In this issue Paul E. Pierson captures the essence of the tension between local churches involved in mission and established mission agencies: “I have often wondered,” he says, “what the answer of the Jerusalem church would have been if Barnabas and Paul [at Antioch] had asked for permission to initiate the mission to the Gentiles before they set out.” In the present era, the “Antioch” model of mission—mission initiated and carried out by local churches without connection to existing sending agencies—is an increasing trend and cause of tension.

Pierson’s study highlights the impatience of evangelical congregations in historic mainline denominations, with the mission societies of those denominations. Bureaucratic inflexibility and fuzzy theology at the highest levels prompt local congregations to follow alternative paths to world mission. Pierson goes on to credit the conservative evangelical community with a much better informed mission vision.

In response, Paul Borthwick takes exception, maintaining that the wider evangelical community, including its denominational mission agencies, interdenominational agencies, and independent agencies, displays the same problems: uncertainty about whether the rest of the world really needs the gospel message, plus bureaucratic preoccupation with self-perpetuation. As a result, the Antioch model of mission also thrives in the evangelical world.

Pierson locates the sociological roots of the situation in the pervasive American disaffection with institutions of all kinds. The Christian community follows the secular community in distrusting traditional structures, and secular research appears to show that anti-institutionalism has never been more pronounced than in the present era. However, Pierson is quick to note that Christian mission, out of frustration with established structures, has almost always been renewed from the periphery. Borthwick agrees with that observation, but he also urges us not to give up on the institutional church.

Robert T. Coote’s summary of the growth and shifts of North American Protestant mission agencies over the course of the twentieth century helps to place the discussion in a wider framework. His depiction of the current strength of the North American missionary community will startle those who may harbor the belief that the better-known denominations and mission agencies send the bulk of overseas missionary personnel. On the contrary, in North America today it is the independent agencies in the fundamentalist and/or the conservative evangelical communities that dominate the mission enterprise.
Local Churches in Mission: What’s Behind the Impatience with Traditional Mission Agencies?

Paul E. Pierson

We hear a great deal today in North America about local churches that want to be fully involved in world mission but have grown impatient with established mission agencies as the vehicles for their involvement. Some of these churches are large enough to initiate, sustain, and direct their own mission efforts, bypassing traditional mission agencies altogether. I am persuaded that a widespread distrust of institutions across North America—secular and religious—provides the background for this impatience.

My observations and reflections on this subject come out of a background that includes seventeen years as a missionary in Brazil and Portugal under the Presbyterian Church, USA. I subsequently served as pastor of two congregations with strong missions programs—First Presbyterian Church, Fresno, California, and the Bel Air Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles. Since 1980 I have taught in the School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, serving as dean for twelve years. In addition, I serve on the boards of several evangelical mission agencies, including Latin America Mission and OC International. I thus have had experience from various perspectives on the issues involved in the interaction between local churches and mission agencies.

Underlying Factors

Let me begin by suggesting several factors in contemporary American society that lead many to look with suspicion at traditional agencies and even at the whole missionary effort. These observations come from interviews with missions pastors and chairpersons in a number of Presbyterian churches that have strong mission involvement.

I characterize our era as post-Western, post-denominational, post-ideological, and post-Christendom. It is post-Western in that the world Christian mission no longer is primarily a movement from Western Europe and North America to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Today the missionary movement—along with the church itself—is international and intercultural. Our era is post-denominational in that the older issues around which churches were formed in sixteenth-century Europe and later in America are no longer very relevant to most Christians. With the exception of the Southern Baptists, the older denominational missions bear a small and decreasing part of the missionary effort today. At the same time, dating from the International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1974, we have seen the development of what we might call the new evangelical ecumenism, with a growing concern for greater cooperation. An additional aspect of the change can be seen in the characteristics of the most rapidly growing churches in many parts of the world today. They are really post-denominational, whether or not they still carry denominational labels. Many are totally independent of older structures. Others may carry traditional labels, but they tend to be more like each other than like those of their parent denominations.

Our period is post-ideological as a result of the events of 1989, which resulted in large areas of the world, previously off-limits to overt Christian missions, becoming open. Finally, it is post-Christendom, even in the United States, in the sense that our public culture, which once at least gave lip service to the Christian faith and values, now appears to be quite hostile to it. And while there may be growing interest in religion, it is less focused and less institutionally connected, even among Christians.

But there are other factors, some positive. One is the wide recognition, in the more evangelical churches, that we are all called to mission. Lest we take this for granted, we need to recognize that a focus on world mission probably exists across a broader spectrum of the church than ever before, at least since the days of the Student Volunteer Movement before World War I. The establishment of schools of world mission in a number of institutions, the U.S. Center for World Mission, and recent conferences on world evangelism are among the factors. Along with the growing missionary interest in much of the church, there have been quantum leaps in ease of transportation and communication during the last quarter century.

But it is the anti-institutionalism in contemporary American culture that undoubtedly plays into the dynamics of our “post”

I characterize our era as post-Western, post-denominational, post-ideological, and post-Christendom.

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Paul E. Pierson graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, and Princeton Theological Seminary (B.D., Ph.D.). He served as a Presbyterian missionary in Brazil from 1956 to 1970, first as a church planter on the Brazilian-Bolivian border, then in theological education in Recife. He served in theological education in Portugal from 1971 to 1973, as Presbyterian pastor in California from 1973 to 1980, and has been at the School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary since 1980, as dean 1980 to 1992, and as Professor of History of Mission and Latin American Studies until the present.
As Putnam demonstrates, however, membership in such organizations has declined sharply since the 1950s, with a serious effect on the trust of Americans in government and, indeed, in most institutions in society, including church structures. Membership in labor unions, the PTA, women’s clubs, veterans’ groups, the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, and service clubs has declined sharply. Referring to the title of his article, Putnam notes that while more people are bowling than ever before, membership in bowling leagues fell by 40 percent from 1980 to 1993. Those who say they trust the government in Washington “only some of the time” or “almost never” rose from 30 percent in 1966 to 75 percent in 1992.

Putnam notes that church attendance fell from 48 percent in the 1950s to 41 percent in the early 1970s. (It would be helpful to know how much of the decline has been among the more liberal mainline churches over against the newer, more evangelical groups, which normally show more mission interest.) He also points out that while Americans have more houses of worship per capita than any other nation, religious sentiment in the nation is less and less tied to institutions and is more self-defined. The loss of a sense of connectedness and a lack of trust in institutions probably affects all of Western society, including the attitudes of church members toward mission agencies.

Another factor rooted in contemporary American culture is the expectation of quick results. If a business is to attract investment, the reports from Wall Street must show a profit every quarter. The word “impatience” (in our title) suggests the desire to finish the task of world evangelization quickly. Movements that offer promising goals, like “a church for every people group to finish the task of world evangelization quickly. Movements that offer promising goals, like “a church for every people group.”

Still another factor is postmodern theological relativism and universalism, which leads to a degree of schizophrenia for many Christians who live with one foot in the church and one in a world that is relativistic regarding truth and strongly antimissionary. A pastor friend from a Presbyterian church with a strong missions tradition took a group to India to visit an effective work that has seen 100,000 dalits (untouchables) converted, gathered into churches, and elevated socially and economically. But one member questioned why Hindus should be converted to Christianity.

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Two recent articles in the Los Angeles Times religion page, though largely favorable to Wycliffe Bible Translators missionaries, included paragraphs stating that at times missionaries had allegedly resorted to forced conversions and had kidnapped children, and it quoted anthropologists who accused the Wycliffe missionaries of “cultural imperialism.” A student of mine at Fuller Seminary, who came from a Presbyterian church with a strong missions program, told me she came to seminary with a bias against traditional missions. Only as she came to know missionaries and mission history did her perceptions change.
involvement in mission was an integral part of the Christian life. We were loyal to the concept of missions, we trusted institutions, including mission organizations, and of course we were interested in specific missionaries. The younger generation today wants to know and experience everything almost immediately and is generally more impatient and distrustful of institutions of all kinds. An additional factor is a general suspicion and fear of long-term commitments, which affects attitudes toward traditional institutions, including mission agencies.

**Individualistic Ecclesiology**

Pastors have spoken to me of a more individualistic ecclesiology they are encountering. For most evangelical Christians the focus is on the individual Christian life and the local church. If he or she is more mature and better informed, that focus may include the worldwide body of Christ, but the structures in between—presbyteries, associations, general assemblies, councils of bishops, and so forth—are not seen as relevant. This is partly the result of the fact that many if not most new members in the more evangelical churches were not raised in the particular church tradition they have joined. They become part of a particular church because they find it attractive to them and their families;

Most Christians focus on a local church. Denominational associations, councils of bishops, and so forth, are not seen as relevant.

denominational history and traditions are a secondary consideration at best. Recently while teaching a group of sixty adults in a Presbyterian church, I asked how many were in that particular church because it was Presbyterian. Only two raised their hands. Unfortunately, for church members like these, traditional mission agencies are just as likely to be judged as irrelevant.

In discussing the impatience of local churches with such mission agencies, it is important to distinguish between mainstream denominational agencies, older multidenominational agencies that sometimes appear bureaucratic and unresponsive, and the plethora of new, innovative, flexible agencies.

One oft-repeated source of frustration is the cumbersome, slow-moving nature of some mission bureaucracies, especially denominational boards. When I was a pastor in Fresno, a young woman in the church, a daughter of Presbyterian missionaries to Korea, wanted to return to that country for a short term to teach English as a way of exploring her future ministry, but the denominational board was unresponsive. Finally she went to Korea under a smaller, more flexible agency. The irony is that she is a direct descendent of Horace Underwood, the first ordained Presbyterian missionary to Korea. In another case, a highly qualified couple in the church—he a pediatrician, she a physical therapist—applied to go out under the same denominational board. They were told there was no funding, and even when the board was told there were three churches ready to fund them, there was still no response. Sometime later, the head of that agency told me they could not get enough physicians. When I told him the frustrating story of our medical volunteers, he could offer no response.

Two additional factors affecting attitudes toward the older denominational boards have to do with theological credibility and the way funds are distributed. There is the perception of a great and growing theological gap between the denominational hierarchies and the more evangelical, mission-oriented churches. The WCC-sponsored women’s conference in 1993, with its focus on Sophia, created a crisis in the Presbyterian Church, USA, and raised questions about the theological integrity of those in leadership. I was then at Bel Air Presbyterian Church, and some elders wanted to cut off all giving to the denomination. Instead we designated funds to the Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship, an innovative, evangelical, alternative mission structure within the denomination. One mission chairman expressed frustration with the way funds are distributed in the denomination, with only a tiny fraction of undesignated funds actually going to mission.

A fourth source of frustration is the fuzziness of the stated missionary mandate and message of some mainline denominations. Some mainline publications have suggested that because of the growth of the church around the world, missions are no longer needed or desirable. One missionary working in Pakistan was asked to explain to a women’s group in the United States why there was no longer any need for missionaries.

Still another source of frustration are policies that tie the mission so closely to the life of national churches that it makes some creative missionary initiatives impossible. Two couples, feeling a strong call to work with the Kurds, were told by our Presbyterian board that they could be appointed only if there was a request from a national church there, ignoring the fact that there is no church among the Kurds! These couples went out under the Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship and had an effective ministry until forced to leave by political developments in the area.

This case reflects ignorance of the history of the missionary movement. Mission initiatives have almost always arisen on the periphery of the institutional church, and in many cases the missionaries have been called by God and gone to their field before there was a board to support them, with the mission agency either organizing or recognizing their work later. Examples include the early Christian Reformed women in Nigeria, Judson in Burma, and Zwemer in Arabia. Thus a key issue is the proper balance between structures of administration and accountability, which are essential, and the recognition of the call of God to individual missionaries, which respects their creativity and response to the Holy Spirit. (I have often wondered what the answer of the Jerusalem church would have been if Barnabas and Paul had asked for permission to initiate the mission to the Gentiles before they set out.)

One person I interviewed expressed frustration over the way in which a certain agency (no longer in existence) cared for the missionary the church supported. He felt that both the church and the missionary were largely ignored. As a result, they found another agency under which the person could serve. A former business executive, now a pastor, said that many in his local church feel that some mission agencies are not accountable to anyone and that the local congregation has no opportunity to develop a relationship with the agency under which its missionaries serve. A common complaint is the lack of personal contact. The mission chairperson of a local church dropped a missionary because over a two-year period she did not communicate with the church. Her agency told the church she was too busy. While that is probably an unusual case, I have heard other expressions of frustration over the perception that some agencies are interested only in funding, while local churches want some kind of relationship.
 Desire for Personal Involvement

There is clearly a strong desire for some kind of hands-on involvement. The story of the missions pastor of one large and growing church is worth telling. He was “turned on” to missions involvement. The story of the missions pastor of one large and growing church is worth telling. He was “turned on” to missions involvement. The story of the missions pastor of one large and growing church is worth telling. He was “turned on” to missions involvement. The story of the missions pastor of one large and growing church is worth telling. He was “turned on” to missions involvement. The story of the missions pastor of one large and growing church is worth telling. He was “turned on” to missions involvement. The story of the missions pastor of one large and growing church is worth telling. He was “turned on” to missions involvement. The story of the missions pastor of one large and growing church is worth telling. He was “turned on” to missions involvement. 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sense that he and the movements he represented were on the cutting edge of the Christian faith and indeed of history, especially in the era of pre–World War I optimism. We must ask where laypersons see a comparable sense of strategy today. While most of the institutional descendents of Mott’s work no longer exist, many of the newer agencies and partnerships are increasingly involved in cutting-edge strategies that include both evangelism and social ministries, along with partnerships between Western and non-Western agencies and churches. Perhaps we can communicate that more clearly.

I know churches with significant numbers of Silicon Valley executives, who are among the most entrepreneurial persons in our society. They and others are increasingly involved in businesses and professions that involve international travel and contacts, in which they must make rapid decisions about where to invest their time and resources in opportunities in the United States and overseas. They must constantly think strategically and long range. It should not be surprising that they will look for mission agencies that seem to be doing the same. Some local churches are forming their own mission strategies for different parts of the world—for example, for western Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, and Muslim areas. They want to know that the mission agencies they support are doing the same.

In conclusion, we all recognize that we are in a new period of mission history. The growth of the church in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; the internationalization of the missionary movement; the ease of communication and transportation; the suspicion of institutional structures; the desire for personal contact and experience; the plethora of new churches, mission agencies, and methodologies—these all call for serious consideration.

There are two basic questions we must ask. How is the Holy Spirit carrying out mission today? And what is the role of mission agencies in that process? Perhaps agency leaders can ponder those questions openly and honestly with a group of key leaders from local churches. Such a process might help draw more churches into growing partnerships with mission agencies.

Let me give a few other modest suggestions. First, we need a deeper understanding of how mission movements, including those of which we may be a part, have arisen in the past. This may help deliver us from excessive institutionalization and remind us to remain flexible. We remember that virtually all mission agencies began on the periphery of the larger churchly structures, whether they began in Antioch, Herrnhut, Moulton, Brighton, or Hollywood, and they were led by visionaries often rejected by the broader church. If we remember this history, it may help us to avoid becoming too bureaucratic, to encourage new initiatives in our own organizations, and to communicate a sense of creativity and excitement to our constituency.

Second, for those who suffer from theological schizophrenia—the affirmation of the historic belief in the absolute necessity of faith in Jesus Christ for salvation, versus the relativism so common in Western culture about any truth—let me make another suggestion. At the very least, we can make a greater attempt to show how the spread of the Gospel and the work of our agencies addresses some of the critical social problems of our time, such as street children in Latin America, where Christians are doing most of the significant ministries, or the problems of untouchables in India, still treated as subhuman by their society, to whom the Gospel comes as a word of liberation and hope. At the end of the last century, as the social gospel movement grew, James Dennis published an important apology for missions, Christian Missions and Social Progress, in which he demonstrated the strong connection between the two.

Third, we need to study our constituencies to discover the kinds of churches and people who are drawn to support the missionary effort, the factors that lead them to such support, and what kinds of agencies and methodologies attract them. There is danger here of being faddish, but useful information could be discovered from such a study. I suspect that a number of common factors would be found among churches of different traditions that could become the basis for better communication.

Finally, I recognize that every mission agency suffers from limitations of time, money, and personnel, plus they are focused primarily on the ministries of their own missionaries. Perhaps some of the new technologies can be used to communicate quickly and succinctly to key missions pastors and chairpersons when there is special blessing, crisis, or need.

It is clear that most of my suggestions come down to more effective communication, which is, humanly speaking, the most important key. At the same time, I am very optimistic about the future of the Christian missionary movement; first because of the biblical promise, but also because of what I see happening in so much of the world today. I long for that to be communicated effectively to the churches.

