To Gerald H. Anderson, our retiring editor, on the occasion of the final issue of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN produced under his editorial hand:

This is your ninety-fifth issue. The masthead of the inaugural issue, January 1977, occupied a mere half column. You were listed as Editor, and Norman A. Horner was Associate Editor. The journal did not yet have a panel of Contributing Editors. That changed four years later. In the January 1981 issue you announced a name change—from Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research to INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH—and the appointment of “a distinguished international panel of contributing editors.” Nine names were listed, including R. Pierce Beaver and Lesslie Newbigin, both no longer with us. Norman Horner likewise is no longer with us. James M. Phillips took his place in 1983. Today, on page 3 of this issue, we find twenty-four Contributing Editors. Among them twelve nations are represented; each of the major ecclesiastical traditions is also represented.

Beginning in July 1997, Jonathan J. Bonk has been listed as Associate Editor; Robert T. Coote was added to the masthead about a decade ago as Assistant Editor. To these two will fall the planning and preparation of the October 2000 IBMR. We would be in shock at the thought of it, except for your having marked out the path so clearly.

There are a handful of feature articles in the file, waiting for a final copy editing; their authors are eager for them to see the light of day. You have more than a score of book reviews edited and ready to go; they await space in coming issues. You have set the pattern for “Noteworthy,” “Dissertation Notices,” “Book Notes,” and “Fifteen Outstanding Books for Mission Studies”—you have personally prepared all these features over the last twenty-four years.

Year after year, Ruth Taylor, working out of her office in South Portland, Maine, secures high-quality, mission-related advertising for each issue. Harry Hochman and his successor, daughter Suzanne, of Hochman Associates, New York, continue to guide the IBMR’s annual promotional efforts, which keep circulation at a steady level above 6,000. (This journal began as the continuation of the old Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library, when its subscriber base had dropped below 300.) The present constituency, with subscribers in 130 countries around the world—half the circulation is found outside the United States—represents a solid core of people committed to the serious study of the world Christian mission.

All of us—your colleagues on the staff of the Overseas Ministries Study Center, the Contributing Editors, and the readers of the IBMR—owe to you our thanks and admiration for this finest of all missiological journals. As we move into a new chapter, we are reassured by your willingness to be listed on the masthead as Senior Contributing Editor. We wish you every blessing as you continue to serve in the ministry of mission advocate, mission scholar, and loyal follower of the Lord of mission.

By the way, don’t forget the first article assignment made by the new editor: Your “My Pilgrimage in Mission.” When can we expect it?
Finger on the Pulse: Fifty Years of Missionary Research

Robert T. Coote

For fifty years the editors of the Occasional Bulletin (now INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN) have endeavored to monitor the pulse of global Christian missions. Though attempted from the limited vantage point of Protestant North America, the task was no less daunting. Having just completed a review of this half-century as seen in the Bulletin's pages, I have come away sobered by the pace and perplexities of the world Christian mission.

A generation of leaders now passed, Robert Pierce Beaver foremost among them, developed the standards and scope of the Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library (its full title; henceforth OB), setting patterns that continue to be reflected in the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH (IBMR). The editors, it seems, covered everything, from the proceedings of the World Council of Churches and its Commission on World Mission and Evangelism to the international profile of the World Evangelical Fellowship; from an introduction to the biblical subjects of non-Western artists to the spread of Christian study centers in Asia and elsewhere, from comprehensive regional surveys to exhaustive treatments of missionary anthropology and other specialist fields, from discussions of the Bible in mission and the principles of translation to annual lists of graduate theses in world mission. From 1950 all this and more was covered in mimeographed format, along with regular reporting and analysis of the statistical data that enabled Protestant leaders and supporters of the Christian world mission to keep tabs on the North American missionary community.

