There he avoided the easier and more prosperous sites of ministry to focus on the central “Plaza” area. Here he nursed the sick, aided the impoverished, defended native Americans, ministered in Chinese labor camps, and built a church complete with a bookroom and a temperance hotel for seamen in the port area. In order to build the complex, a loan was taken out by the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1856, the uninsured facility burned; as he described it, “rents stopped; interest on money went on.”

The disaster forced Taylor to return to the East, where he endeavored to raise money to repay the loan. He was successful as an evangelist, and his book describing his experiences in California sold well, but national financial crises worked against his purposes. After continuing his efforts in Canada, he went via England (where he wrote a treatise on the U.S. Civil War) to Australia (May 1863–March 1866). In Australia “California Taylor,” as he was known, proved effective as an evangelist and raised significant funds for Australian Methodist schools but little for himself. His son’s illness required a climatic change, and he had money only to move his family to South Africa (March–October 1866).

South African white Christians did not generally respond favorably to his American revivalist style and message, so he went to the black tribes, where he became an effective evangelist among the indigenous population. This success led to getting his family back to America and then to Ceylon (December 1866–October 1870). In each instance there were reports that thousands were “saved and sanctified,” mission efforts were transformed, persons were “called” to ministry, and institutions were established. (We are never told whether the debt in California was repaid.)

Taylor arrived in India, typically penniless, in November 1870, at the invitation of the Methodist Episcopal missionary and Holiness advocate James Thoburn. Here, however, there was no success among the Indians in the shadow of the mission compounds. At loose ends and still impoverished after months of fruitless efforts, the disappointed Taylor struck out on his own. He preached in the large cities of southern India and established Methodist Episcopal churches, thereby breaking the comity agreements. Churches were founded in Bombay, Calcutta, and dozens of other centers. Drawing on his experiences in California and Australia, Taylor established the churches not as missions but as self-supporting churches—equal, he argued, to any church in North America. He adapted Indian architecture, which, the entrepreneurial impoverished missionary noted, allowed churches to be built for a fraction of the price from available materials and also did not give offense to Indians. After the congregation was established, he appointed a pastor on site and moved on to another city.

This major expansion of Methodist Episcopal churches was not greeted with enthusiasm in the missionary community. The Methodist Episcopal mission was embarrassed by the breaking of the comity agreements with the (English) Wesleyan Methodists. The mission board was angry that this expansion was done without permission and that the new churches, at Taylor’s instruction, insisted on receiving no financial support. The board initiated a ten-year campaign to discredit the concept of self-supporting missions and to force the (eventual) South India Conference to accept American money and status structures as well as mission board control.

Taylor left India early in 1875 for England, where he was invited to preach in the Moody campaigns, often substituting for Moody himself in the main meetings. The British religious press gave him positive coverage, comparing his preaching favorably with that of Moody. After that brief sojourn, he was back in the swirl of controversy engendered by his concept of self-supporting mission. The Methodist Mission Board refused to send out the missionaries Taylor requested, and so he recruited volunteers, raised funds, and sent them himself, including the first Methodist Episcopal missionaries to Burma. Taylor countered mission board claims of irresponsibility, wastefulness, and subordination with his first foray as mission theorist.

The Pauline Method of Missions

In the midst of the controversy over his activities in South India, Taylor wrote his first missiological essay. It was actually a revision of a diary kept during the years in India that described in detail the failures of the traditional approach to mission and Taylor’s lack of success in the traditional mission context, and then chronicled the procedures and results in each city in which self-supporting churches were established. It was a powerful, passionate statement. Taylor universalized his claims, arguing that all mission should be done on a self-supporting model that gives immediate recognition to churches, irrespective of nationality, politics, or geography.

He lacked proof of the theory’s viability in other arenas. South America became the site for his grand experiment. On October 16, 1877, Taylor sailed for South America in steerage to survey the situation. Economic, religious, legal, and political structures were studied. He secured pledges from South Americans to support missionaries he promised to send, found jobs for others as teachers of English and agricultural/industrial arts, and founded fledgling congregations. A Transit and Building Fund was established by Taylor and Holiness entrepreneurs in New York to provide for travel and initial capital expenses. Missionaries were recruited and sent. This unauthorized mission effort again intensified the conflict with the Methodist Episcopal Mission Board. Holiness leaders and congregations, however, rallied to his support and fueled his South American missions (1878–84).

It was during this conflict that Taylor produced his principal volume on mission theory, *Pauline Methods of Missionary Work*. The book set forth the theoretical framework that undergirded Taylor’s missionary enterprise, “a brief exhibit of Pauline methods of missionary work.” The exposition of the mission theory is remarkably concise. Only the first six and one-half pages (about eight hundred words) are devoted to the “Pauline method of planting the gospel in heathen lands.” This is followed by a short chapter arguing that the methods are “suited to the demands of this age.” The third chapter, on the present outlook for Pauline self-supporting missions in foreign countries, draws an analogy between the mission opportunities afforded by the Roman and
British Empires. There are no recognizable sources other than the profuse citations of Pauline biblical texts. The rest of the volume describes the “practical tests” in India and South America before concluding with sixteen pages of lists of donors!

Taylor argued that the goal of Pauline mission is independent churches that are self-supporting, entrusted with their own governance, and committed to an evangelistic style that enables them to grow according to their own cultural patterns. Missionaries are to model and encourage that development. Paul’s mission endeavors as reported in the Acts of the Apostles and the biblical Pauline literature were thereby construed as the paradigmatic basis for articulating a mission theory. Taylor presented the “Pauline plan” in the following list:

1. To plant nothing but pure gospel seed.
2. Paul laid the entire responsibility of Church work and Church government upon his native converts, under the immediate supervision of the Holy Spirit, just as fast as he and his tried and trusted fellow-missionaries could get them well organized, precluding foreign interference. His general administrative bishops were natives of the foreign countries in which he planted the gospel; such men as Timothy and Titus.
3. Paul “endeavored to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace” with the home Jerusalem Churches by all possibilities short of corrupting his gospel seed, or allowing the home Churches to put a yoke of bondage on his neck, or laying any restrictions on his foreign Churches.
4. He went and sent, according to the Master, “without purse or scrip,” or an extra coat, or pair of shoes above the actual requirements of their health and comfort.
5. In utilizing for the advancement of Christ’s kingdom, and for the support of its ministers and institutions, all available agencies and resources, he uniformly commenced in Jewish communities which had become indigenous in all the great centres of population throughout the Roman Empire. . . . As fast as Paul and his fellow-missionaries could get those Jews to receive Christ . . . he organized them in the houses of their leading men and women, into self-supporting Churches and spiritually aggressive combinations of agency for the salvation of their heathen neighbors.
6. To give permanency and continued aggressive force to his organizings . . . he remained in each centre of work long enough only to effect a complete organization . . . (and) to develop the Christian character of each member up to the standard of holiness.

Despite his favorable comparison of the Anglo-Saxon empires to that of Paul’s Rome, for Taylor the British and American presence did not have inherent value. It was merely a historical accident that should be used to the advantage of proclaiming the Gospel. He harbored no illusions about the Christian identity of Anglo-Saxon culture. He felt it was in the process of contaminating the native populations, whereby giving Christianity a bad name. Mission work that did not address the problem posed by heathen expatriates was doomed to failure. The great cities of Asia, Africa, and South America with concentrations of Anglo-Saxons and their descendants were the scenes in which this battle should be fought.

Taylor also argued that one should avoid a confrontational style when relating to other cultural or religious traditions:

The modern method of most of the learned advocates of Christianity in dealing with Buddhists, Mohammedans, Hindoos, and unbelievers at home and abroad, is to set forth their tenets of belief in the form of dogmatic propositions, and proceed with their arguments to prove that those religions of their opponents are all wrong, and that theirs are all right; but unfortunately, their opponents do not admit the premises on which the attacking argument is based, hence the argument is worthless. . . . The Apostles, as sound logicians, always laid the major premise of their arguments in the region of admitted truth.