Note
The Confusion of American Churches About Mission: A Response to Paul E. Pierson

Paul Borthwick

I heartily affirm Paul Pierson’s analysis of the impatience of local churches with traditional mission agencies, and I could add many stories of my own to illustrate his points further. However, when he attributes to evangelical churches a “wide confusion about mission and missions. Some have ceased to define it. Others limit it to our own borders, emphasizing a mission to reevangelize secular North America (a kind of “Help America First” campaign). It is my observation that only a minority of evangelical churches wrestle with their role in the wider task of the global Great Commission—and many of these struggle with how to preserve past excitement rather than develop future vision. Pierson’s analysis of the American church points to at least three issues to which both churches and mission agencies must pay attention.

Theological issues. Pierson lists theological issues as being among the factors that discourage the involvement of local churches with their denominational mission agencies. I would go so far as to say that when it comes to explaining the failure of churches to be involved in mission, questions about structures and methodologies pale in importance to the central theological issue: Do our people and our pastors in North American churches really believe that people are lost without Christ? Neo-colonialism and ethnocentric methodologies have certainly clouded the issue, but if the people in our pews and the pastors in our pulpits do not really believe we have “a story to tell to the nations,” we won’t have a missionary movement in North America about which to be impatient! The vision will die, or at least be relegated to a few noble humanitarians seeking to live out Matthew 25. When churches conclude that the work of Western missions is completed, or when pastors and church leaders suggest that the future expansion of the church is totally in the hands of national believers, this may be a smokescreen for disbelief. Maybe we’re trying to wash our hands of the global implications of the Great Commission because—in the words of one of Pierson’s stories—we’re wondering why Hindus should be converted to Christianity.

Relational issues. Churches deeply committed to global missions openly state to agencies, “We won’t give and pray if you don’t give us a chance to be involved.” I think of a recent conversation with a church leader in his thirties. He was instrumental in incorporating in his church’s missions budget policy the following stipulation: “We will only give to projects in which our church people can be directly involved.” When I confronted him with the impossibility of their involvement in some restricted-access nations or regions, he simply replied, “Well, I guess we cannot be involved there.” For him and his church, direct relational involvement triumphed over thoughts of reaching the unreached in the most strategic ways.

Structural issues. Finally, Pierson points to the fact that today’s highly individualized Christians and independent churches resist and distrust the institutions of world missions. As an advocate of the institutional church, I feel that his analysis relegates me to the world of irrelevancy. He points out that “virtually all mission agencies began on the periphery of the larger churchly structures.” Implication: the institutional church will die under the weight of its own bureaucracy while “cutting edge” people operate outside the boundaries. I would encourage Pierson not to overreact and throw out the institutional church altogether. Furthermore, history demonstrates that when traditional institutions become bogged down in bureaucracy, other institutions rush in to fill the void. These new agencies, in turn, though founded by innovators, can easily degenerate into bureaucratic cemeteries. The missions system cries out for structural revision, in both its denominational and interdenominational expressions. Having just completed twenty-two years at an independent church where we supported only interdenominational mission agencies and missionaries, I can testify that “free” mission agencies suffer from some of the same organizational ills as denominational agencies. Skilled missionaries “fall through the cracks” because of rigid organizational rules. Vision gets drowned in policies and the desire to maintain the status quo.

Local church supporters need to know that organizations exist for strategic purposes—not just for self-perpetuation. We want to hear about dreams and visions (without the naive triumphalism of completing everything everywhere by the year 2000), and we want to see where we fit in to help make it happen. We want to work to serve the larger task of world evangelization, not just the perpetuation of existing structures.

Several times in his article Pierson refers to the establishment of loyalty between churches and agencies. Such loyalty can be secured by (1) honest dialogue about existing structures, even to the point of some organizations volunteering to dissolve because they no longer serve the greater purpose; (2) reviewing and coming to agreement on theological core values regarding Jesus, our mission, and the awesome message of eternal life; and (3) building relationships with church constituencies from which mission support and workers will come.

In explaining our failure to be involved in mission, issues of structures and methods pale in importance to theological issues.

Paul Borthwick serves the missions community through teaching, speaking, and writing from his home in Lexington, Massachusetts. Drawing on twenty-two years of church staff experience (fourteen as a missions pastor), Borthwick’s special concern is for the mobilization of the North American church for strategic involvement in the global mission of the church.

October 1998
Twentieth-Century Shifts

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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KEY

Each symbol represents 100 career missionaries. Total number of agencies (1968 and following) ranges in the mid-400's. Although many new agencies are founded each decade, a roughly equal number cease operations or merge with other existing agencies, resulting in little net gain or even moderate losses in total number of agencies. The graph years were selected for availability of data and simplicity of presentation. Columns are roughly a decade and a half apart.

SYMBOLS:
- x mainline denominations (av. founding date 1884; none founded after 1968).
- s Seventh-day Adventist (1863; affiliated with NCC Division of Overseas Ministries).
- o IFMA (av. founding date of member agencies founded before 1969: 1925).
- e EFMA (av. founding date of member agencies founded before 1969: 1920).
- u basically unaffiliated agencies; but two small associations, namely Fellowship of Missions (fundamentalist) and AIMS (Association of International Mission Services; charismatic) are included.

Totals 10,800 12,100 18,600 34,300

Explanatory notes

1. The totals at the bottom of each column are rounded to the nearest 100. Actual grand totals for each year may vary 100 or more, either way, due to the effect of rounding. Data is derived from selected editions of the MARC Mission Handbook and its predecessor publications. 1935 data has been adjusted per Joel Carpenter in Earthen Vessels (Eerdmans, 1990), pp. 335ff. The groupings of symbols reflect associational affiliations as of 1994 and are applied retroactively.

2. Agencies represented as "u" (unaffiliated), in addition to being generally independent, are fundamentalist, evangelical, charismatic, or a combination thereof. Three of the largest unaffiliated agencies are the Southern Baptist Convention International Mission Board (4,177), Wycliffe Bible Translators (3,023), and New Tribes Mission (1,605). Note that in the 1996 col. of the graph these three agencies account for nearly 9 lines of the "u" section, i.e., 40% of the total unaffiliated. These three large agencies identify themselves in the Mission Handbook as "denominational" (SBC), "evangelical" (Wycliffe), and "fundamental" (New Tribes). Note: In 1995 SBC International Mission Board affiliated with EFMA; however, it is retained in the "u" section of the graph in consideration of its 150-year history as an independent, unaffiliated agency.

3. Short-term missionaries are not represented in this graph (only career missionaries are shown). Short-term missionaries began to be regularly reported in the early 1970s. They were generally defined as
in the North American Protestant Missionary Community

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1996: Shaded symbols reflect personnel in agencies founded after 1968

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Robert T. Coote

As the twentieth century opened, historic “mainline” denominations accounted for the vast majority of North American Protestant overseas workers (see accompanying graph, col. 1918). After peaking in the mid-1920s at about 14,000, the Protestant overseas missionary community dropped to about 12,000 during the Great Depression. At the same time, the conservative evangelical sector was adding to its share of the whole (1935).

By 1952 the number of career missionaries sent overseas by conservative evangelical communities had doubled from the 1935 level, and in the following decade and a half it more than doubled again (1968). A key segment of these missionaries was represented by the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association (IFMA; founded in 1917). To give conservative evangelical denominations similar representation, the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association, today known as the Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies (EFMA), was established in the mid-1940s. By 1968 the combined total of overseas career personnel of IFMA and EFMA surpassed that of the mainline agencies.

As the graph shows, mainline personnel plateaued in the post-WWII years and then fell off sharply after 1968. Unexpectedly, 1968 also was notable for marking the high point in the personnel level of the historic IFMA agencies. Today, while there are about 600 more IFMA-related missionaries than in 1968, this increase must be attributed entirely to new agencies founded after 1968 (shaded symbols). In other words, on average, IFMA agencies remain virtually where they were 30 years ago. Although a number of IFMA agencies announced plans at the beginning of the 1980s to double their personnel, efforts to do so have not been successful. The key factors appear to be high rates of attrition (many reasons), retirement of post-WWII missionaries, and shorter terms of commitment by new missionaries.

These factors (and frustrated goals) pertain similarly to EFMA agencies. Although the graph appears to show continued growth of EFMA personnel after 1968, most EFMA agencies have either just managed to keep up with the North American population growth rate or have declined. About 1,400 of the EFMA increase seen on the graph (1996) reflects new agencies founded after 1968.

Furthermore, for all categories (not just EFMA), roughly 1,000 of the overall increase in the North American Protestant missionary community from 1980 to 1996 can be traced to a loosening of the definition of “career missionary” (see note 3). A further 600+ embellishment of the numbers is attributable to a new category of personnel, the “non-residential” missionary (one who, often for political reasons, does not make his or her place of residence in the specific country of interest).

The most striking shift in the North American Protestant missionary community in the last half of the twentieth century has been the increase in fundamentalist, charismatic, and other generally conservative and unaffiliated evangelical agencies. Indicated by the symbol “u” in the graph, they accounted for more than half of the North American Protestant overseas missionary community in 1996.

Whatever one makes of the information in the graph about the North American Protestant overseas missionary community, a fuller picture of the world Christian missionary community is needed. In addition to other Western Protestants in mission (equal to about half of the North American number), there may be as many as 200,000 Roman Catholic missionaries (Western and non-Western), tens of thousands of indigenous directed and supported non-Western Protestant missionaries, and other thousands of non-Westerners who, while self-organized and directed, are partially financed by Western-based agencies.
For most of the twentieth century, Chinese scholars viewed Christianity as superstition, a movement that was obsolete and destined to become extinct with the progress of socialism worldwide. Moreover, it was seen as part and parcel of the Western imperialist onslaught on China, an expression of cultural imperialism.

But in recent years the impact of Christianity in China has received serious new consideration by Chinese scholars. Within the parameters of Chinese history itself, as described below by Professors Shen Dingping and Zhu Weifang, the contributions of Christian missions, especially in the realm of education, medicine, and social services, have been given much fairer treatment. Christianity is now viewed by many scholars not as antithetical but as complementary to modern Chinese culture. In the current debate by Chinese intellectuals over appropriate values in the wake of the collapse of the credibility of Marxism, scholarly discussion of both the historical record of Christian missions in China and the relevance of Christianity to contemporary Chinese culture has flourished.

There is a growing sense that the historical "success" of Western society is bound up closely with Christianity and that features of Western history, society, and culture in the past few hundred years, such as growth of a civil society, the rule of law, and the public consciousness that makes for a better society, are due to the role of Christianity. Whether this view is correct or not, the point is that Christianity is drawing the attention of an increasing number of scholars and intellectuals. Some of these intellectuals, who are not necessarily believers themselves but who think that Christianity has much to offer Chinese society, are called culture Christians (generally not by themselves).

A rough index to the volume of publications concerning Christianity in China is contained in a book published in Shanghai in 1994 by Professor Zhu Weijing entitled (in translation) Christianity and Modern Culture. It contains a listing of books and articles published between 1949 and 1993 in China on Christianity; of the nearly 1,800 titles listed, the great majority were published after 1980. In 1997 Christian Culture Review (in Chinese), issue number 6, edited by Liu Xiaofeng and He Guanghu, carried a survey of scholarship of the mid-1990s on the role of Christianity in China. As the following article makes clear, there is a great deal of scholarly activity in this field in China, more than most would have suspected.

—Daniel H. Bays, Professor of History, University of Kansas, editor, Christianity in China, from the Eighteenth Century to the Present (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996)

Between 1950 and 1980 the study of Christianity in China scarcely registered in mainland Chinese academic circles. But the growing volume of published articles and papers on the subject of Christian missions appearing since that time indicates an awakening of scholarly interest in this branch of social history, as increasing numbers of Chinese historians set about to explore and interpret the significance of the Christian movement in China.

In the ten-year period between 1980 and 1990, scholarly opinion tended to reflect one of two positions. The negative end of the continuum consists of approximately 80 articles, all highly critical of the nature, cause, role, and historical contribution of the Western missionary movement. On what one might call the qualified appreciation side, some 110 articles appeared, evaluating Christian missionary work in translation, publication, newspapers, and education. In these the focus tends to be on the positive intellectual and cultural contributions made by missionaries to Chinese intellectual and social life.

Two recent seminars on the campaign against foreign missions in modern Chinese history illustrate the increasing range and nuance of Chinese scholarly conclusions emerging from this reexamination of mission history. First, participants are in general agreement that Western missionaries, by personally benefiting from unequal treaties, played an unsavory role in Western imperialist aggression in China. Second, while recognizing the negative character of much that was represented by Western missions, Chinese scholars are also taking note of the significant role played by Western missionaries in the modernization of post-nineteenth-century China. They point out that some mis-

Shen Dingping is Associate Professor in the Institute of History at the Chinese Academy of Social Science. Zhu Weifang is Associate Professor of English in the School of English Language Communication at the Beijing Foreign Studies University.
missionaries made an impact of lasting significance by promoting change in conservative Chinese social institutions and conventional concepts, thus paving the way for new ideas. Western missionaries accommodated themselves to the Chinese hunger for Western learning, thus contributing to China's development and enabling it to better confront the outside world.

These contemporary Chinese academics are arguing that Western missionaries should not be condemned wholesale, since in both theory and practice considerable variation was evident. It is more appropriate, they state, to avoid generalization by treating missionaries and missions separately, subjecting each to appropriately concrete analysis. Missionaries, it is pointed out, fall into three categories. First, there were those—albeit few in number—who were adamantly opposed to all forms of Western imperialism. Second, there were those who had been nurtured in a climate of uncritical imperialism and trained in Christian theology and who saw themselves and their religion as integral elements of Western colonial expansion. These, who constituted a numerical majority of missionaries, played a crucial role in laying the groundwork for subsequent political, economic, and cultural communication between China and the Western world. Third, there were those missionaries who came to China inspired by a pure Christian spirit whose friendship and interaction with the Chinese was profound. These served the Chinese people practically and wholeheartedly, making impressive and enduring contributions to China in a variety of spheres and doing much to enhance Sino-Western communication. What follows is an overview of Chinese scholarly opinion relating to the cultural activities and influences of Christian missions in China.

**Western Learning and Christian Missions**

To properly understand the impact of mission-initiated Western learning on Chinese society, it is essential that the role of Christian missions be placed within the larger context of modern Chinese cultural trends and developments. Some scholars, such as Professor Chen Xulu, utilize an evolutionary model, arguing that modern Chinese culture is not an aberration but a natural offspring of the marriage of East and West, unique in its own right but bearing family resemblance to both contributing cultures.

Other scholars probing the formation of modern Chinese culture are inevitably led to examine Sino-Western cultural interaction, past and present. Professor Gong Shudou points out that Confucianism, with its core ethical code, was the main source of Chinese culture. But, he argues, with the profound and far-reaching changes introduced by modern forces, it was inevitable that Western culture should overtake traditional Chinese culture, remodeling its central values and structure. Professor Lo Rongqu concurs, observing that "the introduction and propagation of Western bourgeois culture is an important driving force in the modernization movement in China." The evidence—transformed Chinese society itself—strongly suggests that Sino-Western cultural interaction "appears to be both one-direction oriented [i.e., from the West to China] and distorted by its persistent 'challenge and response' approach. Herein lies the cardinal difference between the Sino-Western cultural interaction of modern times and corresponding relationships among the classical cultures during the pre-capitalist period."4

**Evaluating Missionary Influences**

While Western culture was propagated in China in many different ways, one should never underestimate the impact of foreign missionaries. This is a point emphasized by Professor Li Huaxing in his review of *The Cambridge History of Late Imperial China*, where he argues that missionaries were simultaneously both excluded from and included in Chinese society and culture. This was especially the case with Protestant missions' nonreligious activities and institutions: schools and education, hospitals and medicine, newspapers and magazines, and various kinds of service-related associations. It was also true in regard to the service of missionaries to the Yang Wu faction and to the reformers. Their influence far exceeded their numbers, states Li Huaxing. Analysis and evaluation of the multifaceted and mixed missionary contribution to the progress of modern China is essential to any understanding of the cultural dynamics of modern Chinese social change. Consequently, he concurs with the orientation of *The Cambridge History of Late Imperial China* in its examination of the secular activities of missionaries, both as a vehicle for the propagation of Western learning and as the seed stock for new cultural institutions that subsequently emerged in modern China. Such research is both essential and meaningful. Professor Li Huaxing concludes, "On the whole, the three stages of Protestant missionary activities have this in common: they not only accommodated themselves roughly to the rhythm and tempo of the social reformation of China but they preceded these transformations by one beat, thereby inspiring Chinese intellectuals in each historical period and spearheading—directly or indirectly—the evolution of Chinese ideas and culture." In addition, the reviewer points out, the limitations of missionary knowledge and ongoing antagonism between China and Western powers combined to prevent missionaries from playing a more dominant role in the rejuvenation of the Chinese culture, effectively weakening their appeal to, and influence on, Chinese intellectuals.5

Most Chinese scholars seem to agree that American missionaries in particular played a very significant role in the introduction of Western ideas, institutions, and values into China. Profes-
Science and Technology Through Translation

The earliest forms of Western culture introduced to China were in the realm of two closely related spheres, science and applied technology. That this is so becomes clearly evident even from a cursory review of missionary translations. Chinese scholars have published a number of articles demonstrating missionary commitment to conveying the good news of Western natural sciences (Ge Zhi). In the late years of the Qing dynasty, missionaries played a significant role in the dissemination of the Jiāng Nán Manufacturer, in the establishment of Tong Wen College, and in the creation of publishing firms such as Guǎng Xué Hui (Society for promoting Christian and general knowledge), by means of which hundreds of books—all of which promoted the development of science and technology in modern China—were circulated throughout China, resulting not only in the enlightenment of Chinese intellectuals but in a fundamental reordering of Chinese traditional values.