The OB was a product of a larger undertaking: the Missionary Research Library (popularly known as the MRL), located in New York City, fruit of the strategic vision of John R. Mott.1 Charles H. Fahs, who edited the World Missionary Atlas of 1925, was director of the library from its founding in 1914 until 1947, when Beaver was appointed. Beginning in 1928, Fahs produced the Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library, a bimonthly or quarterly publication of about a dozen pages, using it to report holdings and accessions to the library and to present reports and data for the use of U.S. and Canadian mission societies. In addition a monthly compilation called Book Notes, presenting thematic bibliographies, was distributed to several hundred mission headquarters and seminaries, guiding the building of mission libraries across the land. In later years, under the direction of Beaver and his successors, master lists of basic titles (333 book titles in 1960) were produced by the MRL.2

The depression of the 1930s cut short the Bulletin and threatened the existence of the library itself. As Beaver reported years later, the MRL went from crisis to crisis, always undersupported. One crisis was met in 1929, when Union Theological Seminary, New York, agreed to house the library as a special collection and to join with the Foreign Missions Conference of the Federal Council of Churches in underwriting its expenses. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., whose seed money had made possible the founding of the MRL in 1914, made a grant of $10,000 per year for five years. As might be expected, when the Rockefeller largesse ended in 1933–34, another financial crisis ensued. The MRL committee invited Beaver to come as director in 1948, just in time for still another fiscal low point. The situation gradually eased as the Foreign Missions Conference (later Division of Foreign Missions, and then Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches) increased its support incrementally over several years until it provided about 40 percent of total income. Book accessions and compilation of topical bibliographies, analysis of missionary and church statistics, and research on topics requested by mission executives proceeded apace. And Beaver made plans to revive the old Bulletin.

Before his arrival at the MRL, Beaver had spent five years in China as a missionary with the Evangelical and Reformed Church (the last seven months in an internment camp in Hong Kong); then he taught for four years at Lancaster (Pennsylvania) Theological Seminary. Two years into his work at the MRL he delivered the first issue of the Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library; it was dated March 13, 1950.

“Occasional” permitted flexibility to respond to events and trends in a timely manner. The masthead of the OB promised ten to sixteen issues a year. Over the first decade of the OB (1950–55 with Beaver as director of the MRL and editor of the OB, and 1956–61 with Frank Wilson Price as director/editor), the average number of issues was slightly more than thirteen; never were there fewer than ten issues in a calendar year.3 Issues ran as few as seven or eight pages and as many as forty to sixty. Beginning around 1959, Book Notes, which had a circulation of about 800, was merged with the OB, thus pegging the circulation of the OB at about 800. The $1-per-year cost to subscribers increased to $2 in 1960, $3 in January 1964, and finally to $4 in December 1973. By the end of Beaver’s stewardship of MRL, he could write, “It is a safe assertion to make that no other religious agency in the United States and Canada, excepting the American Bible Society, receives a greater degree of interdenominational assistance or ministers to a wider range of churches and religious groups. It is supported financially by eighty-five boards and agencies through the General Services budget of the Division of Foreign Missions and receives contributions from sixteen other boards unaffiliated or affiliated with the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association or the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association of North America.” The MRL’s users included mission and denominational executives, missionaries on the field and on furlough, professors of mission, students, anthropologists, historians, and experts on international affairs. Some 2,000 inquiries and requests, from about forty countries, were received by the director each year.4

Anything but Parochial

Volume 1, number 1 of the OB carried one and only one piece,5 an article by a reputedly non-Christian reporter based in Shanghai: “Report on Protestant Mission [in China].” To read it fifty years later is to appreciate its objectivity, both in substance and tone. By drawing from this unexpected source about the fading missionary cause in China, Beaver signaled his readers that the OB would be broad and far-ranging—authentic missionary research would not be narrow and parochial!

Robert T. Coote is the newly appointed Associate Director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center. A previous article, dealing with the late twentieth-century shift in the North American missionary community from mainline mission societies to evangelical and unaffiliated agencies, appeared in the October 1998 issue of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH.
The editor of the *Occasional Bulletin* received and answered about 2,000 inquiries per year on mission subjects.

a quarter of a century earlier one out of every three North American Protestant missionaries had been assigned to China. Beaver kept his sights trained on anything that had to do with the missionaries and the church in China.