His respect for Asian, African, and South American cultures is evident in his writings, and his descriptions of peoples and places has enduring ethnographic value. Contrary to most mission publicity efforts, he did not seek to portray others in an unfavorable light and urged his missionaries to adapt to and adopt the host culture. Those who did so needed no furlough, and those who refused to do so should be sent home as soon as possible!

Experience in California, Australia, and India had also taught Taylor that when missionaries insisted on establishing structures that were expensive to maintain, they made it impossible for a church to achieve independence and vitality. He notes that the churches established by the apostles were “purely self-supporting from the start. Its seems never to have entered the minds of the inspired apostles, nor of the people, that the great work of their high calling, the salvation of the world, required the construction of costly edifices, with their expensive appendages, to be called churches, involving a vast outlay of funds, making dependence on rich men a necessity.”

There are several recurring themes in Taylor’s analysis. The desire for independence in the mission processes, both in recruitment and acculturation of converts, is primary. The missions are to be self-supporting with the efforts funded by resources raised among the target population. Missionary leadership is to be temporary but exacting, and missionaries are to model moderate asceticism. These issues were not new with Taylor. What gave these assertions a revolutionary ring in North American mission circles were the underlying assumptions. Perhaps the most provocative was the assumption of the centrality of indigenous economic resources to the mission process, and its corollary that North American or European resources have no advantage or priority over other resources and may even be counterproductive to the development of committed indigenous Christian communities in other cultures. His opponents claimed that the mission board structure was the modern approach to missions; they insisted that the mission agencies receive and channel all funds, maintain instructional control over converts, and directly supervise the missionaries. The American mission establishment was incapable of understanding the significance of Taylor’s critique.

What was better understood was the shift in the reading of the biblical text. In Taylor’s early writings, the biblical stories of Paul’s exploits were used to illustrate concerns and techniques with special attention to theological content. In Pauline Methods of Missionary Work Paul’s missionary activity is taken as a normative model for modern missions; the Pauline narratives become

The biblical Paul became a battleground for competing mission theories.
paradigmatic. Thus the biblical Paul became a battleground for competing mission theories.

Proving the Theory: William Taylor as Model

This small missiological essay by itself would not have made a long-term impact on mission theory. Taylor's *Pauline Method* achieved lasting significance because he was able to maintain a public discussion for nearly two decades. This discussion continued on two levels: (1) the dispute with the Methodist Mission Board and, more important, (2) the presentation of "scientific proof" that the method worked by narrating in detail his own experiences in many religious journals. The two foci were always closely related. Taylor, being unaware of the depth of the sociocultural gulf separating him and his supporters from the mission board and their nouveau riche urban constituency, naively thought that if he could only demonstrate that the method produced the results the mission board seemed to seek, the board would legitimate and adopt the theory. The appeal to popular opinion kept those alienated by the embourgeoisement of American Methodism after the Civil War supportive of his cause.

In 1882 the General Missionary Committee, in support of the mission board, forced Taylor and his missionaries to "locate" in local churches. Taylor responded by becoming a member of a local church in the South India conference but stayed in South America, where he pastored in Coquimbo, Chile, and loosely supervised his missionaries. While there, he was chosen as a lay delegate to the 1884 General Conference by the South India conference, which was still struggling to resist mission board domination and funds. At the 1884 General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Taylor was elected missionary bishop for Africa. As part of a compromise arrangement, the mission board agreed to continue the "self-supporting" tradition of the new Methodist Episcopal churches in South America. This arrangement was continued until Taylor's retirement, when the board asserted more direct control of local mission activity and churches, a move that led to the development of Pentecostalism in Chile and Peru.

As missionary bishop (1884–96), Taylor had more visibility but no success in changing the ecclesiastical and mission board structures. He also had no success in weaning the Methodist Church in Liberia from the board's supervision and financial infusions. Always clear, often strident, he continued to argue for the "Pauline Method." His books and articles describing mission work in India, Latin America, and Africa continued the discussion long after his retirement and death.

It was the life of William Taylor as narrated and interpreted by himself that provided the base for mission theories in the Holiness churches and, eventually, the European Pentecostal churches. Paul's model received for thousands of missionaries its definitive exegesis in the intense entrepreneurial style that remained unwavering in its conviction and that sacrificed all else for the cause of the propagation of the Gospel.

There are myriad examples of individuals who became missionaries on Taylor's example and sought to accomplish the same goals. These individuals became the theorists and practitioners of the next generation of revivalist mission, including most Holiness and Pentecostal efforts, both in North America and Europe and in the so-called Third World. For example, Taylor served as model for Free Methodist Vivian Dake, the Pentecostal Bards, and A. B. Simpson. William Sherman and Anna Abrams established the Vanguard Mission, a mission organization based on Taylor's principles in St. Louis that influenced the Wesleyan/Holiness and Pentecostal movements. Lela McConnell, convinced of Taylor's program, developed a self-supporting mission in eastern Kentucky. Fort Wayne College was moved to Upland, Indiana, and renamed Taylor University, by which the board and administrators affirmed their independence from denominational controls on the model of Taylor's program of missional self-reliance. Within European and Chilean Pentecostalism, Taylor provided a theoretical basis for local autonomy and a model for indigenous mission activity. In the present generation he is being rediscovered in Latin American Pentecostal missiology. He thus had a formative influence on the Holiness and Pentecostal movements, the eleventh and third largest Christian communions respectively. He also inspired numerous Methodist missionaries. Among Methodist missionaries to India, for example, he was the inspiration of, among others, J. and I. Thoburn, E. Stanley Jones, J. Waskom Pickett, Frederick Bohn Fisher, and E. A. Seamands. In many ways it was Taylor who is primarily responsible for the rapid expansion of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the late nineteenth century. It was the theory of Pauline methods modeled by his life that achieved that legacy. As a theologian who wrote before Nevius and Allen, William Taylor deserves attention as an eminent mission thinker.

Notes

1. For a detailed analysis of Taylor's life, ministry, and publishing history, see D. Bundy, "Bishop William Taylor and Methodist Missions: A Study in Nineteenth Century Social History," *Methodist History* 27, no. 4 (July 1989): 197-210; 28, no. 1 (October 1989): 2-21. Taylor's papers have not been located and probably no longer exist. Most extant letters and other relevant unpublished works are mentioned in the above article.
4. Taylor's breaking of the comity agreements was a major issue at the first Methodist Ecumenical Conference, held in London in 1881.
6. Taylor's account was published as *Our South American Cousins* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1878; New York: Nelson and Phillips).
10. The hierarchy’s intent was to reassert control over Methodist clergy, insisting that they would lose their Methodist ecclesiastical standing if they remained in missionary activity not approved, controlled, and funded by the Methodist Mission Board. This effort failed, as only one of the Taylor missionaries left the field of service to return to the United States. It is also worth noting that, contrary to the practice of the established mission boards, Taylor recruited women (including single women) without prejudice and appointed them to positions in which they were able to design, found, and direct their own mission programs.

11. The election of Taylor as missionary bishop was the result of a remarkable and unorganized coalition. The mission board attempted to control him with a salary and remove him from South America: Holiness advocates saw him as their representative; racist Methodist Episcopal clergy and laity used his election to avoid being forced to confront the idea of electing an African-American bishop. On this, see D. Bundy, “Bishop William Taylor,” part 2, pp. 10–12. For the larger cultural context, see Victor B. Howard, Religion and the Radical Republican Movement, 1860–1870 (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1990).