Professor Zou Zhenghuan cites numerous instances demonstrating that many reformers—including Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao and Tang Sitong—were engaged in the study of missionary translations of the Jiāng Nán Manufacturer and were deeply influenced by the scientific knowledge contained in them. In the words of Professor Zou, "These translations constituted nothing less than an enlightenment in the development of the Reformers Movement."

Influences Through Press and Publication

The printing press and publishing have ever been an indispensable part of missionary activity. More than a dozen scholarly papers have appeared in China dealing with such topics as missionary rationale for publishing, the earliest missionary publisher in Shanghai, and the contents of Wan Guo Gong Bao (The globe magazine) and Zhōng Guó jiao Hui Xin Bao (Chinese church news). Professor Liang Biying holds that missionary publications, of which Wan Guo Gong Bao was representative, produced three distinct effects. First, they introduced Western learning on a large scale, broadening readers' intellectual horizons by teaching them more about the outside world and generating a positive Chinese appreciation for Western culture. Second, they planted seeds that would in time issue in modern Chinese journalism, so that many of the magazines published by and for Chinese intellectuals were unabashedly modeled on the lines of missionary magazines. Third, the proposals published in Wan Guo Gong Bao influenced the ideas of the reformers of the time.

Role and Evaluation of Mission Schools

Of all missionary endeavors, it was schools, especially universities, that lasted the longest and exerted the most pervasive and prolonged influence on all aspects of Chinese society—politics, economics, culture, and education. This issue has become one of the most popular of current intellectual topics, as evidenced by the more than forty papers that have been published on the subject. These studies can be roughly divided into two categories—one comprising assessment of missionary schools generally, the other focusing on case studies of specific schools or universities.

Chinese scholarly understanding of the stages of educational development, of the peculiarities and functions of educational institutions, and of the underlying reasons for the rise and fall of missionary education follow two diverging lines of thought. On one hand, standard missionary theory and objectives are thought to adequately explain the presence of Christian institutions, since such institutions would support and sustain the long-range evangelical vision for the transformation of China. On the other hand, educational and other institutions are seen as the by-product and evidence of irresistible modernizing forces, indigenous and foreign, at work in societies around the world.

Perhaps the sharpest intellectual debates revolve around the question of the precise roles played by mission schools, and the significance of their influence at local, regional, and national levels. The literature reveals three distinct orientations. Typical of what one might designate as the "wholesale negation" perspective, Professor Lu Da regards the mission school in modern times as simply one manifestation of imperial cultural aggression. Mission schools, he argues, constituted an independent framework under the direct control of the foreign powers. Their aim was to train "future leaders and commanders" for service. In the meanwhile, they endeavored to "degrade Chinese culture and to anesthetize the spirit of the Chinese by depriving students of their dignity and revolutionary ardor, making the Chinese nation subservient to foreigners and Chinese people susceptible to foreign exploitation."

The second viewpoint falls within the category of general approval. Professor Jing Zhong and others who represent this perspective hold that to regard missionary universities as a mere "cultural concession" distorts the evidence and ignores many facts. They reason that for a better understanding of the issue a distinction must be made between three lines of demarcation: (1) colonialist policies of imperialism relating to Christianity, (2) missionary universities within the broader context of missionary Christian activity and motivation, and (3) secular education as differentiated from religious education. Having drawn attention to these three spheres of analysis, the author argues that mission educational institutions—whether they wanted to or not—were obliged to respond to the intense desire of Chinese people to enter into a relationship with world powers on a more or less equal footing. To a certain degree, mission universities accommodated this powerful historical impulsion at work within Chinese society. Jing Zhong demonstrates that mission universities fulfilled three important roles in the creation of modern China.

1. They had a profound impact on China's antiquated educa-
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3. The curricula of the mission schools broke through the narrow, conservative, and sometimes mysterious demands of traditional learning, thereby serving as the forerunner of a new style of higher education and as the medium for the introduction of Western learning. 

Jiang Heng is another who believes that the positive significance of mission universities derives from the fact that they added fuel to the flames of China's great transformation by introducing Chinese people to the elements of a more modern civilization. Modern education in China, which evolved directly from that of the West with its foundations in modern science, thoroughly transformed traditional education in China from appearance to reality, and mission schools were an indispensable element in this remarkable transformation.

Writing in the same vein, Professor Liang Biying thinks that the positive contribution of mission schools lies primarily in their introduction of Western scientific knowledge. While Western learning was being propagated in the mission schools, a group of new-styled intellectuals, steeped in Western learning, was beginning to emerge. It was only a matter of time until the pattern and content of mission schools became widely accepted by the Chinese, and nearly all newly founded schools were modeled along Western lines. The evolution and reform of Chinese education would have been inconceivable without the contribution made by American missionaries.

To the third group belong those who criticize missionaries while nevertheless acknowledging the positive effects of their schools. As Professor Zeng Jusheng argues, in examining the role of the missionary universities, scholars should do justice both to their motives and to their effects. The founding of the schools by the missionaries in China was not for the sake of the Chinese but for the sake of their missions. But it turned out that the objective effects in a certain degree did not conform to the subjective wishes of the missionaries. On one hand, the imperialists did train a group of their lackeys and Chinese colleagues for their religious purposes. But on the other hand, the missionary schools also introduced to China a certain amount of scientific and technical knowledge. Major contributions are notable in the fields of English education, women's education, medicine, and agriculture. Mission schools and methods helped to reform the educational system in modern China.

Professor Xu Yihua concludes that the birth and development of mission universities was to some extent the product of the missionaries' ever-deepening knowledge of Chinese society. Mission universities reflected both the deepening of colonialist ideological influence as well as the sometimes coercive transplantation of culture. The attempt to mold Chinese culture along Western lines would mean, ultimately, its subjugation to Western culture. Nevertheless, the fact remains that as mediators of both the forms and content of Western learning, mission universities provided a model for the enlightenment of China and helped to prepare Chinese people to accept Western culture, thus hastening the process of China's modernization.

Conclusion

This survey very partially reflects contemporary Chinese scholarly understanding of the role played by Christian missionaries in the creation of modern Chinese culture. The significant point is that it demonstrates the emergence of diverse views on an issue that had earlier been too sensitive to allow debate. This change in the Chinese intellectual climate may be due to the growing economic, political, and educational interaction between China and the outside world. In a peculiar way, the present becomes visible when viewed in the mirror of history. Revisiting the historical relationship between Western missionaries and Chinese people could well provide both China and the West with important insight into what should be done to facilitate communication between two distinct cultural traditions, fostering mutual understanding and dialogue, including constructive disagreement. Any nation open to the world will find itself influenced by foreign cultures. These influences should be reciprocal, not monodirectional. A sensitive and sympathetic cross-cultural understanding of the dynamics of cultural change and exchange can be greatly enhanced by a careful examination of missionary experience in a field of investigation that has just begun to emerge in the Chinese academy.

Gerald H. Anderson

This listing is a sequel to the bibliography of 175 books in English on Christian Mission and Religious Pluralism that was published here in October 1990. Unfortunately, it is still true that there is no book in any language that provides a comprehensive study of Christian attitudes and approaches to people of other faiths throughout the history of Christianity. Such a study is greatly needed.


October 1998
Readers’ Response

To the Editor:

I am stimulated by Brian Stanley’s article (July 1997) on “The Legacy of George Grenfell” (1849–1906) to ask if anyone knows what happened to his three daughters and widow? His widow was interviewed by George Hawker whose The Life of George Grenfell was published in 1909; it used his letters to his daughters Carrie and Gertrude (the third daughter was Isabel). They were at school in England, and the widow and one daughter were visitors to another BMS missionary, Jamaican J. J. Fuller, at his London home (where he died in 1908).

The four women deserve attention both as females in the mission field and as people of visible African descent.

Jeffrey Green
East Grinstead, England

Author’s Reply

I am very grateful to Mr. Green for his question. Happily I am able to answer it, in large part as a result of information that has been kindly supplied, in response to my original article, by Grenfell’s great-granddaughter, Mrs. Yolande Jones, of Apopka, Florida, and her daughter, Ms. Cydnie Jones, of Plainfield, New Jersey.

Grenfell’s widow, Rose, known to the family as Patience Rosanna, went to Jamaica in 1908 and remained there, spending the last year of her life in the home of the Rev. S. C. Gordon, BMS missionary in the Congo from 1890 to 1926. Though born in Fernando Po, she was clearly of Jamaican stock, and it seems likely that her grandmother, who first broke the news of her pregnancy to Grenfell’s colleague, Q. W. Thomson, in July 1878, was a member of the first party of Jamaican freed slaves who sailed with Alfred Saker and John Clarke in 1843 to establish a Jamaican Baptist mission to West Africa. Patience Rosanna died on July 27, 1927, and was buried in Mamby Park Cemetery, Constant Spring, Kingston, Jamaica.

The Grenfells had eight children. Four died in infancy in 1883, 1886, 1888, and 1894. The first-born child, Patience, is recorded in Grenfell’s family Bible as being born at Victoria, in the Cameroons, on June 6, 1880. Unless this date was a false one, she cannot in fact have been the child whose conception led to Grenfell’s resignation from the BMS in August 1878; it seems likely that this first pregnancy did not run its full term. Patience grew up in the Congo before being educated (as were her three younger sisters) at Walthamstow Hall, the school for daughters of BMS and LMS missionaries, then located in Sevenoaks, Kent. She also studied in Brussels, possibly with a view to future missionary service. In late 1897 she returned to the Congo to teach in the BMS school at Yakusu, being regarded, in view of her age, as an unofficial helper and not yet as a full missionary. She died of haematuric fever at Yakusu on March 18, 1899 (BMS committee minutes June 20, 1899, correcting H. H. Johnston, George Grenfell and the Congo, I, p. 238n.). Caroline (or Carrie, b. 1883), similarly studied in Brussels, also apparently with a missionary career in the Congo in mind (G. Hawker, The Life of George Grenfell, pp. 486–88, 540–41). It seems likely, however, that she returned to England after her father’s death (pp. 470, 540). She never married, and later followed her mother to Jamaica, where she taught in Kingston. The third daughter, Gertrude (1889–1913), also joined her mother in Jamaica, where she became an accomplished singer and school teacher in Kingston. She too never married. The youngest daughter, Grace Isabel, born at Bolobo in 1896, accompanied her mother to Jamaica in 1908, where she was married at the age of thirteen to a Spanish Jamaican, Arthur Henriques Quallo. She had two daughters in Jamaica. Her family then moved to New York in 1914, where she had six more children. She died in New York in 1985. She had a collection of family papers, including Grenfell’s family Bible, which are now in the possession of Yolande Jones (her granddaughter). The collection also contains letters between Grace Isabel and a brother of Patience Rosanna who remained in Africa. There are nine surviving grandchildren, seven great-grandchildren and five great-great grandchildren, of Grace Isabel.

Brian Stanley
Cambridge, England

To the Editor:

A review of my book on Ingwer Ludwig Nømmensen appeared in April 1998 on pages 86–87. The review was much appreciated. I would like to call attention to one inaccuracy in it. It states that I am emeritus professor of church history at United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities in Minnesota. Actually I am emeritus professor of church history at Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, where I taught for eighteen years (1967–1985).

The International Bulletin is an excellent journal which meets a real need in our theological work. May it continue to flourish.

Martin E. Lehmann
Sperry, Iowa


Studia Missionalnia 42 (1993), Theology of Religions.


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**BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS**

Gerald H. Anderson, editor

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My Pilgrimage in Mission

Charles H. Kraft

I was born in 1932 in Waterbury, Connecticut. My family and I attended a rather lifeless Congregational church during my early years. My mother, on the verge of suicide in the mid-1930s, upon rereading a letter from her cousin who served as a missionary in the Sudan and Ethiopia, turned to Christ. With the hope of seeing my brother and me come into the same relationship with Christ, my mother began sending us to various camps during the summers. By 1944 we both made decisions to follow Jesus.

Having come to Christ, I felt that I had to change churches and that I should give my life for the cause represented by the cousin who had led my mother to faith. I joined a small but very mission-minded church and grew rapidly in faith and in knowledge of Scripture. I also spent parts of most summers at a Christian camp where quite a number of the staff, speakers, and musicians recommended Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, as the place to train for missionary service. In addition, I discovered that the missionary cousin (and her husband) who had influenced my mother had gone to Wheaton. When the time came to apply for entrance into college, Wheaton was my only choice. So I headed there in the fall of 1949 with one conscious and two semiconscious motives: to prepare for missionary service in Africa, to find a wife, and to become a good athlete to impress my father.

Path to Mission: Anthropology

Once at Wheaton, I began to ask around to find out what major a prospective missionary ought to declare. Various suggestions emerged, but one made more sense to me than all the others: anthropology. I remember asking an upperclassman who was headed for the Philippines what major I should enroll in. He said, “Anthropology, of course,” explaining that this was the only subject in the curriculum that was devoted to dealing with non-Western peoples. Marie Fetzner was our anthropology professor. My enthusiasm was quickly confirmed in her classes, but she left to marry a Bible translator and linguist, William Reyburn. Robert Taylor, who had retired after many years teaching at Kansas State, took over.

As we studied the dynamics of culture, we learned how important it is to respect and love a people for Christ by respecting the only way of life that makes sense to them. We were also put in touch with a movement dedicated to applying anthropological insights to the practice of Christian mission. As a leader of this movement, Taylor in 1953 founded Practical Anthropology, a journal that became a very influential vehicle of anthropology and communication theory for missionaries.

As I studied anthropology, played varsity football and baseball, and fell in love with my future wife, Marguerite Gearhart (now professor of intercultural studies at Biola University), I added linguistics to my interests and felt called to become a Bible translator. But with which mission board? I would have joined Wycliffe Bible Translators in a minute if they worked anywhere in Africa. Alas, they didn’t at that time, and I felt called to Africa.

So in 1952–53 I did a survey of all the mission boards I could find that worked in Africa, over 100 of them. I asked each what its attitude was toward appointing a person with anthropological training with a calling to do Bible translation. To my dismay, the answers I received were not positive. None of the missions seemed to think of Bible translation as a specialty worth pursuing at that time, except for veteran missionaries, and none was impressed with the value of anthropology.

But my future father-in-law was on the mission board of his denomination, the Brethren Church (Ashland, Ohio). The denomination at that time was working with the Church of the Brethren (Elgin, Ill.) to supply people and funds to open new work in northeastern Nigeria. As we discussed with him this new opportunity, the Lord seemed to be nudging us in that direction. So I wrote to Fuller Seminary, where I had been accepted for the fall of 1953, that I was not coming, and we headed instead to Ashland Seminary. We were accepted as missionary candidates and eventually received ordination from the Brethren Church, with the aim of pioneering in this new Nigerian field.

During the seminary years at Ashland, I took everything I could in Greek and Hebrew in addition to the regular curriculum, preparing for a career as a Bible translator. We also attended the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Norman, Oklahoma, during the summer of 1954. I took the second-year course, my wife the first. Then, after two years and an intensive summer of seminary, we were allowed by our mission board to spend a year (1955–56) studying at the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford, Connecticut. During that year I was able to continue linguistic study under H. A. Gleason and anthropological study under Paul Leser and also to get into Islamics with Kenneth Cragg. In addition, I was able to build a relationship with Eugene Nida, William Smalley, and William and Marie (Fetzner) Reyburn, both during that year and during summers teaching with them in the Toronto Institute of Linguistics and the Meadville, Pennsylvania, missionary training program. At Meadville we also became acquainted with Ralph and Roberta Winter.

During this time Nida and Smalley, at the American Bible Society, assumed responsibility for Practical Anthropology and made it into a major influence in the lives and ministries of those of us who were open to a culture-affirming approach to Christian mission. I eagerly read and digested the journal as it came out...
every two months. I also was privileged to be one of a small circle of those who received prepublication papers by Bible Society men and women, sent out as Translation Department Confidential Papers. By the completion of the academic year 1955–56, I became a Ph.D. candidate at Hartford and returned to finish the remaining semester's worth of work for my B.D. at Ashland.

The Nigeria Years

In the spring of 1957 we headed for Nigeria. After weathering a six-week trip by sea plus a few weeks within Nigeria to get ourselves, our two-year-old twins, and our baggage to the town of Mubi, we were ready to begin learning the Hausa language. We were under pressure to learn fast, since the mission, eager to test our linguistic ability, had decided that after four months we were to begin teaching the language to four other missionaries. We worked hard at language learning, and by the time the others came, both my wife and I were fluent enough to work out lessons for these others and to bring them to the place where they could work with language helpers on their own.

In December of 1957 we headed for the tribal area to which we were assigned, forty-four miles north of Mubi on the Cameroon border. Bill and Marie Reyburn, who were working several hundred miles to the south of us in Cameroon, came to visit us that Christmas.

Our task was to learn the Kamwe (Higi) language, reduce it to writing, and begin a translation of the Scriptures. I also was in charge of a handful of small churches that had been started without much missionary supervision, largely through the evangelistic activity of two local men: one blind and the other severely impaired by leprosy. As I got into the dual responsibility of learning the language and assisting the church leaders, it fairly soon became apparent that I could not do justice to both. So assuming that I could come back to the linguistic work later, I turned my attention to the churches. I soon found myself in what

In eastern Nigeria my wife and I found ourselves in what we later learned to call a “people movement.”

we learned later to call a people movement. The growth was so rapid that, although converts had to go through a six-month training period before baptism, I was baptizing up to 150 a month!

Though the ground had been prepared and the receptivity was high, my culture-affirming approach probably had a lot to do with not stifling what God had already started. The Nigerian leaders got to do all the preaching, because I refused to, and they did the evangelizing and grassroots teaching. I limited myself to teaching the leaders (in Hausa) and baptizing (required by the mission, since I was the only ordained person working with these churches). The church in our area grew faster than the mission leaders believed a church could grow. This fact, plus a few other things, brought us into conflict with the mission leaders, though we enjoyed the trust and support of most of the Nigerian church leaders. One important issue was the fact that we opposed the mission policy against baptizing believing polygamists. We were in a pioneer area and in a society where in order for a man to be a leader he needed to have more than one wife. So, observing in Scripture that God was patient with this custom, we advocated that we follow God's lead rather than Western sensibilities. The mission leaders, most of whom were not in close enough contact with the people to know what they were thinking, were adamant against our position. In addition, we experimented with Christian dances and other culturally appropriate activities. These too were condemned. So in spite of what looked like success, we were asked not to return after our furlough in 1960. Greatly disappointed that we could not return to Nigeria, we went back to Hartford for me to complete my doctorate.

African Language Specialist

The next three years, 1960–63, were spent at the Kennedy School of Missions completing my doctorate, while Marguerite finished an M.A. I did a dual program, taking comprehensives in both linguistics and anthropology. My dissertation was entitled “A Study of Hausa Syntax.” The summer of 1961 saw us returning to the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Norman, Oklahoma, and being accepted as candidates in training with Wycliffe.

The following summer was spent teaching Hausa at Michigan State University. This stint resulted in an invitation to join the MSU faculty as a member of the developing African Studies Center, with Hausa as my specialty. Without being quite sure why, we felt that God wanted us to take the position at MSU rather than going back to Africa (Ghana) with Wycliffe. So we resigned from Wycliffe.

On completion of my degree in June 1963, we headed for East Lansing, Michigan, and stayed five years on that faculty. There we involved ourselves with missionaries studying at MSU and several Peace Corps training programs in addition to my regular professorial responsibilities. In 1966–67 we returned to Nigeria to collect language data on sixty-five unwritten languages (later published in three volumes), with support from a government grant and MSU. During this year we also were able to rebuild our relationship with the mission and to assist them with language instruction and advice on other issues.

Shortly after we returned to Michigan State, an invitation came for me to accept a position in African languages at UCLA. Bill Welmers, who briefly had been my supervisor at Hartford, was now at UCLA and wanted me to join him in that prestigious African studies program. So we checked it out and decided to move there in 1968. UCLA was to be my academic home for the next five years, enabling me to publish several works on Hausa and Chadic languages in addition to teaching.

The Fuller Years

In my very first year at UCLA, we renewed acquaintance with Ralph Winter. This resulted in an invitation to teach in the School of World Mission, Fuller Seminary. After trying unsuccessfully to reduce my UCLA involvement to half-time, I accepted what was essentially a full-time position at Fuller (for half-time pay), starting in the fall of 1969. So, for the next four years I taught classes at each place two days a week, alternating among them for faculty meetings on Fridays! Donald McGavran was our dean, with Alan Tippett the senior anthropologist and Ralph Winter teaching history. I taught introductory anthropology, communication, and courses related to the relationship of Christianity to culture (e.g., conversion in culture, the church in culture). I couldn't have been happier. I had found my niche.

At UCLA, though I continued to do an acceptable job in the
classroom, my heart was no longer in linguistic research. So I finished up a couple of books I had been working on and wrapped up my career as an African language specialist there in 1973. Now I could really be full-time at Fuller (and for full-time pay).

I was asked, however, by Clyde Cook, one of our students at the time and then chairman of the Missions Department of Biola College (now University), to help their program by teaching the introductory anthropology course for them. So for the next four years (till 1977) I taught anthropology also at Biola and was instrumental in getting them to hire my wife, at first part-time but then full-time after she earned her first doctorate in 1977.

The opportunity to teach and write in missiology these nearly thirty years has been more than I could ever have hoped for in life. From 1973 to 1979 I was able to work rather intensively on putting together my thoughts concerning the theological implications of the relationships between Christianity and culture. I called my approach cross-cultural theologizing, or “ethnotheology,” and suggested that we use the incarnation and informed Bible translation theory as developed largely by Eugene Nida as our models. My call was for churches, theologizing, conversion, and all other aspects of Christianity to be dynamically equivalent within contemporary cultures to the approved models of these things we see in Scripture. This resulted in very fruitful classroom interactions with our experienced student body, the privilege of participating in the landmark Willowbank Consultation, and eventually in the publication of Christianity in Culture (1979), the book many consider to be my magnum opus. It also made me quite controversial in some circles, though very affirmed in others and among our student body and School of Mission colleagues.

Communicating the Gospel God’s Way also came out in 1979. This was followed in 1983 by Communication Theory for Christian Witness (rev. 1991), in which I was able to build from the incarnation a more detailed approach to gospel communication than was possible in Christianity in Culture.

In several articles and Readings in Dynamic Indigeneity (edited with Tom Wisley), I was able to further develop my approach to contextualization and to point to the importance of seeing indigenizing/contextualizing as a dynamic process, regardless of the name by which we label it. My recent Anthropology for Christian Witness (1996) encapsulates nearly fifty years worth of thinking on the relevance of anthropological insight to Christian witness. A forthcoming book on worldview plus a collection of my published and unpublished articles will expand this summary of my thinking.

I see myself in these writings and the teaching that goes along with them as continuing the pioneering efforts of Eugene Nida and his worthy associates of the 1950s and 1960s (Smalley, Reyburn, Loewen), much of the written record of which was published in Practical Anthropology, and of Alan Tippett, my esteemed colleague at Fuller for my first eight years.

I have been privileged to have a hand in the development of missionary anthropology, the harnessing of communication theory for Christian mission, and the acceptance and development of contextualization studies by evangelicals.

Christianity with Power

In 1982 a very surprising thing happened to me. Ever since my years in Nigeria, I had been puzzled about the relevance of Jesus’ teaching and behavior relating to healing, demons, and other manifestations of spiritual power. The Nigerian church leaders had asked me what they should do about evil spirits, and though I took both their questions and the existence of the demonic seriously, I had no answers for them. In my growing understanding of what is going on in the world in response to gospel witness, I was becoming increasingly aware of the fact that worldwide missionary Christianity was lacking the spiritual power we are promised in the New Testament. Furthermore, I was discovering that many of our missionary and international students were coming from a charismatic background and questioning whether my understandings of the relationships between Christianity and culture took proper cognizance of the presence of spiritual power, whether God’s or Satan’s.

When we had the opportunity to invite John Wimber to teach us about such things at Fuller Seminary, I was an enthusiastic supporter. His first course, from January to March of 1982, brought about incredible change in my life. For the first time, I was able to see firsthand how the Holy Spirit can work in power for healing, for deliverance from demons, and for any number of other blessings, and all in a matter-of-fact, non-weird way. John became for me and many of the rest of our students and faculty a credible witness to the fact that Christianity is not intended to be powerless.

I remembered a time in Nigeria when the village shaman began to come to church. He soon dropped away, however, probably because there was no power there. And also because most of the Christians came to him rather than going to Jesus or the pastor when they needed spiritual power. I began to see that the biggest problem in worldwide Christianity, the lack of spiritual power, could be solved if we learned what Wimber was teaching—how to work with God to heal, deliver, and bless. And I determined that my students would not go away from my classes as ignorant in this area as I had gone to Nigeria.

So I listened as Wimber taught. I watched as he and others ministered in power. And eventually I began to practice what I saw them doing and then to teach others what God has been teaching me in this area. Missiologically, I am teaching regularly in this area and beginning to write on the contextualization of spiritual power. My Evangelical Missions Quarterly article “What Kind of Encounters Do We Need?” (1991) has brought gratifying response, and a forthcoming book on contextualization will develop my thinking in these areas further. At a more popular level, Christianity with Power (1989) applies worldview theory to the paradigm shift we evangelicals have to go through to move into this dimension of biblical Christianity. Following this volume, I have published four more semipopular books on inner healing, deliverance, authority, and spiritual warfare.

Moving into the area of spiritual power has made a much more complete missiologist out of me as well as a much more fulfilled servant of Jesus Christ. But, some would say, a strange anthropologist and a strange academic! Such comments, however, prompt me to deny that I am an academic; I simply do academic work to help the cause of Christ. Who I am is a servant of Christ who has learned a few things about how God works in this world. And I am ready not only to talk about those things but also to practice what he gave his life for: to set captives free.
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WHERE SHARING THE GOSPEL MEANS SHARING YOUR LIFE
The Legacy of Robert Arthington

Brian Stanley

Most, if not all, of those who have figured in the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN’S series “Missionary Legacies” have been either distinguished missionaries or influential mission theologians or strategists. The subject of this article never left his native shores in Victorian England, never wrote a book, was never on the board of any missionary society, and can only with some question be regarded as an original missions thinker. Yet it is arguable that he did more than any other person to facilitate the growth of British Protestant missions in the first thirty years of the twentieth century.

Robert Arthington achieved this extraordinary degree of posthumous influence through his legacy in the literal and financial sense. The story of “Arthington’s million” is one of the most intriguing and revealing chapters in the narrative of how the rapid Protestant missionary expansion of the early twentieth century was financed. In contrast to the formative influence exerted by the philanthropy of the Rockefeller Foundation on American Protestant missionary policy in the same period, Arthington’s story suggests that under certain circumstances big money may possess relatively limited power to shape corporate policy. Being thinly spread, vested in an ambiguously phrased interest of the missionary societies at heart, Arthington’s million pounds proved less of a subversive or innovative element than he himself probably hoped and intended.

Commitment to Central Africa

Robert Arthington was born in Leeds on May 20, 1823, the only son of Robert and Maria Arthington, who were leading figures in the Leeds meeting of the Society of Friends. In 1848 Arthington followed the example of his mother and two of his three sisters in leaving the Society of Friends and eventually found his spiritual home at South Parade Baptist Church in Leeds. Robert Arthington, Sr., owned a brewery but had abandoned his business after adopting strict temperance principles in 1846. Nevertheless, on his death in 1864, he left a fortune of £200,000 to his son. Robert junior never set up his own business, but a combination of prudent investment, notably in British and American railways, and a notoriously parsimonious lifestyle augmented his fortune to an extent of which he himself was unaware until the final months of his life.

His wealth accumulated despite a series of large donations to missionary work. The most frequent recipient of his largesse was the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS). Arthington’s preference for the BMS and, to a lesser degree, the London Missionary Society (LMS), as recipients of his philanthropy had little to do with ecclesiological principle. It simply reflected general approval of these societies’ emphasis on evangelistic expansion. As a premillennialist, he believed that the priority in missionary strategy was to disseminate the Gospel as widely and rapidly as possible in order to hasten the return of Christ. Thus the BMS Congo Mission originated in 1877 with a donation of £1,000 from Arthington and owed its subsequent eastward expansion almost entirely to his munificence. George Grenfell’s river steamer, the Peace, was purchased and maintained by means of an initial donation of £4,000 received from Arthington in 1880, supplemented by a further gift of £1,000 in 1882. The money was given on condition that the BMS should advance up the Congo (Zaire) River with the ultimate goal of meeting a possible extension of the LMS Tanganyika Mission (whose foundation was also financed by Arthington) at a point west of Lake Albert. An additional £2,000 in 1884 enabled the BMS to proceed with the plan of constructing a chain of mission stations along the Congo as far as Kisangani.

In April 1892 Arthington offered the society a further £10,000 in the hope of inducing the BMS to extend its mission northeastward into the Upper Nile region. The offer was eventually accepted, and the funds were used to finance George Grenfell’s last explorations, in the Aruwimi River basin. It seems probable that Arthington’s vision of forming a chain of mission stations to constitute “a line of Gospel light across the ‘dark continent’” was borrowed from the Church Missionary Society (CMS) pioneer Johann Krapf, who was a regular correspondent of Arthington. Indeed, when in 1875 the CMS was enabled by an anonymous donation of £5,000 to make its own contribution to the fulfillment of Krapf’s dream by launching its Uganda Mission, it was publicly, and very possibly correctly, reported that Arthington was the donor. Arthington was also strongly influenced by David Livingstone’s vision for the Christian penetration of the central African interior. The fact that Livingstone’s vision took flesh in the three decades after his death in 1873 owed much to Arthington’s generosity.

Allocation of the Legacy

The significance for the Christian history of central Africa of Robert Arthington’s philanthropy exercised during his lifetime is thus considerable. However, it is outweighed by the importance of the legacy left on his death on October 9, 1900. Arthington’s last will and testament, dated June 9, 1900, appointed as his executors and trustees John Edmund Whiting, John Town, Alfred Henry Baynes, and Samuel Southall. Whiting, a Quaker carpet manufacturer in Leeds, was responsible for persuading Arthington, “not without some difficulty, . . . that his nearest relatives might reasonably hope for some share in his bequests.”

Brian Stanley is Director of the North Atlantic Missiology Project (NAMP) and a Fellow of St. Edmund’s College, University of Cambridge. A fuller version of this article was delivered in Cambridge, February 6, 1997, under the auspices of NAMP, coordinated by the University of Cambridge and financed by The Pew Charitable Trusts. The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Pew Charitable Trusts. Full sources for the article are cited in the complete version available from the NAMP office in Cambridge.
One-tenth of the residuary estate accordingly went to Arthington's first cousins, or, if they were deceased, to their children. Town, head of Joseph Town and Sons, paper manufacturers, was a leading figure in South Parade Baptist Church. Baynes had been general secretary of the BMS since 1878 and was the principal architect of the Congo Mission, largely financed by Arthington. Baynes retired from the BMS in 1906 but continued as an Arthington trustee until his death in 1914. Sharing Arthington's overriding enthusiasm for Africa, he used his influence as a trustee to promote the evangelization of central Africa as a priority in the allocation of the bequest, although in this respect he was only moderately successful. Southall was a Leeds tea merchant and a Quaker of decidedly evangelical views. On the invitation of these four trustees, a fifth trustee was added in the person of Dr. Ralph Wardlaw Thompson, foreign secretary of the LMS since 1881 and one of the most powerful figures in British Protestant missions.