Bibliography

Selected Works by William Taylor


1858 California Life Illustrated. New York: Carlton and Porter.


1882 Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions in India. New York: Phillips and Hunt.


Taylor also edited a number of periodicals, the most important of which are African News (1889–94), Illustrated Christian World (1894–98), and Illustrated Africa (1891–96). There appears to be no significant collection of manuscript materials. Individual letters are scattered throughout the United States in the personal papers of his correspondents. However, much of his correspondence (together with appeals from his supporters) appears to have been published in various periodicals, including the Christian Advocate (various regional editions), the Gospel in All Lands, the Guide to Holiness, Zion’s Herald, Divine Life, the Vanguard, and Indian Witness, as well as his own publications.

Selected Works about Taylor


The Legacy of Henry G. Appenzeller

Edward W. Poitras

The rapid growth of the Christian churches of Korea has attracted attention in recent years. Researchers explore the contrast of growth in Korea as compared with the limited growth in China and Japan, searching for a "secret of success" to assist church growth elsewhere. There is a parallel interest in mission history, which has led to a number of studies by Westerners of missionary pioneers and their methods. Korean historians also have been reexamining Korean Christian history from their standpoint, producing a story that is often at variance with more familiar accounts.

In such a context Methodist pioneer in Korea Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858–1902) proves to be a figure who resists explanation through familiar generalizations. Appenzeller's work was influential in a number of ways, if only because he helped set mission precedents in Korea. This article sketches the main contours of Appenzeller's contribution to early Protestant Christianity in Korea and suggests some ways in which his work and thought influenced subsequent generations.

Background and Formation

Henry Appenzeller's family came from Swiss and German stock in Pennsylvania. His parents belonged to the German Reformed Church, although his mother had been a Mennonite. He attended Franklin and Marshall College, which was at that time under the influence of the Mercersburg theology of John W. Nevin and Philip Schaff. That meant a solid liberal arts foundation joined to a piety rooted in the Christian tradition, with stress upon church and sacraments, while critical of the excesses of the camp-meeting revivalism of that era.

Nevertheless, Appenzeller was attracted to the Methodist Episcopal Church in Lancaster, probably because of its evangelical outreach and lively fellowship. He joined at age twenty one, about three years after his conversion, then served as a Methodist preacher before attending theological school at Drew.

At that time Drew was fighting the battle for an educated clergy in an anti-intellectual Methodist environment. The school toed a conservative theological line, in part to prove it was not undermining the Methodist evangelical impulse, even requiring of its faculty an oath of fidelity to Methodist doctrines.

Appenzeller volunteered for overseas missionary service while at Drew. A week or so before receiving his appointment to Korea, Appenzeller married Ella Dodge, who had been raised a Baptist. Thus, by the time Henry and Ella Appenzeller headed for Korea, their lives represented a more diverse background than might be expected of Methodists in their day.

Appenzeller was a forceful, confident representative of a nineteenth-century American missionary tradition supremely assured of its culture and theology, and which thought in military metaphors of "conquering the world for Christ." In him, however, this was tempered by an awareness of the views and needs of others and a willingness to cooperate; this produced a missionary stance that was unusually sensitive and complex.

Edward W. Poitras, a United Methodist missionary in Korea from 1953 to 1990, is Professor of World Christianity at Perkins School of Theology, Dallas, Texas.

Appenzeller was among the first Protestant missionaries sent from the United States. The Appenzellers arrived in Inchon with their Presbyterian counterpart, Horace Underwood, on Easter morning, 1885. The arrival on this all-important day of the Christian calendar increased their sense of historic destiny, reinforcing hopes that their trailblazing would eventuate in a Christian Korea.

Seoul was then in the throes of a political struggle, which forced the postponement of evangelistic activity. Missionaries could join in medical work or begin educational projects but could not preach or organize churches. There had been bloody persecutions of Catholic Christians only twenty years before, so Appenzeller and the others acquiesced, although they did not give up their intention to evangelize and hoped that their work would awaken an interest in the Gospel. Until the restrictions were lifted, evangelism among Koreans was conducted in secret, and not without confrontations with both Korean officials and cautious missionaries and mission board secretaries. By the fall of 1887 it was possible to conduct worship in public for Koreans, so a chapel was opened and services begun.

During the first two years Appenzeller spent much time preparing a missionary residence. Dr. William B. Sc anton, a medical doctor, had come with his wife, daughter, and mother. (His mother, Mrs. Mary F. Sc anton, was to pioneer in women's education.) The Appenzellers and Sc antons joined in establishing a Methodist compound in the foreign enclave near the American and British legations; they took pride in creating a "miniature America" that might become an example to Koreans of enlightened family living.

Appenzeller's life was cut short in 1902, at the height of his powers at the age of 44, in a collision of small coastal steamers as he traveled to attend a meeting. Although a strong swimmer, he was reported to have lost his life attempting to save others, further reinforcing the tendency toward heroic interpretations of his missionary career.

Institutional Legacy

First among Appenzeller's accomplishments was the founding of a boys' school, which the Korean king named Paichai Hakdang, or "Hall for Rearing Useful Men," in February of 1887. Appenzeller saw this school as a means of exposing young Korean men to the Gospel, introducing beneficial Western knowledge into Korean society, training Koreans to lead Korean Methodism, and establishing a fully rounded university.

In 1890 Appenzeller began the Trilingual Press at Paichai, to provide work scholarship help for students. This Korean, Chinese, and English press became the home of important publications, including the Korean Christian Advocate, the first Korean-language Christian newspaper, and the Independent, which became the focus of Paichai's commitment to the Korean independence movement.

Appenzeller was also one of the founders of the Korean Methodist Church and helped to establish many other Protestant religious institutions. He founded the Chong Dong, or First Methodist Church in Seoul, and served as its pastor for most of the years from its start in 1887 as the Bethel Chapel until his death.
A brick church building was completed in 1897. Chong Dong Testament that he and a Korean translator lost their lives on their way to a meeting in Mokpo.

Appenzeller's other principal activity was his participation in the translation of the Bible into Korean. He was on the Board of Bible Translators from 1886, a work he shared with several of the early Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries and a number of Korean translators. It was in the course of his work on the Old Testament that he and a Korean translator lost their lives on their way to a meeting in Mokpo.

Appenzeller was involved in other activities that led to the founding of lasting institutions. He opened a bookstore in 1894, edited the Korean Repository and Korea Review to introduce Korea abroad, and was active in the Korean Asiatic Society. He helped found the Seoul Union Church, mainly serving missionaries and other expatriates in Seoul, and the Seoul Union Club, a social and recreational organization for foreigners. Appenzeller also served for a time as the superintendent of the Methodist mission group in Korea.

It has been said that "Appenzeller left three visible symbols of his contribution to the Korean people: Paichai College Hall, the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Seoul, and the New Testament in Korean." Paichai Hall is gone, but the school has a proud history and lately produced Paichai University in Taejon, the institution of which Appenzeller dreamed, Chong Dong First Methodist Church continues in a much larger building next to the structure Appenzeller struggled to underwrite in the 1890s. The Bible has gone through many translations since 1886, including a common translation done jointly with the Roman Catholic Church.

Appenzeller's Intangible Legacy

It is more difficult to specify those ways in which Henry Gerhard Appenzeller may have influenced subsequent generations of missionaries and Korean Christians through his thought and attitudes. The following is not exhaustive but may help toward sorting out an extremely complex and much-disputed history.

Attitudes toward Korea

From their earliest contact the Appenzellers were impressed with the otherness of Korea. Henry and Ella were fascinated by a terrain and culture of exotic beauty but were disturbed by the sight of so many people living in conditions that seemed backward, harsh, and unhealthy. Henry hastened to introduce Christianity and progressive Western culture; Ella seems to have retreated into a compound that duplicated Western living as nearly as possible. While Henry ventured beyond Seoul in search of places to plant Christian churches, he seems never to have considered adapting to Korean cultural ways, although he struggled from the beginning to master the language.