Arthington's will had been poorly drafted, and it proved necessary to apply to the High Court of Chancery for a scheme of administration of the estate. A plan was approved in 1905, after which a proportion of the bequest became available for use, but (owing to outstanding claims from relatives) another five years passed before the final distribution of the estate could be effected. By that date its value had grown to £1,273,849. The will bequeathed the nine-tenths of the estate remaining (after the needs of his cousins and various other bequests had been met) to the BMS and the LMS in a ratio of 5 to 4. It specified that each society's share was to be administered by a committee, whose members were to apply both capital and interest "in their uncontrolled discretion for the purpose of spreading the knowledge of God's word among the heathen (excluding Mohammedan populations)." The exclusion of Islamic populations received no justifica­tion in the will other than the bald statement, "I desire that Mohammedans everywhere should be left to the various Bible agencies." The High Court of Chancery had ruled that the reference to "uncontrolled discretion" was not to be interpreted as meaning that the entire nine-ninths were to be given to the BMS and LMS for their sole and absolute use. As a result, the 1905 plan of administration placed £130,000 in a fund designated for "new missionary efforts not strictly connected" with either the BMS and the LMS. The BMS and the LMS were left with five-ninths and four-ninths of the residue, totaling £466,926 and £373,541 respectively.

The will expressed a preference that the bequest should be used to give every language group vernacular copies of the Gospels of Luke and John and the Acts of the Apostles. This wish reflected Arthington's belief that, although the number of those in any one locality who would believe might be small, missionaries could safely limit themselves to the translation of these portions of the New Testament and then move on, trusting the Holy Spirit to do the rest. Although this preference was reflected in the priority given to pioneering Bible translation work in the statement of conditions applicable to the third fund (the one independent of the work of BMS and LMS), relatively little of the million pounds was devoted to such activity. The explanation lies not in any lack of enthusiasm on the part of the societies for the principle of Bible translation but rather in the caution that, in differing measure, they displayed about accepting new commitments that would entail major long-term financial consequences.

The 1905 plan specified that the entire bequest was to be spent within a period of twenty-five years. The societies soon found it necessary to correct publicly the misapprehension that the legacy would make possible the realization of the wildest dreams of missionary expansion. The BMS warned its supporters that, since all the money was to be employed for the initiation of new work, the bequest in no way relieved pressure on its general funds. The LMS, however, decided it would be shortsighted to employ the money for initiating wholly new ventures. The LMS, guided by Ralph Wardlaw Thompson, made an early policy decision to use to the full the freedom allowed by the terms of the trust to interpret new work as meaning "the definite extension of existing work."

There is extant in the BMS archives a memorandum drafted by Thompson in 1905 setting out the principles that he wanted the LMS to observe in utilizing its share of the bequest. The memorandum acknowledges that, to be true to Arthington's wishes, pioneer evangelistic work must have an important place in the application of the fund. The central emphasis of the document, however, is on the Great Eastern Missions of the Society, which already claimed nearly two-thirds of all LMS personnel and, in Thompson's opinion, demanded "very serious attention." The India and China fields required more missionaries; better provision for the training of native workers, the education of the children of converts, and literature work; the extension of medical missions; and the encouragement of industrial work designed to lift the depressed classes to economic independence. In contrast, the fields in the South Seas, Madagascar, and South Africa were said to offer little scope for extension, while any new missions among uncivilized races must be entered into with great caution, since long experience showed them ultimately to be far more costly than might appear in their initial stages. In consequence, Thompson concluded, "the amount to be set aside for extension to new regions and for Missions among uncivilized tribes should be comparatively small, certainly not more than one-fourth of the whole fund." Of the remainder, Thompson proposed that half should be devoted to strengthening existing missions through the erection of new hospitals, schools, and training institutions, and the other half to enabling two selected districts in each of the India and China fields to develop toward fully self-supporting status.

**LMS Emphasis on Asia**

The substance of Thompson's memorandum was reproduced in the policy adopted by the society in late 1905. At the second meeting of the LMS Arthington committee, Thompson presented nine resolutions to govern the society's use of the bequest. The second of these observed that it was desirable that due regard be paid to Arthington's known wish to promote pioneer evangelism and translation work. But the force of this concession was outweighed by the preceding and following resolutions, which were adopted "without much discussion." The first stated that it would be "more profitable" to base any extension of work made possible by the bequest on existing missions rather than to undertake missions in entirely new regions. The third affirmed that "the work of the Society has now reached such a stage that extension of the Kingdom of God is more likely to be satisfactorily provided for by the more thorough evangelisation of the vast districts in which the Gospel has begun to be preached, and by the provision of such educational and other advantages for the converts as will make them better fitted to carry on the enterprise of the Church among their countrymen, than by the commencement of work in entirely new districts."
nineteenth-century missionary army, yet still far from satisfied with the quality of the indigenous churches planted in that territory, and determined by substantial investment in education to remedy that deficiency. The commitment to the priority of equipping the indigenous church was genuine enough and was repeated in public statements explaining the society’s policy on the use of the bequest, such statements making no attempt to conceal from the LMS constituency the preeminence of prudence.

There is little doubt, however, that another agenda was at work here than financial prudence alone. Pioneer evangelism among tribal peoples was inexpensive compared with the reinforcement of mature fields by investment in educational and medical institutions that Thompson indicated as the first priority. One of the guiding principles of his secretariat had been the priority of reinforcement. Another was to shift the center of gravity of the LMS from work among those he regarded as “uncivilized” peoples—notably in South Africa and the Pacific—to the great Asian fields of India and China, and specifically to the attempt to construct a mature church capable of sustaining its own life and identity amid the historic Oriental civilizations. Over the period of Thompson’s secretariat, the proportion of LMS missionaries working in Asia rose from under a half in 1881 to over two-thirds in 1914. The eastward direction that he imparted to LMS expansion, first through the Forward Movement of 1891–94, and then through the Arthington fund, proved an enduring one.

In accordance with Thompson’s recommendations, it was agreed that LMS pioneer work among unevangelized peoples should consume no more than £4,000 a year (representing about one-quarter of the LMS Arthington fund), to be divided between three missions. The Bemba Mission at Mbereshi in modern Zambia had been established in 1900–1901 following a donation of £10,000 from Arthington. His bequest was now used to reinforce that new and struggling venture. With the aid of Arthington money, Mbereshi developed into a major center of Christian education and industrial training. By 1930 young men educated at Mbereshi were contributing to the birth of Zambian nationalist politics. Second, a new station was to be opened in Matabeleland. John Whiteside was dispatched in 1906 to commence a new work at Insiza, which was moved a year later to Tjimali in the Marula district. Support from the Arthington fund brought the mission over the next decade to self-supporting status. Third, the society’s most celebrated pioneering field—the Papua New Guinea mission, where the martyrdoms of James Chalmers and Oliver Tomkins were still freshly etched in memory—was reinforced in its most recent branch in the west.

The remaining three-quarters of the LMS portion of the bequest were devoted entirely to the established fields of India and China, being divided equally between the development of general work in districts of particular need or opportunity, and investment in capital-intensive projects such as hospitals, education (including industrial training), and literature production. The newly formed commitment of Protestant missions to the provision of institutional medical care carried enormous financial implications. Samuel Southall commented in 1901 that there was reason to fear that Arthington, for most of his life, had been indifferent to bodily suffering, seeing it as his task to save souls. In 1906 Southall laid before the trustees a memorandum reminding them of “Mr. Arthington’s strongly expressed desire that his bequest should not be used to save the funds of the missionary societies, but rather to enable them to take up work which otherwise they could not cover.” It is ironic that the priorities of the mission boards, at least in the LMS case, ensured that much of this work turned out to be the provision of high-cost institutional medical care. It could thus be claimed that the fund was employed to correct the theological deficiency that Southall had identified in the understanding of mission held by Arthington himself.

BMS Policy vs. Arthington’s Vision

At the BMS, A. H. Baynes drafted a similar memorandum for the guidance of the society. In some respects it was closely patterned on Thompson’s model. There was the same care to preserve the society from a crippling financial burden once the fund was exhausted. Yet Baynes’s memorandum was also markedly different. Repeated allusion was made to Arthington’s own preeminent concern for pioneer evangelism, often through direct citation from his letters and statements. Since Arthington’s greatest interest had been in Africa, and specifically in the idea of a transequatorial chain of mission stations, Baynes suggested that one-half of the BMS share of the fund should be devoted to new or extended mission enterprise in Africa. The other half was to be split equally between new building projects in existing fields and the strengthening of districts of strategic importance in India, Ceylon, and China in order to bring the churches there to financial independence. While the structure and categories of Baynes’s paper mirrored those of Thompson’s earlier model, the mathematics and the geography were crucially different. Baynes’s intention was that the fund should complete what he and Arthington had initiated: namely, the evangelization of the Congo basin principally through the agency of the BMS, and a corresponding reorientation of the society from its historic but largely disappointing geographic focus in North India to the more promising field of sub-Saharan Africa.

Baynes presented his paper to the BMS Arthington committee on January 29, 1906. The committee asked that it should be circulated with a view to further consideration at the next meeting. In the interim, on March 31, Baynes retired as general secretary of the BMS, to be succeeded by C. E. Wilson, an educational missionary from Serampore College. Thus by the next meeting, on April 9, an Asian man was at the helm of the society. Baynes’s memorandum was “carefully considered” but not adopted. Instead a resolution was passed to the effect that the best policy would be to use the fund to strengthen the churches in one or more districts of strategic importance and potential with a view to enabling the BMS in due course to withdraw its assistance in favor of other fields. The subsequent pattern of allocation of the fund makes it clear that India and China, rather than Africa, received the bulk of the BMS grants. The extension of the China Mission, for example, received over £10,000 of Arthington funds in the space of two meetings of the BMS General Committee in January and March 1907.

To this extent, the pattern of BMS usage of the fund parallels that followed by the LMS more closely than Baynes originally

The BMS allocations make it clear that India and China, rather than Africa, received most of the funds.
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belief in pioneer evangelism was respected. The society that had been Arthington’s favorite during his lifetime proved consistently more willing than the LMS to employ his bequest to advance into new territory. Thus in Shaanxi Province in China a line of new stations was opened in 1910–11, stretching northward from Xian city. In India the expectation of money from the Arthington bequest encouraged the society in 1901 to begin work among the tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and in the following year to resurrect the adjacent tribal mission in Mizoram. This had been pioneered by J. H. Lorrain and F. W. Savidge under the auspices of the “Arthington Aborigines Mission,” a venture launched by Arthington in 1889. Compelled to relinquish this work in 1898 by Arthington’s impatience with their evangelistic methods, Lorrain and Savidge had started a mission of their own in Arunachal Pradesh. From this they were in turn recalled by the BMS to lead the Mizoram Mission, which became a notable success and a primary instrument in the Christianization of the northeastern states of India. Further south, in Orissa, Arthington funds enabled the BMS to institute another tribal mission among the Konds, which later bore fruit in a mass movement of conversion. Hence the BMS struck a rather different balance than did the LMS between the conflicting demands of fidelity to Arthington’s insistence on evangelistic expansion and alertness to the danger of overextension. As the fund neared exhaustion in the mid-1920s, the financial difficulties that the society experienced might suggest that prudence had been sacrificed to fidelity, yet no important BMS project initiated through Arthington money had to be abandoned once the fund had run its course.

Although more open than the LMS to advance into new mission territory, even the BMS devoted a substantial proportion of the fund to projects that conformed to the increasingly broad and institutionally focused agenda of Protestant missions in this period rather than to the strictly evangelistic understanding of mission held by Arthington himself. This was one consequence of the shift in policy consequent upon Baynes’s replacement by C. E. Wilson. Thus, in the field of theological education, at least £20,000 of Arthington money was made available to make possible the reopening in 1910, after an interval of thirty years, of Serampore College as an institution of advanced theological education and, in the following year, the resumption of an arts department affiliated with Calcutta University. There is evidence that the trustees expressed reservations about awarding Serampore such a large slice of the cake but were overruled within the BMS Arthington committee.21 These developments laid the foundations for the strategic role played by Serampore College in higher theological education in twentieth-century India. The irony is that this revival of Serampore as an institution of general higher education in the English language marked the defeat of those within the BMS, led by Baynes, who believed that the college ought to be primarily or exclusively a vehicle for offering lower-level vernacular training to supply the Baptist churches of Bengal with adequately equipped pastors and evangelists. Baynes’s view had been challenged within the society and finally overturned after his retirement.

In China, similarly, the BMS was not exempt from the tendency to utilize the Arthington bequest to promote the massive Protestant investment in institutions of both higher education and medicine that was so marked a characteristic of the years after the republican revolution. The BMS was closely associated with one of the two Christian universities to receive grants from the bequest. The Shandong Christian University, founded in 1904 by the BMS and the American Presbyterian mission, was in its early years a federal institution occupying three separate locations in the province. One of these, in the provincial capital of Jinan, housed the Union Medical College, erected in 1910 with aid from the Arthington fund. In 1917 a further grant from the fund enabled the other two components of the university—a theological institute and an arts college—to be relocated on the Jinan site. The Union Medical College at Jinan developed into one of the three leading institutions of medical education in China. The other two—the Peking Union Medical College and the Mukden Medical College—also benefited from the Arthington bequest.

The scale of the fund’s contribution was, however, dwarfed by the vast resources now being pumped into mission teaching hospitals by the China Medical Board, set up by the Rockefeller Foundation. The latter’s involvement in China after 1914 transformed the context of medical education, forcing a rapid upgrading of standards and a lively debate about the relative merits of Chinese-medium (favored by the foundation) as opposed to English-medium instruction. As a result, the scale and sophistication displayed by Christian medical and educational institutions by the late 1920s dwarfed anything that Protestant missions in China could boast coming from Arthington’s legacy. In 1926 C. E. Wilson commented in relation to Shandong Christian University that Arthington “would perhaps have been more surprised than pleased” if he knew that his money had laid the foundations for a Christian university.22

It is in the dispersal of the £130,000 vested in the third Arthington fund, where the trustees were free to operate without any obligation to consider the long-term interests of a particular society, that the imprint of Arthington’s distinctive missionary vision can most clearly be seen. These resources were widely employed to support the evangelistic and translation work among tribal peoples that was so close to Arthington’s heart. Nevertheless the chief impression made by a reading of the fund minutes is of the broad range of uses to which the bequest was put, extending from pioneer evangelism by interdenominational “faith” missions to YMCA work in the Far East. Moreover, the mission that received the largest single share of the third fund (£25,000) was the Friends’ Foreign Mission Association, which Arthington himself had despised as lacking in enterprise.23

Conclusion

Robert Arthington’s million pounds thus confronted both the missionary societies principally concerned and the Arthington trustees themselves with a series of complex choices whose outcome was of potentially lasting significance for the evolution of Protestant missionary policy in the early twentieth century. In the event, his legacy was neither large enough nor specific enough in its conditions to break the mold that most Protestant mission policy assumed in this period, one that had a very

Arthington would perhaps be more surprised than pleased if he knew his money had helped to found Shandong Christian University.
different shape from Arthington's own missionary vision. Nonetheless, the contrast in the responses of the LMS and BMS to the opportunities created by the bequest points to significant variations between the two societies and may reflect the beginnings of the divergence between the theological pathways of the Congregational and Baptist denominations that has characterized the history of the Free Churches in twentieth-century Britain.

Of even wider interest is the theme of the missiological and indeed racial attitudes implicit in the geographic preferences of the societies. The gaze of the LMS and, to a lesser extent, of the BMS under C. E. Wilson remained firmly fixed on eastern horizons. The explosion during the twentieth century of Christian growth in sub-Saharan Africa that Arthington and even Baynes appeared dimly to perceive from afar was for Wilson or Thomson, as for so many others in early twentieth-century Protestant missions, a much less tangible prospect than the alluring hope of capturing the new generation of the Western-educated elite of India or China for Christ. As Kwame Bediako has shown, the missionary movement in this period did not anticipate that its greatest triumph would soon be recorded among the animistic peoples of the African continent. The balance of expectation between Asia and Africa may conceivably have been different in the CMS, with its substantial investment in both West and East Africa. The CMS, however, made few applications to the fund, perhaps believing that the bulk of that fund would be distributed to the newer nondenominational missions.

In conclusion, despite the enduring magnetism of the dream of a chain of gospel light across the "dark continent," it was the hope of a new Oriental dawn for Christianity that governed the allocation of Robert Arthington's legacy.

Notes

1. It seems likely that Arthington was indeed the donor of the £5,000, even though he publicly denied it. See Friends' Quarterly Examiner 35 (1901): 283; Missionary Herald, 1877, pp. 183, 265; Oxford, Regent's Park College, BMS Archives (hereafter BMSA), H/31, Arthington to Baynes, October 6, 1877. I am grateful to the Baptist Missionary Society of Didcot for permission to cite material from their archives.

2. Leeds, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Sheepscar, Arthington Trust papers (hereafter AT), AT I A2, Minute Book 1917–33, p. 282. I am grateful to the district archivist, Mr. W. J. Connor, and his staff for assistance in my research for this article.

3. BMSA, H/31–32.


6. CWM, LMS Home Odds Box 7, Folder 4.


9. CWM, LMS Committee Minutes, Arthington Trust Minute Book 1, pp. 5–6.


11. CWM, LMS Committee Minutes, Arthington Trust Minute Book 1, p. 8.


13. CWM, LMS Home Odds Box 7, Folder 4.

14. CWM, LMS Committee Minutes, Arthington Trust Minute Book 1, pp. 8–9.


20. BMSA, General Committee Minutes, January 16, 1907, p. 27; March 20, 1907, pp. 49–50.


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The Legacy of Jeremiah Evarts

Charles A. Maxfield

“Am greatly disturbed and mortified, for our country’s sake,” Jeremiah Evarts noted in his journal on April 28, 1830, when he received word that the United States Senate had passed the Indian Bill, requiring the removal of the Cherokee from their homeland in Georgia to territory west of the Mississippi River. Evarts’s public relations campaign and Washington lobbying in opposition to Cherokee removal was the greatest of the many crusades he fought in his lifetime; it was now evident that he had failed.

All of the divergent pieces of Evarts’s life—Christian, lawyer, journalist, missionary executive, and social reformer—had come together in his campaign against Indian removal. A committed Christian since his senior year at Yale College in 1802, Evarts was now in 1830 troubled by how God could allow this to happen to the Indians. He reflected, “It seems as if Providence was at war with the Indians; and that very little success is likely to attend efforts made in their behalf. The Lord will vindicate his own plan; though many of his doings are inscrutable to us.”

Educated to be a lawyer, Evarts effectively used his legal skills through the decade of the 1820s to present the Cherokee’s case to the general public, to plead their cause before the powerful in Washington, and to indirectly advise the Cherokee leaders in their ongoing struggle. But it was of no use, he complained in 1830, for the elected officials in Washington were “mere machines, instead of men, and worthless demagogues, instead of reflecting, responsible statesmen.”

A successful journalist, Evarts had been hired by Jedediah Morse in 1810 to edit the Panoplist, a monthly journal advocating Calvinistic orthodoxy; he edited the journal for a decade. Evarts used his journalistic skill in 1829, when, using the pen name of William Penn, he wrote a series of articles for the National Intelligencer explaining the legal and moral case for the Cherokee nation. But he evidently was not persuasive enough. He deplored, “How tame and timid, and how vacillating and inconsistent—how yielding and compromising—nine-tenths of even the religious people are on all political questions which involve moral and religious considerations.”

As a missionary executive—corresponding secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) from 1821—Evarts had visited the board’s missions to the Cherokee and neighboring nations several times and was an advocate for the peoples with whom his missionaries worked. Now having to seriously contemplate the removal of the Cherokee, he mourned, “The evil falls generally on the innocent, or those who are least deserving of ill.”

Evarts the social reformer saw that most of the votes in Congress against the Cherokee came from slave-holding states. He had observed slavery on his southern trips, had editorialized strongly against the system, and now identified a link between slavery and Indian removal: “Without that disregard of human rights which is to be found among slave-holders only, nothing could have been done against the Indians.”

Jeremiah Evarts fought the fight of his life for the Cherokee and for national honor. He kept on fighting after the Senate’s adverse vote, but not for long. He died of consumption on May 10, 1831, in Charleston, South Carolina, while returning from a recuperative trip to Cuba. He was fifty years old. Younger men with different sensitivities took his place as leaders of America’s first and largest foreign mission board and led it in different directions.

Although Evarts failed in the greatest struggle of his career, his legacy of influence in missionary activity and church life for succeeding generations was great. Any examination of the role of advocacy and political action in church and missionary society should begin with the precedents provided by Evarts. Discussions of the equality of the races and sexes in church and missionary society should take note of his attitudes and actions. His contributions to religious journalism, missionary organization, and popular attitudes to the stewardship of money are also significant.

From New England Farm to Yale

Jeremiah Evarts was born February 3, 1781, in Sunderland, Vermont. His family soon moved to Georgia, Vermont, where he grew up on a farm. A classmate recalled his appearance on his first day of class at Yale College in 1798: “There sat Evarts, in a plain rustic garb, with which fashion evidently had never intermeddled; his stature of the middling height; his form remarkably slender; his manners stiff; and his whole exterior having nothing to prepossess a stranger in his behalf, except a countenance which bespoke as much honesty as ever falls to the lot of man.”

The “rustic garb” was later replaced by a business suit, but the appearance and character of Evarts otherwise remained unchanged throughout his life.

Evarts married a widow, Mrs. Mehitabel Barnes, in September 1804. She was a daughter of Roger Sherman, an active Connecticut politician and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

When in 1810 a group of Andover Seminary students met with faculty and clergy to discuss their dream of becoming foreign missionaries, Evarts was there. In 1811 he became treasurer of the ABCFM, America’s first foreign mission board, and a member of its governing Prudential Committee; in 1821 he became corresponding secretary.

Evarts was a transitional figure between the older genera-

Charles A. Maxfield is a local church pastor in the United Church of Christ (USA). He is a graduate of Lancaster Theological Seminary and Union Theological Seminary in Virginia. This article is taken from his doctoral dissertation, approved in 1995, “The ‘Reflex Influence’ of Missions: The Domestic Operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810–1850.”
tion of American Board founders and the younger generation of the first missionaries. At the time of the ordination of the first missionaries in 1812, thirty-one-year-old Evarts was closer in age to those receiving the laying on of hands than he was to those bestowing it. However, he shared with the older generation one important trait. Like Samuel Worcester, Leonard Woods, and Samuel Spring, Evarts had broad interests in an almost endless list of causes. He was an active organizer and writer for Christian tract societies. He had a variety of roles in the organizing of Bible societies, a temperance society, and societies to educate persons for ministry, reform prisons, care for seamen, establish Sunday Schools, promote Sabbath observance, and so forth. He promoted all of these causes in the Panoplist, as well as editorializing against war, slavery, and other vices.

Evarts and his elders saw the missionary movement as a very important element of a larger movement for the renovation of society. With Jonathan Edwards, they believed that the millennial reign of Christ would come as individuals allowed Christ to reign in their hearts and as Christ worked through such people throughout the wider community. As Timothy Dwight had put it, the kingdom would come, "not by miracles, but by means." The homes for widows and orphans founded by Isabella Graham and Sarah Ralston, as well as the work of Thomas Gallaudet with the deaf and dumb, were all part of this kingdom building. The founders of America’s foreign missions were not promoting an exclusively “spiritual” Gospel. They saw the worldwide proclamation of the Gospel as the central piece of their kingdom-building work, and they believed that spiritual transformation was the foundation of social renovation. Evarts never lost interest in the entirety of this program of building the kingdom of God on earth.

By contrast, the students who were the real founders of American missions had committed their lives to the most important of all causes, foreign missions. Among them was Rufus Anderson, who had made his commitment as a member of the secret student society at Andover called The Brethren. For such students there might be other worthy causes, but world evangelization was the most important. Evarts’s successors as corresponding secretary were from this generation, and they involved themselves in few other benevolent organizations.

Evarts also followed a transitional mission policy. Prior to his secretariat, the American Board was working to make the Indians “English in their language, civilized in their manners, and Christian in their religion.” Evarts’s successors, however, proclaimed that the board is, “pre-eminently, a society for preaching the gospel. This is its primary and leading design—the grand object for which it exists. All its plans have an ultimate reference to the preaching of the gospel.”

Evarts moved the board in this direction for pragmatic reasons. He decentralized missions, increased use of the native languages, and reduced civilizing activity. Evarts explained this policy shift in an 1826 reply to a letter from a supporter who criticized the changes:

"The advantages of communicating the English language has always been a favorite and familiar topic with us; yet experience has proved to our full conviction, that it is a more difficult thing to teach English, even to the children, than we had at first supposed; and that it is wise for some of the persons at every missionary establishment, to learn the language spoken by the Indians at that place. This is useful on every account; but especially as the medium of communicating divine truth to the minds of the adult population. . . . There is abundant, proof . . . that the word of God, brought home to the mind of an Indian, is capable of producing an entire moral change; and this change operates with more power in promoting civilization, than all other causes whatever. . . . Schools, farms, and shops are good auxiliaries; and without them a good state of society cannot exist. . . . But all these things will not civilize a single tribe, if made to occupy the principal place. At least, such are the results of our reasoning and experience."

A Passion for Justice and Equality

Jeremiah Evarts’s greatest legacy was his passion for justice, founded on a belief in human equality. He saw in all persons, regardless of color, “immortal beings, for whom Christ died.” Evarts identified with the aspirations of the native peoples with whom the ABCFM worked and advocated their cause through the media and before the political establishment of his country. This passion for justice for native peoples was demonstrated in his conduct in the “Percival Affair” and in the battle over Cherokee removal.

On January 14, 1826, the U.S. Dolphin, under the command of Lieutenant John “Mad Jack” Percival, arrived at Honolulu. Percival demanded the suspension of a law the Hawaiian chiefs had recently enacted against prostitution and threatened the life of missionary Hiram Bingham if he should try to interfere. On February 26, “six or seven sailors from the Dolphin, armed with clubs,” entered the room of an ailing Hawaiian chief, and “demanded that the law should be repealed.” More sailors arrived, a riot began, and they moved to the missionary residence. Bingham “fell into the hands of the rioters, by several of whom he was seized, some of them holding a club over him in the attitude of striking.” At this point the natives intervened, enabling Bingham to escape. After continued intimidation, the chiefs let it be known that the law against prostitution would not be strictly enforced. Several other ships at Lahaina bullied the authorities there into a similar relaxation of the law.

Jeremiah Evarts was outraged. He began a media campaign, using the Missionary Herald (successor to the Panoplist, now owned by the ABCFM) and encouraging friendly articles and letters in other periodicals. He was confident that “every man is justly held amenable to the great law of public opinion.” As a result of a formal complaint made by the ABCFM Prudential Committee to the Navy Department, a court of inquiry was held. The decision of the court was never made public; the board assumed that Percival received a reprimand. The United States sent to Hawaii the U.S. Vincennes, arriving at Honolulu on October 14, 1829, with gifts and apologies to the Hawaiian government, and a letter from President John Quincy Adams that declared, “Our citizens who violate your laws, or interfere with your regulations, violate at the same time their duty to their own government and country, and merit censure and punishment.”

The election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828 brought new energy to efforts to remove the Cherokee from their homeland in Georgia. The Prudential Committee, while dis-

Evarts believed the millennium would come as individuals allowed Christ to reign in their hearts.
claiming any desire to get entangled in politics, sent Evarts to Washington in January 1829 to urge the federal government to follow a just and humane policy. The committee directed Evarts to express "as the decided opinion of the Board, that the Indians should not be solicited, much less compelled to leave their lands, except upon terms fully explained, well understood, and voluntarily accepted; and that any other course of proceeding would be repugnant to the plainest principles of justice, violate the express stipulations of treaties, and would bring reproach upon the character of our country."18

Evarts had made similar trips in 1823, 1824, 1827, and 1828, and would go again in 1830.19 In addition to his "William Penn" letters, he held public meetings in major cities and organized petition campaigns in the winter of 1829–30 to urge Congress to honor its treaties with the Indians. The network of supporters that sustained the American Board with money and prayers was also enlisted to petition—and pray for—Congress.

Evarts was motivated in this controversy by a concern for the Cherokee and also a concern for "national honor." He wrote, "It will be an indelible stigma if "in plenitude of power and pride of superiority we shall be guilty of injustice to weak and defenceless neighbors."20

"The character of our government, and of our country, may be deeply involved. Most certainly an indelible stigma will be fixed upon us, if, in the plenitude of our power, and in the pride of our superiority, we shall be guilty of manifest injustice to our weak and defenceless neighbors."21

Evarts advised missionaries Samuel A. Worcester and Elizur Boudinot, a Cherokee student at the school, to Harriet Gold, a local girl (the second such interracial marriage at Cornwall), led to the open expression of racist feelings in the community. Horrified, Evarts wrote to a board member from Connecticut, "Can it be pretended, at this age of the world, that a small variance of complexion is to present an insuperable barrier to matrimonial connexions? or that the different tribes of men are to be kept forever and entirely distinct?"22 His strong feelings were not made public. But in private Evarts defended the marriage against the opposition of the community and the school's agents. Afterward, he called for an investigation of the school, and it was closed in 1826. The board claimed the school was closed because it was no longer needed.

Evarts was a strong believer in the power of "public opinion," and he used his journalistic skills to effectively mobilize that opinion. However, he apparently used discretion when he realized that public opinion was not in harmony with his views; he continued to act according to his convictions but selectively refrained from publicizing unpopular actions.

Organizational Development

Evarts's legacy also included the development of the internal structure of missionary organizations. He once commented, "If we are to be the instruments of doing anything worth mention for the church of God and the poor heathen, we must exhibit some of that enterprise which is observable in the conduct of worldly men."23 The board under Evarts adopted new fund-raising policies that had been pioneered in Britain. In November 1823 the board announced a plan to cover the country with regional "auxiliary societies," which would have oversight of local "associations," two in every parish, one for men and one for women. The association members, as "collectors," were to canvass their communities for subscriptions to foreign missions.24 In January 1831 the Prudential Committee voted to obtain "permanent agents" to work full-time to promote missions and gather funds in specific areas. This pattern of associations, auxiliaries, and agents was followed by many other missionary and benevolent societies throughout the nineteenth century. By 1830 Evarts was administering an enterprise with annual receipts in excess of $100,000;25 the ABCFM was fast becoming a big business, and Evarts worked to give it a life that was both businesslike and pious.

To fund missions, the American Board promoted a piety of the consecration of material possessions, the precursor of our modern "stewardship" theory. Through the pages of the Panoplist, editor Evarts promoted the values of stewardship, total dedication to Jesus Christ, and self-denial for the cause of Christ.26 In this way he participated in laying the foundations of modern attitudes to church and mission financing.

 Jeremiah Evarts was never a "single-issue" person. Most notable among his other activities were (1) important reviews in the Panoplist exposing Unitarians and defending Trinitarian orthodoxy, and (2) lobbying in Washington on behalf of those opposed to the delivery of mail on Sundays. All of his activities were shaped by a postmillennial effort to make this world more like the promised kingdom of God.

Although some of Evarts's policies were reversed by his successors, and in other ways he was a transitional figure between the two generations that pioneered America's foreign missions, he also contributed a distinctive legacy that is still with us.

1. He identified the cause of missions with the legitimate aspira-
tions of the native peoples to whom missionaries were sent, advocating their cause within his own country.
2. He believed in racial equality in the conduct of missions.
3. He opened the door to missionary service by single women.
4. As a result of the Percival Affair, the condition of women in other societies became a steadily increasing theme in the promotion of missions.
5. Evarts believed that Americans must be held accountable for their actions among vulnerable peoples and pursued this principle to the point of taking political action.

6. As a journalist who became a mission executive, he believed in the importance of public opinion and effectively used the media to mold that opinion.
7. Evarts advocated a missionary piety among mission supporters that included a consecrated use of material possessions.
Jeremiah Evarts played an important role in the evolution of foreign missions from the dream of a handful of students who met in secret for fear of being called fanatics, to a business enterprise that stood at the center of the religious establishment in America.

Notes
2. Ibid., p. 367.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 11.
8. According to E. Tracy, Evarts was in Andover, talking to the people who attended the meeting, but not in actual attendance (Memoir of Evarts, p. 96). However, Rufus Anderson says that he was present and spoke strongly in favor of the project (Rufus Anderson, Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions [Boston: ABCFM, 1861], p. 52).
10. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, First Ten Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with Other Documents of the Board, p. 160. These were the words of Ard Hoyt, missionary, reported in the annual report for 1817. Samuel Worcester, first corresponding secretary of the board, also favored the use of English. See Samuel Worcester to Jeremiah Evarts, July 1, 1815, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Papers, Houghton Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts, ser. 1.5, vol. 2.
14. AR 1827, p. 79.
15. Ibid., p. 77.
27. AR 1830, pp. 103–4.

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Selected Works by Jeremiah Evarts
The papers of Jeremiah Evarts are among the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; the Evarts Family Papers are in the Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut. 1810–20. Panoplist, vols. 6–16. As editor, Evarts wrote a majority of the articles and most of the reviews.
1821–30. Annual reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. Evarts edited the material and wrote the conclusions, some of which were afterward published as tracts.

Major Works on Jeremiah Evarts
Book Reviews

Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History.