One reason for this cultural distancing seems to have derived from Appenzeller's anti-Catholic bias. He felt that the Catholic missioners' wearing of Korean clothing and following Korean ways was dishonest and suggested to him a devious camouflaging of the distinctiveness of Christianity. He was also suspicious of French political maneuverings and seems to have felt that the Catholic missionaries were cooperating in a subversion of Korea's political independence. As result of this and a growing concern about the encroachments of both Russia and Japan in Korea, Appenzeller was confirmed in his belief that a frank expression of Americanness was the best method of pursuing missionary work.

Long before the emergence of an internationally recognized Korean independence movement in 1919, Appenzeller became firmly committed to Korean independence and autonomy. He felt for a time that Japan might hold the key to Korean development, but he became disillusioned as he witnessed the reality of Japanese control. He believed that Koreans could master their own destiny only through Western-style knowledge and political institutions.

In his early years in Korea, Appenzeller commented upon the laziness, dishonesty, and inequality he saw as rampant in Korean life, and upon the baneful influence of Confucianism and other religious traditions, especially ancestor worship. This early rejection of things Korean gradually gave way to a more positive appreciation of the culture and people. He began to probe the literature about Asian religions and even made comments about positive aspects in the Confucian tradition.

Appenzeller was the kind of person who respected others and acknowledged their abilities. He had high praise for Korean associates and their Christian faith and sought to put authority and leadership into Korean hands as quickly as possible, believing that this would assure progress in evangelization. But he retained the paternalistic attitude of reserving the right to decide when the transfer of leadership should take place.

Missionary Approaches

Appenzeller, like most of his colleagues, believed that the central purpose of all missionary effort was conversion. Even though he affirmed the value of meeting human need on all levels, from the medical to the intellectual, he said that the reason missionaries were in Korea was to bring Koreans to repentance and Christian belief. This was the heyday of the triumphalist vision of building Christian nations, and Appenzeller had no qualms about struggling heroically toward that ideal.

The sense of historic destiny as a pioneer, combined with Appenzeller's commitment to Korean cultural and political development and his determination to bring Koreans to personal religious commitment, led him into many confrontations and risky undertakings. Appenzeller actively supported antigovernment political movements among the students at his Paichai school and even gave sanctuary in his home to persons wanted by the Korean police. He also pursued direct evangelistic activities when they were expressly forbidden by Korean law and the orders of missionary supervisors and colleagues.

There was a strong competitive spirit among some of the early missionaries that contrasted with the positive cooperation so obvious between Methodist Appenzeller and Presbyterian Underwood. The two mission boards in New York also encouraged competition, and each seemed quite jealous of the other, eager to be the first to establish any new work in Korea.

Many interpreters of early Protestant mission work in Korea have claimed that the Methodists preferred to engage in educa-
tional and medical work, while the Presbyterians gave their attention to church planting. This interpretation seems mistaken, however, for both Appenzeller and Underwood, together with many colleagues, seem to have been committed to a diverse approach with evangelism at the center.

Approach to American Constituency

Appenzeller was so completely immersed in Western values and familiar Western cultural patterns that he never seems to have questioned the appropriateness of duplicating those structures in Korea. He seems not to have considered whether institutional maintenance might not be compatible or might compete for energies and resources with the central task of direct evangelism. Yet while he began a course of missionary work that soon engaged him inextricably with building and maintaining institutions, he had the good sense to avoid financial overextension, although fund-raising consumed much time and effort.

He was probably exceptional in suggesting at one point that his supporting churches refrain from sending further financial contributions for a while so that the centrality of the gospel call to repentance would not be compromised. In addition, he seems to have avoided the pattern of projecting a missionary story that did not correspond to the realities of his work. Although Appenzeller wrote many articles and spoke in the United States in a way designed to arouse sympathy and generate support, he seems not to have gone beyond the facts.

Appenzeller did, however, perpetuate some misunderstandings and inaccuracies about Korea and Asia. His picture of the state of hardship and backwardness of the people of Korea did not always include recognition of the cultural achievements that he only gradually came to appreciate. To his credit, though, Appenzeller continued in his cooperative work, pursued his educational and translating goals, and served a broad spectrum of social groups in Korea, despite pressures to concentrate more on Methodist matters and to avoid politically sensitive issues.

Theological Legacy

Appenzeller was not much given to theological reflection, preferring to immerse himself in action, confining his writing more to political and work-related matters. His theological stance must be inferred from those documents and the sermons that must be inferred from those documents and the sermons that remain, some of them from the earliest, even pre-Korea days. The overall pattern suggests a robust, assured, triumphalist American missionary, expressly conservative in theology, unself-conscious about his culture, and secure in a traditional missionary method, but tempered somewhat by a diversity of background and an emerging openness toward different viewpoints.

Appenzeller’s theological position was salvation centered, concerned with the power, love, and hope to be found through the positive preaching of the gospel message. Appenzeller was aware of the biblical scholarship of the day, yet followed a conservative, almost literal, exposition of the Scriptures when dealing with such issues as resurrection, judgment, creation, and the dispute over evolution. He opposed the doctrine of predetermination, as a Methodist would, yet had no sympathy for universalism. He had a passion for ethics and personal piety, and his opposition to alcohol and tobacco may have led to Presbyterian Horace Allen’s calling him “a most ardent Methodist of the John Wesley type.”

Although he allowed for the revelation of truth in other religions and the possibility of salvation before Christianity is known, Appenzeller held firmly that full salvation is possible only through Jesus Christ. He felt that other religions could provide a preparation for the Gospel, especially by sensitizing persons to religious need. The core of his preaching was Christ’s power to save individuals from sin. Persons may be accepted and taught in the Christian community before they have conformed to Christian standards, but the goal is always a full integration into the experience, beliefs, and moral life of biblical Christianity as Appenzeller envisioned it.

Despite the strongly individualistic emphasis of much of Appenzeller’s perspective, he had a powerful sense of social justice. The vision he held for Korean society was Western in its structures, yet the principles of love and justice were consistently related to biblical themes.

One message relating to both society and religion was Appenzeller’s frequent call for positive, constructive living. He felt that “the rubbish of idolatry, superstition and custom” must be removed to make way for a bright, positive life free of the dark, enervating work of Satan.

Assessing the Legacy

How much of this constitutes a “legacy,” and how much was never realized because of Appenzeller’s early death? Certainly the institutions which he helped found contributed to the emergence and growth of Korean Methodism, the Korean ecumenical movement, and the modern Korean nation. Many of Appenzeller’s convictions were shared, affirmed, and transmitted, both by sympathetic missionary colleagues and by convinced Korean Christians.

Korean Protestantism retains to this day an evangelical fervor that has contributed to steady growth in most denominations. The prevailing theological climate remains conservative, with a strong biblicist current. How far these characteristics derived from the pioneers and how much came from later conservative missionaries may be impossible to determine. A more liberal theological position was taken by some early missionaries and persists as a minority view in Korea. Appenzeller’s positions do not fit easily into the narrower positions of subsequent groups but cover a wider spectrum of theological and social stances.

At the same time, a number of conflicts, both visible and latent, had begun to emerge even during Appenzeller’s time.

Appenzeller’s place in Korean Methodist history is secure, but the precise nature of his legacy will be debated for years to come.

Some missionaries had opposed support of the early independence movement, and this would become even more divisive during the Japanese period after 1910. Soon after Appenzeller’s death, Korean pastors would raise questions about a more positive relationship between Korean religious and cultural traditions and the Christian gospel. The separateness of the Western lifestyle of the missionaries isolated them in their foreign enclave during Appenzeller’s years of service. There was also resentment...
over the missionaries’ retention of administrative and financial power in the emerging Korean churches.

While there were a few notable incidents revealing these problems, they were left unresolved for many years, and only recently have Korean historians brought such matters to light. Appenzeller, to the extent that he remained insensitive to the implications of Western cultural domination in the Korea mission, contributed to this legacy of resentment and tension. As for his theological position, his emphases on evangelism and individual conversion, conservative biblical hermeneutics, strict morals, and the social implications of Christian faith have all been carried forward, though often by separate groups held in a tenuous unity within Korean Methodism.

Appenzeller’s legacy is not preserved in a corpus of published works but in less personal ways through institutions and ideas carried forward by others who have added their unique contributions. Although this appropriately reflects the corporate nature of Christian life, it makes Appenzeller’s legacy difficult to isolate. His place in Korean Methodist history is secure, but the precise nature of his legacy will be debated for years to come.

Notes

1. See the bibliographic note below for some recent works.

2. Davies’s Life and Thought of Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858–1902), Missionary to Korea (1988) is the most thorough study to date and may be consulted for further details about much of the information presented here.

3. Appenzeller was fond of this military imagery and once preached a sermon entitled “The Christian Soldier” (Sermon no. 115, dated September 21, 1884). In an address he once said, “We are here to take this country for the Lord Jesus Christ” (Address no. 151, p. 3 [unnumbered pages]). See also Sermon no. 132 for more on this theme. (Sermons, documents, and other Appenzeller items cited here and below are located in the Appenzeller Papers, Union Theological Seminary Library, New York.)

4. Some of these events are related in Davies, Life and Thought, chap. 4.

5. Ella Appenzeller wrote in a letter in 1886, “We, with the Presbyterians and the Legations, are making this end of the city a miniature America. We can show thousands what a home is like, and have made ours as pleasant as possible” (Ella Appenzeller to Mrs. J. S. Wadsworth, May 14, 1886, quoted in ibid., p. 185). See also a quote in Griffith, Henry G. Appenzeller: A Modern Pioneer in Korea, p. 101. Ordinary Koreans were ill at ease entering this enclave, prompting Dr. William Scorton, who lived there, to move his medical clinic to a location near the South Gate Market, leading to the establishment of the Sang Dong Methodist Church.

6. Some of this information is summarized in Griffith, Appenzeller, pp. 224–27.

7. Davies, Life and Thought, p. 325.

8. Appenzeller, for example, never became used to Korean food and, like most other Protestants, viewed Korean culture from the standpoint of an outsider observer.

9. Some of this is dealt with in Griffith, Appenzeller, pp. 160–61.

10. “We do not go about in the mourner’s garb [ordinary daily clothing] of the Koreans as do the Jews, but are open and frank in all our dealings with the Koreans” (Methodist Missionary Report, 1886, p. 267); “Every thing, therefore, that we do or can do is done with the consciousness that the law is against us and may at any time be enforced” (ibid., 1887, p. 314).

11. Davies refers to Appenzeller’s successful opposition to Bishop Earl Cranston’s wish to grant full equality to Korean local preachers in 1898. Appenzeller felt that the Koreans were not yet adequately prepared. See Davies, Life and Thought, pp. 323–24.


15. See Hunt, Protestant Pioneers in Korea, chap. 3, for more details.


17. I have dealt with Appenzeller’s thought in more detail in my article “The Theology and Missionary Strategy of Henry G. Appenzeller.”

18. Sermon 104, p. 4; Sermon 123, p. 6, and other references.

19. This is alluded to by Appenzeller in Sermon 137, p. 9.

20. See Sermon 110 and Sermon 111.


22. Appenzeller’s view of other religions was generally negative. He wrote, “Buddhism wrecked the last dynasty after a supremacy of 480 years; Confucianism has had sway for more than 500 years and has brought the country to the verge of ruin; Shamanism with its gods

23. See Address no. 150, p. 9, on this point.

24. Quoted in Griffith, Appenzeller, p. 163.

25. This can be seen in the ministry and thought of the Rev. Byong Hon Choi (1858–1927), colleague of Appenzeller’s and considered to be one of the first to attempt a Korean theology. His life and work have been extensively reviewed (in the Korean language) in Sinhak Gwa Saige (Theology and the World), no. 6 (Seoul: Methodist Theological Seminary, 1980).

26. Among the many historians who could be mentioned, the work of Presbyterian Kyong-Bae Min and Methodist Dok-Ju Lee are representative of the new Korean historical approach.

Bibliographic Note

The best bibliography of Appenzeller material is in Daniel M. Davies, The Life and Thought of Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858–1902), Missionary to Korea (Lewiswon, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988), pp. 409–44 (a published form of Davies’s 1986 Drew University Ph.D. dissertation). The most important single source is the Henry Gerhard Appenzeller Papers, lodged at the Union Theological Seminary Library in New York City. Some of these papers were transcribed in typewritten form under the sponsorship of Chong Dong First Methodist Church (Seoul) in 1986, in six volumes under the series title H. G. Appenzeller Papers. Other important archival collections are located at the United Methodist Archives Center and University Archives at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, and at Yonsei and Ewha Woman’s Universities in Seoul. Recent works based upon research in the H. G. Appenzeller Papers are Everett N. Hunt, Jr., Protestant Pioneers in Korea (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1980); Martha Huntley, Caring, Growing, Changing: A History of the Protestant Mission in Korea (New York: Friendship Press, 1984); Edward W. Poitras, “The Theology and Missionary Strategy of Henry G. Appenzeller, Pioneer Methodist Missionary to Korea” (in English), in Sinhak Gwa Saige (Theology and the World), no. 11 (Seoul: Methodist Theological Seminary, 1985); and Davies Life and Thought.


Most mission histories of Korea and many other works touch on Appenzeller and the pioneer missionaries. Among the better known and more useful are George Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea: 1832–1910, 3d ed. (Seoul: Yonsei Univ. Press, 1980); and Charles D. Stokes, “History of Protestant Missions in Korea: 1885–1930” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1947).

Writings by and about Appenzeller appear in many mission reports and periodicals. Aside from Griffith and other similar annual reports, some are The Independent (New York, 1885–1902); The Independent (Tongnip Sinnum), vols. 1–4 (Seoul: Trilingual Press); The Korean Mission Field, vols. 2–37 (Seoul); The Korea Repository, vols. 1–5 (Seoul: Trilingual Press, 1892, 1895–98); The Methodist Review (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1885–1902); and Theological Review (Seoul: Methodist Publishing House, 1900–1920).
Book Reviews


In New Directions in Mission and Evangelization, James Scherer and Stephen Bevans offer missiologists a very significant and helpful tool for listening, reflecting, and teaching. The series might be viewed as a contemporary version of Mission Trends, which appeared during the 1970s, edited by Gerald Anderson and Thomas Stranksy.

In this second volume, devoted to theological foundations, Scherer and Bevans are intentional about recording contributions to the search for "new" directions—particularly in response to David Bosch's call for the emergence of a "postmodern, ecumenical missionary paradigm" (p. xi). The level of this volume's interaction with Bosch can be seen in how frequently he is cited in the chapters, as well as in the dedication of this volume to him. In volume 2 the editors "attempt to gather together articles and statements that, in one way or another, reflect efforts of missiologists and churchpersons to explore the various theological foundations on which the church's missionary efforts are based" (p. xi).

The book is made up of fourteen essays and two regional statements, organized in five asymmetrical parts: "The Nature of Mission," "Historical Background," "Missionary Praxis," "The Study of Mission," and "Documentation". Although the essays included should probably be viewed as being illustrative rather than representative, as the editors themselves have recognized (p. xiii), yet the book offers an excellent collection that will stimulate the reader toward further and deeper theological reflection in missiology.