Christianity in South Africa comprises twenty-five essays edited by Richard Elphick, professor of history at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, and Rodney Davenport, retired professor of history at Rhodes University, South Africa. The essays are grouped in five sections: the transplanting of Christianity by missionaries and African evangelists in the nineteenth century; the histories of the numerous Christian churches active in modern South Africa, including a vast proliferation of African Independent Churches; relations between Christians and various South African subcultures; Christianity and South African music, literature, and architecture; and the political roles of the churches as promoters or opponents of racial segregation and apartheid.

In a lucid introduction, Elphick emphasizes "the pervasive influence of Christianity in South African life...[which is] poorly reflected in the historical literature" and declares that "this volume seeks to insert the Christian micro-narratives into the macro-narratives of South African history." In demonstrating the significance of Christianity in South Africa, this book is most successful. A majority of South Africans (72.6 percent) now claim to be Christians, including nearly all the whites (other than Jews), and no less than 76 percent of the African population, whereas many of the people of mixed descent ("coloreds") are Muslims and most Indians are Hindus or Muslims. Christianity in South Africa describes in depth the complex processes behind those statistics. Especially interesting are chapters by Janet Hodgson on Christian beginnings among the Xhosa as "a battle for sacred power" (p. 68), John W. de Gruchy on the role of the English-speaking churches, a piece on the African Independent Churches by Hennie Pretorius and Liz Jafta, and Elphick's essay on the social gospel during the segregation period in South Africa. Unfortunately, even though the future of Christianity in South Africa seems to lie mainly with the African population and, as Eugene M. Klaaren explains in his essay, Africans have made original contributions to theology in South Africa, only one of the contributors to this volume is an African.

—Leonard Thompson

Leonard Thompson, Charles J. Stille Professor of History Emeritus, Yale University, was director of the former Southern African Research Program at Yale. His books include The Political Mythology of Apartheid (1985) and A History of South Africa (rev. ed., 1995).

Symbol and Ceremony: Making Disciples Across Cultures.


The central concern of this book is that cross-cultural disciplers (missionaries) not neglect symbol and ceremony in their efforts to plant effective churches. Zahniser, professor of Christian mission at Asbury Seminary, says, "Symbols and ceremonies without teaching soon lose their reference to God; teaching without symbols and ceremonies soon lacks relevance to life in the world" (p. 68). Drawing on the work of anthropologists Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz, Zahniser roots his argument in the human need to use symbols to connect with religious realities. The purpose of religious rituals is for the participants to "bond" with significant meanings (pp. 94–98).

Zahniser particularly commends the adoption of symbols and ceremonies from faiths other than Christianity. Using three extended examples—a Buddhist initiation rite, the Jewish Sabbath, and the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca—he illustrates how Christians can borrow rituals and, with modification, give them Christian meanings. In order to avoid syncretism, which he defines as "bonding to the wrong meaning" (p. 157), he offers two tests: (1) God must be ultimate, lest the ceremony descend into magic; and (2) Jesus' "radical equality" must be represented, lest ethnocentrism take hold (p. 170).

The book correctly identifies a void in the missiological literature with respect to conceptual and practical works on symbolism. It falls short, perhaps, in the following four areas: (1) neglecting Catholic and Orthodox Christian liturgies and what they have to teach Protestants; (2) offering an inadequate guide for avoiding syncretism, one that would better protect Islam than Christianity (e.g., it does not give central importance to the incarnation, p. 170); (3) tending to confuse meanings, as when adulthood and conversion are merged into a single ceremony of baptism (p. 113); and, most important, (4) viewing ritual in entirely psychological terms rather than sacramental ones. Ritual's primary purpose is to open a space for God and to facilitate an encounter with God. To focus primarily on human need, rather than God's appearing, is to miss the point of ritual and, ironically, to run the risk of trivializing it.

—Eloise Hiebert Meneses

Eloise Hiebert Meneses is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Eastern College in St. Davids, Pennsylvania.
This is a translation and English-language revision of *Lexikon missionstheologischer Grundbegriffe*, edited by two eminent German missiologists, Karl Müller and Theo Sundermeier, and published in 1987. Now it has been updated and expanded by another Catholic and Protestant editorial team, Stephen B. Bevans and Richard H. Bliese from the Chicago Center for Global Ministries. In their preface to the English edition, the editors say they are "attempting to produce a dictionary of mission theology that reflects the missiological currents of the 1990s and looks forward to some of the issues of the first years of the new century and millennium" (p. xvi). In his foreword, Robert J. Schreiter says that the dictionary "is a road map through the exciting and challenging terrain" of the changing landscape of mission.

The 110 articles by some ninety scholars are "basically theological in content" (p. xvii) and span the spectrum from "The Absoluteness of Christianity" to "Word of God." They also include several on current missiological issues, such as "Fundamentalism" and "Common Witness," and a few historical articles, such as "Rites Controversy" and "World Missionary Conferences." Each article includes a substantial bibliography.

While there is one general article on African theology and one on Latin American theology (supplemented by an article on liberation theology), Asia is more thoroughly covered, with separate articles on Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Japanese, and Korean theology.

There are two articles on evangelical mission theology, one on faith missions, and one on Orthodox mission, but surprisingly there is none on Pentecostal theology or missions. Many of the articles provide a comprehensive summary and synthesis of their topic; some will become classics for reference, such as "Evangelism, Evangelization" by David J. Bosch. Not all articles are of such a high standard, however. For instance, there is no article on syncretism, and we are told on page 508 that syncretism is "an evangelical preoccupation." In the article on Judaism by an American Catholic scholar, there are factual flaws. The most glaring is the author's statement that "Jews were not specifically mentioned in the Vatican document on mission entitled *Redemptoris Missio*" (p. 237). Actually, in this papal encyclical, John Paul II specifically affirmed that "for all people—Jews and Gentiles alike—salvation can only come from Jesus Christ."

Mission scholars badly need reference tools for their work, and the Dictionary of Mission serves well as a benchmark of much missiological thinking at the end of the twentieth century.

—Gerald H. Anderson

Gerald H. Anderson is Editor of this journal and Director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut. He recently edited the Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions (1998).
also contains a discussion about hope for the unevangelized, where the emphasis is more on witness than speculation. This expresses the general tone of the book, which is cautious and graciously conservative.

—Clark H. Pinnock

Clark H. Pinnock, Professor of Theology, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, is the author of numerous books, including A Wideness in God’s Mercy: The Finality of Jesus Christ in a World of Religions (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992).

Towards an African Narrative Theology.

By Joseph Healey and Donald Sybertz.


Apples of gold in settings of silver (Prov. 25:11). These two books are jewelry settings that beautifully show off African “apples of gold”—proverbs, fables, songs, and anecdotes. Both follow in the trail of John Pobee (Toward an African Theology, 1979), mining the gold of African traditional wisdom and adding enough structure so that the rest of the world can see what we have been missing.

Healey and Sybertz do this with an eye to pastoral theology, catechism, and liturgy, drawing on years of experience with small Christian communities in northwest Tanzania. Wanjohi does it with an eye to classroom instruction in philosophy, drawing on several decades of teaching at the University of Nairobi in his native Kenya.

Healey and Sybertz pack nearly 500 proverbs from all over Africa into their book, including some unforgettable gems such as, “The best fertilizer is the shadow of the owner” (p. 38). The humorous story of two porcupines on a cold night (p. 108) portrays the problem of all human relationships, even the relationship between Catholics and Protestants. The beautiful “African Canticle” from a Tanzanian girls school rouses all Africa to praise the Creator (pp. 319–20).

Such things leap from every page of the work, organized around chapter themes such as Christ as elder brother, the church as extended family, hospitality, death, healing, and mission. The book is a gold mine for pastors, missionaries, and other practical theologians, especially but not only in Africa. It has much to offer anyone anywhere who wants to understand Christ, the church, and mission more deeply.

Wanjohi’s book, limited to Gikuyu proverbs, tackles the question, Is there an African philosophy? Following the “intercultural philosophy” lead of Prof. Heinz Kimmerlee (Utrecht), he answers with a qualified yes and proceeds to show how a system of metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics can be drawn from traditional proverbs. He adds one chapter each on Gikuyu social, religious, educational, and political philosophy.

Throughout his work Wanjohi does an exceptionally clear job of defining basic philosophical terms and comparing the view of Gikuyu proverbs with the positions of major Western philosophers. This makes his work well suited for introductory courses in philosophy (African or otherwise). African studies, cultural anthropology, and oral literature. It is an excellent introduction for missionaries learning to “think African,” whether among the Gikuyu or not.

One hopes for many more attempts of this kind, each focusing on the proverbs of a particular culture. A few others are available, such as Sumner, Proverb Collection and Analysis (1995), on the Oromo of Ethiopia, but the field is wide open.

For missiologists perhaps jaded with books on the theory of contextualization and inculturation, these new contributions from Wanjohi and from Healey and Sybertz bring a refreshing shift from theory to practice. They move current missiological discussion forward in the right direction.

—Stan Nussbaum

Stan Nussbaum is Director of Training at Global Mapping International, Colorado Springs, Colorado, where he recently edited The African Proverbs CD: Collections, Studies, Bibliographies. He served as a Bible teacher in Lesotho (1977–84) and a missions lecturer and researcher at the Selby Oak Colleges in England (1986–93).

Misional Church: A Vision for the Sending of the Church in North America.


In 1992 the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod in convention declared North America a “world mission field.” Following this recognition, two good
Lutheran questions had to be asked: “What does this mean?” and “How is this done?” Missional Church has the answers. I found myself reading Missional Church and saying “Yes, yes! That’s us. That is our mission field. That is how we need to work in North America.”

The book comes out of discussions sponsored by the Gospel and Our Culture Network, an ad hoc group of mission-minded folks who work in the North American mission field. The mantle of Lesslie Newbigin rests on GOCN, as its members implement in North America the work the late bishop of South India encouraged in Europe. Newbigin describes this ministry on page 102 of his book Foolishness to the Greeks (Eerdmans, 1986): “Perhaps we can learn how to embody in the life of the church a witness to the kingship of Christ over all life—its politic and economic no less than its personal and domestic morals—yet without falling into the Constantinian trap. That is the new, unprecedented, and immensely challenging task given to our generation. The resolute undertaking of it is fundamental to any genuinely missionary encounter of the gospel with our culture.” Newbigin’s aim was to treat the so-called first world as a mission field. GOCN is asking how this could occur in North America.

Missional Church is a wonderful summary of cultural, philosophical, and ecclesiastical trends in North America. Its practical signals suggest a potential next step in missionary ecclesiology, past the church-growth paradigm, providing a road map for mission work in North America into the next millennium.

—Robert Scudieri

Robert Scudieri has been the Area Secretary for North America for the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod since December 1991. He is also chairman of the Lutheran Society for Missiology, the publisher of Missio Apostolica, a journal of Lutheran missiology, and author of Apostolic Church: One, Holy, Catholic, and Missionary (Fort Wayne: Lutheran Society for Missiology, 1996).

Crosscurrents in Indigenous Spirituality: Interface of Maya, Catholic, and Protestant Worldviews.


This timely book edited by Guillermo Cook is intended to encourage reflection on a relevant Mayan spirituality, which could promote the revitalization of ministries of both Catholic and Protestant churches and missionaries. It will be especially valuable to those who are involved in indigenous areas of Latin America.

The book offers a new awareness of the spectacular Mayan civilization, which is still a vibrant culture today. More than fifteen different writers attempt to expose us to the voices of present indigenous Christian leaders who are speaking up for their rights in the Christian church, in evangelization, in indigenous theology, as well as in their social-political spheres. The clash of cultures, the resilience of the Mayan cultures, the rise of indigenous theology, and the search to return to Mayan indigenous roots are themes that help us analyze the cultural values that are reflected in the Mayan spiritual worldview.

A valuable contribution of the book is the revelation that the Maya worshiped one creator god before being corrupted by the invasions of non-Mayan indigenous groups. The subsequent Spanish conquest and Roman Catholic domination in the 1500s further added to the corruption of...
indigenous values and spiritual worldview. The resurgence of Mayan indigenous forms of spirituality and theology give rise to the hope that Christianity itself might be revitalized by the indigenous holistic worldview and the relational values of family, community, and the supernatural world.

Chapters 15 and 18 do not address the subject of indigenous spirituality but represent political protests. The chapter that deals specifically with Chiaapas glorifies the recent Zapatista movement and contains many misleading inaccuracies, especially regarding the expulsion of evangelicals. This book would have been even more valuable if there had been some perspective from indigenous Christians of Chiaapas along with those of Guatemala.

I recommend this book for all students of missiology. I believe that Mayan spiritual and relational values can make a major contribution to Western Christianity and the church.

—Vernon J. Sterk

Vernon J. Sterk has lived with the Tzotzil Maya people of Chiaapas, Mexico, for thirty years. He has worked in the areas of indigenous forms of evangelism, the clash of cultures and the persecuted church, and an interconfessional translation of the first complete Bible in the Tzotzil language.

The Missions of Jesus and the Disciples According to the Fourth Gospel: With Implications for the Fourth Gospel's Purpose and the Mission of the Contemporary Church.


In John’s gospel, Jesus famously sends his disciples into world mission “as” the Father sent Jesus (17:18; 20:21). A lot is in this “as”! In this meticulous doctoral dissertation, Kostenberger, steeped in the best recent scholarship and using a semantic-field approach linguistically, mines the gold-filled double mission of Jesus and his disciples.

Here are the author’s two main discoveries. First, Jesus’ mission and the disciples’ mission must, on the one hand, be distinguished from each other (only Jesus does “signs” in this gospel, and only Jesus uniquely reveals and redeems), and yet, on the other hand, the two missions must be very closely related to each other (both Jesus and the disciples are given the honor of mission “works” in this gospel, and Jesus wants his disciples to continue his own mission by bearing faithful witness to him and to his uniqueness).

Second, discipleship and mission/evangelism should not be separated, for in John “those who follow Jesus closely [in discipleship] are at the end of the gospel commissioned to be sent into the world [in mission]. Thus while a disciple’s being sent out is preceded by a time of following Jesus (‘discipleship’), a person’s ‘discipleship’ includes and entails that person’s (‘evangelistic’) mission to the world” (p. 177 n. 129). Furthermore, “for John there is no separate class of ‘missionaries’; all believers are sent” (p. 198). The two missions (of Jesus and of Jesus’ disciples) are so intimately related that ultimately “the mission of the exalted Jesus [is] carried out through his followers” (p. 210). So mission gets exciting—John’s gospel enables disciples as free (because committed) agents of the living Lord in the world’s most important mission.

Yet we must not go so far as to consider Christian mission an extension of the incarnation. “The Fourth Gospel does . . . not appear to teach the kind of incarnational model advocated by [John] Stott and others. Not the way in which Jesus came into the world (i.e., the incarnation), but the nature of Jesus’ relationship with his Sender (i.e., of obedience and utter dependence), is presented in the Fourth Gospel as the model for the disciples’ mission” (p. 217).

Readers of the International Bulletin will be especially interested in Kostenberger’s concluding chapter,
“Implications for the Mission of the Contemporary Church.” Kostenberger is that rare biblical scholar who is very interested in world mission. While this book will interest scholars of John a bit more than it will scholars of mission (since it is quite technical), it is an invitation to the deepest kind of Bible study, which most missionaries will want to do.

—Frederick Dale Bruner

Frederick Dale Bruner, Emeritus Professor of Religion at Whitworth College, Spokane, Washington, was a Presbyterian missionary in the Philippines. He is the author of a commentary on Matthew’s gospel and is at work on a commentary on John.

The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific.


A generation after the Duff landed on Tahiti, local Polynesian churches were sending their own missionaries to neighboring islands. The remarkable expansion of Christianity throughout the Pacific region, where over 80 percent of the population today claims affiliation to some church or mission, owes much to the dedicated work of thousands of islander teachers, evangelists, catechists, and ordained clergy. Indeed, it is safe to say that most islanders learned of Christ from the lips of other islanders, not from European missionaries. Yet most accounts of mission relegate islander missionaries to the background. The Covenant Makers goes a long way toward remedying this injustice, demonstrating that the documentary obstacles that have hampered study of islander evangelists can and must be overcome. This accessible and fascinating collection makes a major contribution to current attempts to write Pacific histories focused on the experiences of islanders themselves.