Some of the theological themes common to many of the essays will be of particular interest. A strong consensus emerges throughout the volume that a postmodern ecumenical missionary paradigm would be Trinitarian; kingdom-of-God oriented; holistic in terms of the motivation, agents, methods, and goals of mission; emerging from the nature of the Gospel; flowing from the nature and purpose of the church; deriving from a biblical understanding of the mission of God; participating in the mission of Christ; and constantly changing. Interestingly, many of these themes are central to the opening chapter by Orlando Costas and are also echoed in the two documents that come from Latin America and the Caribbean—regions and cultures close to Costas's heart.

The collection includes offerings from the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, conciliar, and evangelical traditions. Future volumes should include more contributions from Pentecostal, charismatic, and new "postdenominational" streams, including Two-Thirds World theologians and missiologists involved in some of the most creative and explosive mission praxis and reflection in the world of today.

These last observations are made in the spirit of strongly affirming the directions and concerns that Scherer and Bevans demonstrate in this series. I would enthusiastically recommend this volume for study and classroom use by mission pastors, practitioners, supporters, and teachers.

—Chuck Van Engen

Born and raised in Mexico of missionary parents, Chuck Van Engen served as theological educator, mission administrator, preacher, and evangelist in southern Mexico for twelve years. He is presently Associate Professor of Mission and Latin American Studies at the School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California.

Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century.


Timothy Yates, Anglican evangelical missiologist, has produced a superbly readable digest of twentieth-century missiological themes and movements, together with an engaging account of the formative persons most closely linked to them. A special merit of the book is that Continental missiology (Warneck, Gutmann, Keysser, et al.) receives in-depth treatment alongside British, American, Dutch, Scandinavian, South African, and other varieties. Yates organizes the history of twentieth-century missiology under dominant themes such as proclamation, presence, dialogue, church of the people, church growth, and so forth. His aim is to provide historical perspective on the development of missiology, which he believes is best done "when history and theology are held in tension...so that the analysis of the form in which the gospel is expressed, the theory of the mission, is related firmly to the setting" (p. 5). While this undoubtedly results in compression and some oversimplification, it guarantees a more lucid and orderly treatment of the field.

Yates's historic treatment of grand themes of the period from 1910 to 1990 makes earlier missiology come alive and demonstrates a rich field for investigation. Revisiting earlier mission scenes such as the Edinburgh and Jerusalem Conferences, the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, the "Tambaram Debate," formation of the Church of South India, IMC-WCC Integration, Vatican II, Uppsala, Lausanne, and many others, the author digs deeply enough into each event to reveal its hidden depths and enduring significance. Using key quotations and citing contributions and crucial interventions by persons like John R. Mott, J. H. Oldham, Hendrik Kraemer, Donald McGavran, John Stott, and a host of others, Yates makes it abundantly clear that today's missiology would benefit greatly from a careful review of lessons from the past.

While Yates's purpose is to provide a comprehensive overview and not to advocate a particular position, he leaves no doubt that his special heroes are the Cambridge-trained mission evangelicals Max Warren, Stephen Neill, and Lesslie Newbigin. His own approach is judicious, scholarly, balanced, and warmly sympathetic to the cause of mission in unity. Yates's ironic stance points to a growing convergence between conciliar, evangelical, Roman Catholic, Third World, and other expressions of missiology. His sur-
vey ends with no stunning conclusions but a modest restatement of mission essentials: missionary witness, conversion, encounter with context, gathering of people, relation of church to kingdom.

Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century will serve as an extremely useful refresher course for teachers and other readers of missiology and can safely be placed in the hands of beginning students. Unfortunately, its steep purchase price is likely to deter many potential purchasers. It is to be hoped that the publisher will soon make available a budget-priced American paperback version.

—James A. Scherer


Wilfred Cantwell Smith asks a very important question and attempts to answer it with massive scholarship. In the process, he examines what constitutes “scripture” in the Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Chinese, and Western classical traditions and provides a history of the changing usage given to the term “scripture.”

Scripture is a human activity, according to Smith, and its meaning is that given to it by the community that brought it into being and lives by it. “There is no ontology of scripture”; whether “scripture” be a viable category is therefore a matter finally of no great moment.” It is more an adverb than a noun pointing to “a mode of our relating to the world” (p. 237).

We are informed that “we are heir to a shift in meaning of the term ‘scripture’ from its specifying something originally celestial to its characterizing various matters on this earth” (p. 221) and that “people make a scripture” (p. 18). These and many other descriptions cannot be gainsaid, but for Cantwell Smith they become theological statements; scriptures regarded as unique and transcendent by their communities are, for Smith, in reality purely human constructs.

The book is of great value because it expresses clearly the spirit of the age, which would rob the church of its unique Scripture and therefore of its mission. But from where does Cantwell Smith derive his Olympian certainty that enables him to pronounce on all scriptures? How does he
know that none of the scriptures that he examines is uniquely celestial? One is tempted to wonder whether there is an unlisted scripture private and unique to Smith that absolutizes his relativizing and enables him to propose a scriptural “sacrament” (p. 240) through which we hear “the voice of the universe” (p. 242)? Or is all his erudition an apology for a New Age without revelation and therefore without demand?

—H. Dan Beeby

H. Dan Beeby is a consultant to the British and Foreign Bible Society, Swindon, England.

Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology.


For Protestant missions, few countries—if any—have made a greater contribution or had a greater influence historically, relative to its size and population, than Scotland. Therefore this major new reference work on Scottish church history and theology, which gives generous space and attention to the Scottish missionary enterprise, is most welcome by mission scholars. The scope of the work is comprehensive, with over 2,000 articles on biographies, theology, hymnology, liturgy, religious bodies, art and architecture, and historical events and movements—with mission a thread throughout.

The centerpiece on missions is a twenty-seven-page magisterial article by Andrew F. Walls of Edinburgh that covers the history, theory, and outstanding figures, as well as a regional survey of Scottish mission work overseas and an extensive bibliography. The other major feature highlighting missions is found in the numerous biographical articles of important Scottish missionaries, ranging from David Livingstone to James Chalmers, Alexander Duff, J. N. Farquhar, James Legge, Robert Moffat, Andrew Murray, Leslie Newbigin, J. H. Oldham, John Philip, Mary Siesser, and dozens of others. The work is very well done—writing, editing, proofreading, bibliographies—and all with ecumenical scope and balance.

—Gerald H. Anderson

Gerald H. Anderson is Editor of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH and Director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut.

Robert Laws: Servant of Africa


Hamish MacIntosh, after a distinguished career as a pastor that began with his years as chaplain of Glasgow University, has dedicated the first years of his retirement to preparing this life of Robert Laws. Laws’s life and work were central to the growth of Christianity in both Malawi, where he stayed from 1875 to 1927, and Zambia. MacIntosh has produced a meticulously researched and footnoted study of this extraordinary man that will replace the much-reprinted Laws of Livingstonia, a book that is full of important information but that, infuriatingly, is without references or footnotes of any kind.

Almost every aspect of Laws’s life in both Scotland and Malawi has been explored. MacIntosh, while admiring Laws

THE PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS

Research Advancement Grants for Projects in Mission Studies and World Christianity

The Religion Program of The Pew Charitable Trusts invites proposals for large-scale projects that will enhance team research and publication in studies of Christian Mission and non-Western Christianity. Grants for two- to three-year collaborative projects with costs ranging from $50,000—$100,000 (U.S.) per year will be made on a competitive basis for work that will significantly advance understanding of cross-cultural mission or the development of Christianity in the non-Western world. Projects should be directed by one or more established scholars, have access to appropriate research facilities, involve scholars from non-Western cultures and contribute to the intellectual and cross-cultural vitality of the world Christian movement. Projects that are international and interdisciplinary and that elicit significant contributions from the Two-Thirds World are particularly welcome. Two or three grants will be awarded at the end of 1995, subject to the quality of proposals received and the availability of funds.

Send letters of inquiry (three pages maximum) outlining the main purpose, components and cost of the intended project by May 15, 1995 to:

Geoffrey A. Little, Coordinator
Research Advancement Grants
Overseas Ministries Study Center
490 Prospect Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06511-2196
U.S.A.
Tel: (203) 865-1827
Fax: (203) 865-2857

October 1994

183
fully explored, as are his mistakes in judging courage and determination that made evangelized northeastern Zambia, and had a profound impact, as migrant workers, Livingstonia Mission what it was. From it rightly insists that it was Laws’s unflinching reference to Afrikaners as Dutch. There is, however, one major omission. Laws encouraged the beginning of a movement among educated African Christians, whose branches were referred to as Native Associations (the first was in 1912). These were educational discussion groups designed to prepare men and women for leadership in the new Africa that Laws insisted was coming. The members of these groups, which spread all over Malawi, in 1944 formed the Nyasaland African Congress.

In spite of these limitations, this is a worthwhile and useful study of an extraordinary man. —Andrew C. Ross

APPLICATIONS INVITED FOR RESEARCH PROJECTS IN MISSION AND WORLD CHRISTIANITY

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

- Field research for doctoral dissertations
- Post-doctoral book research and writing projects
- Missiological consultations (small scale)
- Planning grants for major interdisciplinary research projects

The Research Enablement Program is designed to foster scholarship that will contribute to the intellectual vitality of the Christian world mission and enhance the worldwide understanding of the Christian movement in the non-Western world. Projects that are cross-cultural, collaborative and interdisciplinary are especially welcome. The deadline for receiving 1995 grant applications is December 1, 1994. For further information and official application forms please contact:

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

This Program is supported by a grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts.

Dorothy Carey: The Tragic and Untold Story of Mrs. William Carey.


One of the most famous pioneers in the modern missionary movement was William Carey, who served in India from 1793 to 1834. Carey was one of the founding members of the Baptist Missionary Society and is known for his linguistic skills and for the message of his life, “Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God.”

Little is known of Carey’s unfortunate first wife, Dorothy Plackett Carey, except that she suffered severe mental problems during most of her life in India. Historians have generally been unsympathetic to Dorothy.

Through extensive research, James R. Beck gained as thorough a knowledge as possible of Dorothy’s life, both in England and in India. She left no letters or diaries, and Beck states many questions that cannot be answered satisfactorily. Beck paints a sympathetic portrait of a woman who married a young shoemaker, having no idea that he would become a preacher and missionary. Dorothy, along with three children and an infant, accompanied William to India very reluctantly. They faced extreme stress of all kinds, and within two years Dorothy’s mental health had broken. Her illness grew progressively worse until her death twelve years later.

Much of the content of the book is about William, about whom there is abundant data. Heart-wrenching stories of both William’s and Dorothy’s struggles illustrate the high cost of pioneer missions.

Beck uses Dorothy Carey’s story to underscore important issues about missionary life and service: the nature of the missionary call; how emotional problems are handled; sacrifices that are made will-
In terms of quibbles I find the artwork of poor quality and often misrepresented in the layout. The concern for "two kingdoms," however, is useful. The history of doctrinal development is there when it absolutely has to be, but sometimes avoided when it might help. Why mention Babai the Great if not to describe his Christology? Were Nestorians always dyophysite, while Nestorius was not, and Monophysites ever what the name given them by their opponents implied? Some of these things might be addressed in a second edition. My guess is that this will be a frequently adopted text for both undergraduate and seminary education, particularly within conservative Protestant circles, but it should also be used by other groups who are wise enough to look for such a reading of church history.

—Frederick W. Norris

Frederick W. Norris is Professor of Christian Doctrine at Emmanuel School of Religion, Johnson City, Tennessee.


Since 1990 Werner Ustorf has been professor of mission history, on Simon Kimbangu (1975), Franz Michael Zahn (1989), and Rudolf Dulon (1992). Switching from German to English now, he offers a general introduction to his own thought in the present potpourri of ten provocative essays. Most of them are translated from German.

From his present academic position, he reminds his new readership of the fact that he belongs to the generation of German angry young men born after the collapse of Germany in 1945, who were disgusted at everything smelling of authority and power. Many pages in this book proceed from this biographical background and should be read accordingly. Ustorf makes fun of "the old guard of international missiology" (p. 124), while making sheep's eyes at postmodernism. He advocates pluralism over against monolithic pressure for "conversion." The main target of his sarcasm is Lesslie Newbigin's call for the conversion of the West (pp. 107-17).

The rather inappropriate title of the book, in view of its heteroclite contents, reveals Ustorf's uneasiness with the idea of Christianization. He does not discuss the possible meaning of a "Christian" Africa and a "Christian" Europe in past, present, and future. For my part, I regret the complete lack of discussion with Roman Catholic writers not only on his topic but on all other related themes. (In passing, I note that France pays de mission? [p. 72] was written by Yvan [not Yves] Daniel and Henri Godin.)

Ustorf's agonizing search for the face of Jesus in the watermark of modern history is representative of a significant theological current in the West. It is not a bright missionary approach.

—Marc R. Spindler

Since 1974 Marc R. Spindler has been Professor of Missiology and Ecumenics at the University of Leiden and Director of the Department of Missiology of the Interuniversity Institute for Missiological and Ecumenical Research, Leiden, Holland. A French Reformed minister, he served with the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society and the Church of Jesus Christ in Madagascar (1960-1973).

A Question of Rites: Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China.


Emeritus professor of Hispanic studies at the University of London, J. S. Cummins presents "an evocation and an examination of Navarrete's career in Asia, of the effect of that experience on him and of his role in the ecclesiastical drama being played out in Peking, Rome and Madrid" (p. 6).

A Dominican friar from 1635,
Navarrete (1618-86) volunteered for the Philippines, where he spent nine years until failing health forced him to consider returning to Europe, preferably via India. He reached Macassar but joined an expedition on its way to Macao and entered China in 1658. Arrested during the widespread persecution of Christianity in 1665, he was deported to Canton to live in confinement with the Jesuits. He participated in the Canton conference on the Chinese rites and other mission issues held from late 1667 to early 1668. In mid-January 1669 he escaped to Macao and by mid-February left for Rome, where he submitted the second volume of his Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete, 1618-1686 (Cambridge, 1962). This new book, with many digressions and bibliography that is somewhat lacking in current items, essentially retells the same story three decades later. —John W. Witek, S.J.

John W. Witek, S.J. teaches in the Department of History, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
INDEX—VOLUME 18

January through October 1994

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

ARTICLES

Adeney, David [Obituary], 18:157.
Archival Sources in Britain for the Study of Mission History: An Outline Guide and Select Bibliography, by Rosemary Seton, 18:66–70.
Eccumenical Amnesia, by Leslie Newbigin, 18:2–5.
The Legacy of Claudius Buchanan, by Wilbert R. Shenk, 18:78–84.
The Legacy of Donald Fraser, by Jack Thompson, 18:32–35.
The Legacy of Charles Simeon, by John C. Bennett, 18:72–77.
The Legacy of William Taylor, by David Bundy, 18:172–76.