Enriched by Sione Latukefu’s excellent overview chapter and the editors’ cogent review of the scholarly treatment of islander missionaries, the volume presents thirteen fine-grained local histories and biographical accounts. We learn of pioneering missions in southern Vanuatu, Mangai, Fiji, Tuvalu, Papua, and the Marshall Islands, where islander missionaries, accompanied by their wives and children, labored in the face of extraordinary privations. These chapters specifically examine the motivations that led islanders to devote their lives to mission, the cultural styles of different islander missionaries, the intimate relations formed between missionaries and local people, and the often tempestuous relations between the islanders and supervising European missionaries. A second group of chapters profiles individual islander missionaries working in twentieth-century Tuvalu, Papua, Guadalcanal, and Fiji. Mostly written by islander scholars, all draw upon interviews and oral traditions. They demonstrate that the history of Oceanic Christianity can expand beyond its preoccupation with the founding European missionaries through a sensitive rereading of archival documents and an intimate knowledge of local histories.

—John Barker

John Barker, a Canadian, is Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia.

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John Wesley Z. Kurewa is vice-chancellor of Africa University, Zimbabwe, and a minister in Zimbabwe’s United Methodist Church. He has served as deputy and senior secretary (1980–89) of the Zimbabwe Parliament. His history of Zimbabwe Methodism’s American-founded branch lacks the critical tone of essays that Canaan Banana edited on Methodism’s British branch, A Centenary of Methodism in Zimbabwe (1991). Kurewa chides missionaries who wish Africans to see themselves as “heathen,” “kaffir,” or “boys” and traces the intertwining of missions and colonialism.

American Methodists went to Liberia in 1822 to prevent “Islam’s encroachment further south” (p. 19). In 1897, before he left for Rhodesia, Bishop Hanzell explained his goal: “Somewhere in South Africa, in the midst of the advancing waves of Anglo-Saxon civilization northward and under the British flag, American Methodism should have missionary work” (p. 23). He negotiated with Cecil Rhodes’s British administrators for 13,000 acres at Old Mutare, where he established an industrial training center for Africans, and a school for whites at New Mutare (p. 46). A hook for evangelism was the Africans’ craving for education. The Catholic motto became “Who owns the schools will own Africa” (p. 34).

missions defined “saved and civilized” and scrutinized behaviors that were heathen and Christian (pp. 37–45). Some saw Africans as lazy, but others appreciated African ways. Africanization was touched off by an emotional revival in 1918 that gave the church the flavor of “traditional religious life.” Christianity finally came to Africans on African terms. Camp meetings and class meetings fit the culture. Missionaries who did not understand African marriage practices, social life, or traditional religion forbade African dances but allowed American folk dancing. They assumed that “Africa was an empty continent, with no history, civilization, or culture of its own,” whereas better educated missionaries to Asia respected Buddhist and Hindu philosophies (p. 89). Kurewa claims, but does not explain an apparent contradiction, that “the United Methodist Church in Zimbabwe always sympathized with the cause and efforts of African nationalism,” even though urban white churches refused to welcome Africans (pp. 116–29).

Kurewa gives an African view of the 1970s’ liberation war that still needs hard data for support and is little known in the West. He charges that after Ian Smith’s government broke with Britain in 1965, Smith’s Selous Scouts killed many church leaders, both lay and ordained.” Smith and the press blamed the killing of seven Catholic missionaries in 1977 and thirteen British missionaries at Elim Pentecostal Mission in 1978 on African “guerillas.” By blaming Marxist “freedom fighters,” Smith hoped to draw support from the West by portraying himself as a defender of Western Christianity against Communism.

Kurewa’s mature study of Zimbabwe’s United Methodist Church provides insight into the African mind and experience, while not denigrating Western efforts in fields of health, education, and evangelism.

—Norman H. Murdoch

William Shellabear: A Biography.


This biographical study of an Anglo-American missionary scholar who devoted his career to understanding the Malay people and their culture is an important contribution to our understanding of the history of Christian mission among Muslims. The author, Robert Hunt, is a United Methodist missionary with extensive theological teaching experience in Malaysia and Singapore. This background gives him empathetic insight into the subject of his study—William Shellabear (1862–1948), a British colonial in nineteenth-century Malaya who joined the (American) Methodist mission in Singapore to become a distinguished scholar of Malay language and culture, founder of the first publishing house in Singapore, translator of the Bible into Malay, and, in retirement in the United States, professor of Islamic Studies in the Kennedy School of Missions at the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

The book is excellently researched, with the exhaustive care of what began as
a doctoral study in the University of Malaya. Extensive archival research in Singapore and Malaysia, as well as England and the United States (with fecund sources in Hartford Seminary), yields a thorough account not only of an exceptional missionary but of the colonial context in which he worked and of the growth of Methodism in the Malaysian peninsula.

Hunt is at his best when discussing the linguistic, cultural, and missiological challenges that Shellabear faced in his work of Bible translation (1902–9). Shellabear’s corollary contribution to the study of Malay language and literature, and later to the translation of parts of the Qur’an in English, demonstrates the holistic nature of his religioliterary enterprise.

Shellabear knew that the essence of evangelism is to love and understand the culture in which he wished to proclaim the Gospel. “He could not love the Malays without respecting their religion. Yet this was the very thing he most longed to supplant with Christianity” (p. 3).

—David A. Kerr

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**Strategy of the Spirit:**

Everett A. Wilson

Foreword by Dr. Peter Kuzmic

Strategy of the Spirit traces the extraordinary thirty-year tenure of J. Philip Hogan, the Executive Director of the Assemblies of God Division of Foreign Mission.

It also provides candid portraits of national Pentecostal leaders in crisis situations, and highlights the appeals and commitments of an often underestimated branch of the evangelical church that has spread rapidly in vastly different cultures around the world.

**Japanese Christians and Society.**


This book is a welcome addition to the studies of Japanese Christianity in the modern era. Alan Suggate is a senior lecturer in theology in the University of Durham, England, and has been particularly interested in the theologies of Japan and of East Asia as they relate to ecumenical Christian social ethics. He introduces his subject with anthropological and sociological analyses of dominant characteristics of Japanese society. His surveys of the literature about the Japanese home and family, the educational system, and work patterns provide a helpful introduction to Japanese social conditions that an outsider needs to know.

The author’s main focus, however, is on the Tenno system, dealing with the role and the functions of the Japanese emperor. He shows convincingly how this system has come to dominate virtually all other Japanese social systems and how Japanese Christians, in trying to have an impact on Japanese society, have repeatedly come into tension with the Tenno system. Christians who have been involved in urban industrial mission, in trying to improve the lot of Japanese women, in dealing with problems of day laborers, in defending the rights of minorities, in opposing the revival of militarism, in fighting industrial pollution, and in addressing countless other issues have been told that changes in the status quo would go against the Tenno system and are therefore unacceptable. Readers unfamiliar with the Japanese situation might think that the author is exaggerating, but his analysis is on target. The power and pervasiveness of the Tenno system is surely a major reason why the small Japanese Christian community has not been able to grow.

This very readable volume gives an excellent overview of the “social action” viewpoint, which, as the author recognizes, is embraced by a minority of Japanese Christians, including Protestants, Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and others. “The majority of Christians still think their faith is only to do with individual conversion, sound doctrine and personal ethics” (p. 187). Much more might be said about the various viewpoints of the majority of

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David A. Kerr is Professor and Director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Japanese Christians, but this volume does not deal with them.

This book gives a fine survey of the issues with which it deals. The writer does make an occasional mistake, as when he writes that after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, "MacArthur immediately arranged for thousands of former Japanese troops who were familiar with the Korean terrain to be sent back to Korea to serve under United Nations command" (p. 217). Such an arrangement was doubtless contemplated, but it was never carried out. All told, however, this book is to be recommended for its excellent materials.

—James M. Phillips

James M. Phillips, a contributing editor, served as a Presbyterian missionary in Korea (1949–52) and in Japan (1959–75) and as associate director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center (1983–97).

Although these biographies are fascinating by themselves, their importance becomes especially apparent in the second half of the book, where the authors provide an analysis of the wider social and cultural context in which Christianity was accepted, indigenized, resisted, or rejected by Hakka Chinese.

The relationship between Chinese mission workers, converts, and European missionaries is revealed as complex and multifaceted, against the backdrop of growing hostility toward European imperialism. Chinese converts come across neither as naively accepting of Christianity nor as overly opportunistic in their association with Western missionaries. The book touches on many interesting issues. Conflicts between Chinese and Pietist views are often apparent, as in the case of a Chinese Christian who practices polygyny in order to bear a son and maintain the respect of his community. Rivalry between competing Gehilfen reflect competing attitudes toward Christianity: Jiang expresses zeal and aplomb in his embrace of Christianity, risking violence and persecution by non-Christian relatives, while Dai, an educated literatus, attempts a more sober reconciliation of Christianity and Confucianism that earns the disapproval of European missionaries but is less alienating to his neighbors and kin. Conflicts between European field missionaries and the home mission board are also striking, as in the case of the home mission that, lacking an understanding of the cultural importance of Chinese characters, obstinately insisted on the adoption of Romanized Chinese in Christian schools. This is a fine study that should appeal to mission historians and scholars of religion, as well as sinologists.

—Nicole Constable

Nicole Constable is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh. She is the author of Christian Souls and Chinese Spirits: A Hakka Community in Hong Kong (Univ. of California Press, 1994) and editor of Guest People: Hakka Identity in China and Abroad (Univ. of Washington Press, 1996).

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Christian Voluntarism: Theology and Praxis.


With many initiatives urging greater voluntary participation in national and international concerns, one should welcome a historical and theological survey of Christian voluntarism. Unfortunately the author—church historian and principal of McMaster Divinity College in Canada—fails from the outset to clarify his many definitions and concepts. The American Heritage Dictionary says only that voluntarism is "belief in the primacy of will." Most readers will identify voluntarism with either God and humankind is a matter of will. But it is never clear how this incentive is related to the divine initiative. William Carey, whose Baptist associations are so often cited as prime and primary examples of voluntary mission support, called on the "obligation" to convert the heathen. Obligation to whom or what?

Similarly the historical review of the origins of denominations and "free churches" includes more exceptions and shifts in emphasis than clearly differentiated categories. The development of "voluntary associations" (e.g., Bible societies or humanitarian programs) is also beset with contradictory motivations and directions. Is voluntarism to be defined primarily in terms of purpose or organizational structure or financial support—or all of the above? The author admits that "it is difficult to classify many of the churchly manifestations of the ecumenical movement in the United States as purely voluntary precisely because many are supported and administered by ecclesiastical processes" (p. 77). The same is true of most of his other classifications.

This is a wide-ranging compendium of movements and agencies that operate—or originally operated—on voluntaristic principles. But the net impression is that anything any religious group does or believes could be called Christian voluntarism. The distinguishing or unifying threads needed to weave a coherent or constructive picture for individuals or organizations concerned to utilize the voluntaristic impulse are hard to find.

Creighton Lacy

Creighton Lacy is Professor Emeritus of World Christianity (Missions and Social Ethics) at the Divinity School of Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850–1900: With the Autobiographies of Eight Hakka Christians, and Commentary.


The Basel Missionary Society is widely considered one of the most successful Protestant missions in nineetenth-century China. Jessie Lutz (China historian) and Rolland Lutz (modern Europe historian) combine efforts to produce a remarkably rich and insightful study of the introduction of Christianity to the Hakka of Guangdong Province. The first half of the book presents biographies of eight Chinese Christians, most of whom worked as Gehilfen (preaching assistants).
study on the interdependency of two Western missions (the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris [MEP] and the Danish Missionary Society [DMS]) and of Tamil culture in the present South Arcot (Tamil Nadu, India) from 1840 to 1900.

In this period the Western missions and Indian Christians changed their opinions of each other. There were similarities between the Western colonial administration and the local rural government in influencing religious practices, land ownership, cultivation, the method of collecting taxes, and enforcing "law and order." While the colonial powers could draw some of the Indian elites to their sway, the large rural population remained mostly untouched. With the changing Western attitude toward the nature of Hinduism, the view of Western missionaries changed positively: Indians were now considered as able persons who could lead their church, yet the Western missionaries did not consider their Indian coworkers as their equals. Thus they themselves supported the social hierarchy that they wanted to destroy. For Indian coworkers caste posed great difficulties.

This book is an excellent comparative study by a "secular" historian scrutinizing Christian missions in the cultural, social, political, and economic context of the people. It is evident that the book does not address theological concepts of MEP and DMS on mission, sin, possession of evil spirits, and so forth, which had direct impact on their missionary methods in South India. The author encourages other historians to do more research using mission archival documents. It is hoped that this book will inspire more interdisciplinary and intercultural research on Christian missions enabling the churches and their societies to discover their present identities and to look for new emerging identities in the context of profound social change.

—Daniel Jeyaraj

Daniel Jeyaraj is Associate Professor of Church History and Dean of the Lutheran Heritage Archives, Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute, Madras, India.
Some would say that it is time not to write about inculturation but to do it, a comment that has more than a grain of truth in it. And yet, lectures, writing, seminars, and theological reflection continue to be necessary. This book provides a readable, up-to-date, comprehensive study of inculturation. As in similar texts, the primary dialogic partner is the social anthropologist. As is expected of a Catholic, Jesuit professor at the Gregorian University, the perspective is that of Roman Catholicism, and thus there are many references to the teaching of Vatican II and to papal letters.

Three features of the work make it especially valuable. First, chapter 8, on laypeople, shows that inculturation is effective and realized only to the extent that the people of God, the laity, inculticate and live the principles of inculturation in living out the mission of the laity in the world. Second, in addition to presenting theological foundations for inculturation, the author takes this one step further and outlines a missionary spirituality that will enable one to enter creatively into dialogue with the spiritual riches of the peoples of other faiths and traditions. Third, in accord with his own background and origins, Dhavamony, in dialogue with Asian cultures and Asian religions, outlines an Asian Christian theology.

This last point, however, while a step in the right direction, remains incomplete and somewhat unsatisfactory. The reason is that these three chapters on Asian/Indian theology are written more with input and references from the perspective of the center, Rome, and indeed one of the fine universities of Rome. I wonder how different they would be if they were written from the soil of India, indeed from a village or village church in India. Finally, since the book brings together essays written over a period of years, there is some repetition of basic terminology and theological references. Overall, however, the book stands up well as a solid contribution in the Christian search for authentic inculturation and true catholicity.

—Peter Schineller, S.J.

Philip Potter, the distinguished ecumenical leader, was born in Dominica in 1921 and is now living in Germany. The author of the present study is a Caribbean pastor serving a united parish in Curacao. The book is not properly a biography. While the first third records the progression of Potter's eventful life, the author devotes his real attention to an attempt to analyze and systematize the theology of this activist ecumenical personality, which is almost axiomatically nonsystematic. It is a formidable undertaking. He works with three theses: that Potter is Caribbean in outlook as well as origin; that his theology is dominated by a missionary purpose, and somewhat unsatisfactory. The reason that will tell of him as a world-class writer will bring a portrait of Philip Potter is highly appreciative, but at times he both questions and criticizes. A thirty-page bibliography and other appendixes will be very valuable for other scholars. The book would have been more readable had it been edited to eliminate a plodding repetitiveness of academic style.

This dissertation offers valuable information and analysis. Some later writer will bring a portrait of Philip Potter that will tell of him as a world-class Christian of Caribbean origin, of his love and use of the Bible, his laughter and song, his grace and occasional willfulness, and his courage under attack in the tumultuous years when the world (and the church) was changing. —Arne Sovik

Arne Sovik was a missionary in China (mainland and Taiwan) and later spent twenty-five years on the staff of the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva. He now lives in Minneapolis.

Looking forward to celebration of the World Council of Churches' fiftieth anniversary at its eighth assembly in Harare, Zimbabwe, in December 1998, Konrad Raiser, the WCC general secretary, proposes here a focus for a new vision of the council in a new millennium. He develops it against the background of (1) findings from pastoral visits with other WCC staff to member churches about conflicting pictures of the WCC (chap. 1), (2) an assessment of the major challenges posed to the churches by current world conditions (chap. 2), and (3) the need for churches to be deinstitutionalized and reconceive themselves in terms of biblical images of koinonia, “salt” and “light,” and “household of life” (chap. 3).

A theme for the eighth WCC assembly is jubilee (Lev. 25), which cuts in two directions. It points to forgiveness, release, and conversion of the churches to the "basic elements of an ethic of self-limitation" (p. 55, chap. 4). It also signifies joyful celebration—in thanks for what the WCC has been and in hope for what the churches might become as communities of hope, exhibiting to the world what genuine "civil society" is like (chap. 5).

What jubilee means for the churches implies a fresh vision for the WCC (chap. 6): that it too be deinstitutionalized (p. 100) and become a "broker or mediator striving to maintain and manifest the
coherence of the diverse networks of ecumenical relationships which have emerged among the churches in recent decades" (p. 99). Raiser develops his argument in this chapter, the heart of the matter, deftly and diplomatically but with unmistakable urgency.

—David H. Kelsey

David H. Kelsey is Professor of Theology at Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.

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