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES

Bundy, David—The Legacy of William Taylor, 18:172–76.
Elliott, Mark—Protestant Theological Education in the Former Soviet Union, 18:14–22.
Seton, Rosemary—Archival Sources in Britain for the Study of Mission History: An Outline Guide and Select Bibliography, 18:66–70.
Thompson, Jack—The Legacy of Donald Fraser, 18:32–35.
BOOKS REVIEWED

Arbuckle, Gerald A.—Refounding the Church: Dissent for Leadership, 18:132.
Aries, Sigdis—Theological Education for the Mission of the Church in India: 1947-1987, with Special Reference to the Church of South India, 18:36-37.
Boyack, Kenneth, ed.—The New Catholic Evangelization, 18:40-41.
Cameron, Nigel M. de S., ed.—Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology, 18:183.
Cox, Alva L., Jr., John B. Lindner, and Linda-Marie Delloff—By Faith: Christian Students Among the Cloud of Witnesses, 18:140.
Cragg, Kenneth—To Meet and to Greet: Faith with Faith, 18:92-93.
Delloff, Linda-Marie, John B. Lindner, and Alva L. Cox, Jr.—By Faith: Christian Students Among the Cloud of Witnesses, 18:140.
Henderson, Lawrence W.—The Church in Angola: A River of Many Currents, 18:141.
Hunter, George, III—How to Reach Secular People, 18:43-44.
Lindner, John B., Alva L. Cox, Jr., and Linda-Marie Delloff—By Faith: Christian Students Among the Cloud of Witnesses, 18:140.
McAlpine, Thomas H.—Facing the Powers, 18:45.
Pierson, Paul, Charles Van Engen, and Dean S. Gilliland, eds.—The Good News of the Kingdom, 18:86-87.
Pope-Levison, Priscilla and John R. Levison—Jesus in Global Contexts, 18:42-43.
Tang, Edmond and Jean-Paul Wiest, eds.—The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives, 18:135.
Wiest, Jean-Paul and Edmond Tang, eds.—The Catholic Church in Modern China: Perspectives, 18:135.
Zorn, Jean-Francois—Le grand siecle d’une mission protestante. La Mission des protestants en France de 1685 a 1791, 18:37-38.
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.
David Kerr  
Jan. 16-20  
"Presence, Dialogue, Witness among Muslims." Dr. Kerr, Macdonald Center for the Study of Islam, Hartford Seminary, relates Christian witness to the dynamics of Muslim belief and culture. Cosponsored by Mennonite Board of Missions. Eight sessions. $95

Peter Kuzmic  
Jan. 23-27  
"Mission in Eastern Europe and Russia." Dr. Kuzmic, Evangelical Theological Seminary, Osijek, Croatia, explores Western contributions to churches of the former Soviet bloc. Special guest lecturer: Rev. Leonid Kishkovsky. Eight sessions. $95

Reading Week  
Feb. 6-10  

Ray Bakke and Dean Trulear  
Feb. 13-15  
"Mission to Urban America." Dr. Bakke, director of International Urban Associates (IUA), and Dr. Trulear, dean of New York Theological Seminary, Held in Birmingham, Alabama; cosponsored by Beeson Global Center at Samford University, OMSC, MAREC/World Vision, and IUA. $95

James M. Phillips  
Feb. 28-Mar. 3  
"Lessons for Mission from Japan and Korea." The OMSC Associate Director examines two contrasting national experiences to find application for today's mission. Four sessions. $65

William Fore  
Mar. 6-10  
"Mass Media and Mission." Former president of the World Association for Christian Communication assesses the impact and potential of the media revolution for global mission. Eight sessions. $95

Adrian Hastings  
March 13-17  

Evelyn Davis  
March 20-24  
"Teaching and Training Adults Across Cultures." Led by Dr. Davis, Wycliffe Bible Translators. Cosponsored by SIM International. Eight sessions. $95

Don Jacobs and Maria Rieckelman  
March 27-31  
"Spiritual Renewal in the Mission Community." Dr. Jacobs, Mennonite Christian Leadership Foundation, and Sr. Rieckelman, M.D., Maryknoll Sisters, lead a time of biblical and personal reflection. Cosponsored by Eastern Mennonite Missions. Eight sessions. $95

Sr. Mary Motte, F.M.M.  
April 3-7  
"Mission and Modernity." OMSC's Senior Mission Scholar explores the challenges of faithful witness today. Cosponsored by Maryknoll Mission Institute, at Maryknoll, N.Y. Eight sessions. $120

Saphir Athyal  
April 18-21  
"Asian Christian Leadership Training Amid Religious Pluralism." Led by Dr. Athyal, former president of Union Biblical Seminary, Pune, India. Cosponsored by World Vision International. Note Tuesday morning, first of eight sessions. $95

Emilio Castro  
April 24-28  
"Mission in Latin America." Dr. Castro, Uruguayan mission leader, assesses the church's witness in the post-radical era. Cosponsored by American Baptist International Ministries and Mennonite Central Committee. Eight sessions. $95

David Schroeder  
May 1-3  
"How to Do Strategic Planning." Dr. Schroeder, President, Nyack College, New York, helps mission leaders envision future ministries. Monday afternoon through Wednesday noon. $75

Rob Martin  
May 3-5  
"How to Write Grant Proposals for Overseas Mission Projects." The Executive Director of First Fruits, Inc., helps missionaries develop effective proposals for foundation funding. Wednesday afternoon through Friday noon. $75

Attend both the Strategic Planning and the Proposal Writing workshops for only $110 combined fee.

---

Sign up for 1995 Seminars

☐ Sign me up for these seminars:  ☐ Send me more information

NAME

ADDRESS

Overseas Ministries Study Center
490 Prospect St., New Haven, CT 06511
TEL: (203) 624-6672 FAX: (203) 865-2857
Publishers of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH
Book Notes

Burrows, William R., ed.  
Redemption and Dialogue: Reading Redemptoris Missio and Dialogue and Proclamation.  

Carman, John B.  
Majesty and Meekness: A Comparative Study of Contrast and Harmony in the Concept of God.  

Fish, Burnette C., and Gerald W. Fish.  

Kirk, J. Andrew, ed.  
Contemporary Issues in Mission.  
Paperback. No price given.

Lethbridge, Christopher.  

Mariz, Cecília Loreto.  
Coping with Poverty: Pentecostals and Christian Base Communities in Brazil.  

Missions Interlink.  
Directory of Missions (Sixth Edition).  
Paperback. No price given.

Renault, François.  
Cardinal Lavigerie: Churchman, Prophet and Missionary.  
£32/$60.

Renz, Tilman, and Marcus Buess, comps.  
Bestand der historischen Karten in der Bibliothek der Basler Mission.  

Sahlberg, Carl-Erik.  
From Krapf to Rugambwa: A Church History of Tanzania.  

Sindima, Harvey J.  
Drums of Redemption: An Introduction to African Christianity.  

Thorogood, Bernard, ed.  

Webb, Pauline, ed.  
A Long Struggle: The Involvement of the World Council of Churches in South Africa.  

In Coming Issues

Ironies of Indigenization: Some Cultural Repercussions of Mission in South India  
Susan Billington Harper

Interreligious Dialogue: A View from India  
Michael Amaladoss, S.J.

New Developments in Nigerian Christianity  
Matthews A. Ojo

Language and Culture in the Development of Bible Society Translation Theory and Practice  
William A. Smalley

Focusing on Photographic Holdings in Mission Archives  
Paul Jenkins

German Centers of Mission Research  
Willi Henkel, O.M.I.

Pentecostal Phenomena and Revivals in India: Implications for Indigenous Church Leadership  
Gary B. McGee

In our Series on the Legacy of Outstanding Missionary Figures of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, articles about  
Horace Allen  
Charles H. Brent  
Amy Carmichael  
John Considine, M.M.  
G. Sherwood Eddy  
George Grenfell  
Melvin Hodges  
J. C. Hoekendijk  
Adoniram Judson  
Hannah Kilham  
Johann Ludwig Krapf  
Robert Mackie  
Constance E. Padwick  
Karl Gottlieb Pfander  
Timothy Richard  
John Ritchie  
Jack Winslow  
Franz Michael Zahn