Frank Wilson Price, Beaver’s successor at the MRL (from February 1956), fully shared his predecessor’s love of China, having been raised in China by Presbyterian (PCUS) missionary parents and having served there himself for nearly thirty years.

In the intervening months between the two pieces by Wang, Ming-tao’s seventeen-page tract attacking the theological liberalism of some leading Chinese Christians who were working hard to prove their loyalty and value to the new Communist government. Price, who had translated the tract from the original Chinese, compared Wang’s challenge to Luther’s ninety-five theses. The authorities, viewing this public challenge as the last straw, arrested Wang and sentenced him to fifteen years in labor camp. Exactly a year later the *OB* carried “My Self-Examination,” Wang’s confession for having failed his duty to the people, given publicly upon his early release from prison. It is painful to read.

In the intervening months between the two pieces by Wang, the *OB* carried an article by one of Wang’s chief antagonists, Y. T. Wu, a YMCA leader and chairman of the Committee for the Realization of Self-administration of the Chinese Churches. Under the title “The Christians of China Come Together,” Wu urged greater efforts by the Chinese community to enter into “the way of socialism,” and among other issues he lamented the alleged use of missionaries as spies for Western powers.
Communism, Imperialism, and Mission

In the 1950s many Americans were consumed by the threat of world revolution under the flag of Communism. Beaver was less worried about Communism than about Western indifference to the cause of the Gospel. "There is a tendency in the United States," he wrote, "to identify [world] revolution with Communism and to assume that all these factors adverse to the mission are products of the Communist program to overturn the established order and destroy religion." He reminded the readers of the OB that "the primitive Church first launched the mission in the face of obstacles which seemed insuperable. .. Antagonism is not as strong a barrier to the Gospel as indifference." He went on to observe, "I have little doubt that it is out of the battle of the young churches with their environment that there will eventually come the light of understanding and the seeds of spiritual revival which will renew the vitality of the Western churches within the whole Body of Christ and make Christianity a mighty force in shaping the emerging world community." 12

In the summer of 1956 Price carried a list of eighty-six titles on Communism, compiled by M. Searle Bates. 13 In 1959 he helped readers see Christian mission via the Communist worldview by reprinting an article from the Great Soviet Encyclopedia. A sampling: "Since World War II (1939–1945) the missionary activity of the Vatican and of a predominant majority of Protestant missionaries is subject chiefly to the interests of American imperialism. ... During the People's Liberation War in China, the missionaries carried on subversive espionage work to aid the Kuomintang and the U.S.A." 14

Price appended a two-page, generously annotated list of titles dealing with Christian mission and imperialism and then added his personal admonition: "The mistakes of the past should not blind us to the encouragements of the present and the new possibilities in the future. The Christian world mission has a glorious history in spite of its unfortunate involvement at times with policies of imperialistic expansion and colonialism, and its achievements and contributions speak for themselves." 15

One is struck by how early and how often material in the OB acknowledged the problematic association of Christian mission with imperialism, as well as the reality that access to vast regions once secured by colonial power was rapidly slipping away. R. Kenneth Strachan, the highly respected president of the evangelical agency Latin America Mission, is a good illustration. His October 1954 address to the annual meeting of the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association appeared the very next month in the OB. "The entire structure of [Western civilization]," he wrote, "will be altered and the position of the Church of Christ will be different from that which it has today. We may find ourselves in much the same situation as the Church of the first century, in an alien world, pressed and oppressed, a witnessing minority obliged to carry out our commission of world-wide evangelism with little sanction and little protection from the powers that be." 16

Stressing Mission Scholarship

An annual feature of the OB was a list of doctoral and masters degrees in mission studies. Many readers of the IBMR will recognize names of neophyte scholars who subsequently became leaders and spokespersons for the cause of Christian missions. A short list includes the following from the first eleven years of the OB:

W. R. Hogg, "The History of the International Missionary Council" (Ph.D., Yale University), OB 1, no.7 (August 1, 1950).
Norman A. Horner, "Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions Among the Bantu of Cameroon: A Comparative Study" (Ph.D., Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary). OB 1:7 (August 1, 1950). From 1976 to 1982 Horner was Associate Director of the OMSC.
Creighton B. Lacy, "Protestant Missions in Communist China" (Ph.D., Yale Univ.), OB 4, no.13 (October 22, 1953).
Paul Sato, "Techniques of Evangelism Applied to the Christian Church of Rural Japan" (Th.M., Theological Seminary, University of Dubuque), OB 4, no. 13 (October 22, 1953).
Jack Finley Shepherd, "Muslim Writing on the Bible" (M.A., Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary), OB 4, no.13 (October 22, 1953).
Gerald H. Anderson, "The Theology of Missions: 1928–1958" (Ph.D., Boston Univ.), OB 11, no. 10 (December 15, 1960). In 1961 Anderson’s path as a mission scholar was established with the publication of The Theology of the Christian Mission (McGraw-Hill), which incorporated a summary of his dissertation and contributions from twenty-six widely known leaders and teachers in the field of mission theory and theology. His aim, as stated in the introduction, was to provide a collection of perspectives that would be representative of a “catholic and well-rounded Trinitarian point of view.”

Not infrequently, space in the OB was devoted to foundational treatments of the theology and biblical principles of mission. An early rendering of the kingdom of God motif came from Paul Tillich: "Fulfillment [of the kingdom of God] transcends history, but it is fulfilled through history." "The claim ... that Jesus is the bringer of the New reality for the universe is identical with the demand made upon the church to spread itself all over the world. And that is what missions does ... Missions is the continuous pragmatic test of the universality of the Christ, of the truth of the Christian assertion that Jesus is the Christ." 17 On the fiftieth anniversary year of the World Missionary Conference of 1910 in Edinburgh, Scotland, the OB carried five pages of "selections from the World Missionary Conference News Sheet." An abstract of Gerald Anderson’s dissertation was appended, under the title "The Theology of the Christian Mission at Edinburgh and Succeeding World Conferences." 18

Herbert C. Jackson (successor of Price in 1961) gave readers Bishop Lesslie Newbigin’s masterful exposition of John 20:19, "Bringing Our Missionary Methods Under the Word of God," in which Newbigin cautioned, “If we now see that we have been too much conformed to the world of the nineteenth century, it is no adequate response to try now to be conformed to the world of the twentieth century.” 20 In 1963 Jackson reviewed the previously unpublished working papers of the 1953 meeting of the International Missionary Council in Willingen, Germany, whose theme...
was “The Missionary Obligation of the Church.” Included in his selection of papers for publication in the OB was G. Ernest Wright’s “The Old Testament: A Bulwark of the Church against Paganism”—a landmark statement on the nature of the New Testament message understood in light of its Old Testament background, along with implications for Christian mission. Later that year the OB carried Eugene L. Smith’s address to the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Mission-Sending Societies of the Roman Catholic Church: “The High Calling.” “The Christian mission,” Smith asserted, “began in the heart of God. He sent His Son that we might find life in Him. . . . When we seek to share that good news . . . the living Christ works through us. He enables us to witness, even as he enables others to hear. Our mission is not ours. It belongs to Christ.”

Gathering and Analyzing Missionary Data

Beaver and his successors devoted much energy to the gathering and interpretation of mission statistics, beginning with the OB review of the 1952 edition of the World Christian Handbook. Just two months later Beaver published “The Protestant Foreign Missionary Enterprise of the United States.” This piece, the first in a series of statistical overviews, gave a post–World War II baseline of some 18,000 North American missionaries, sponsored by about 200 sending agencies. Two years later, based on a partial but representative survey, Beaver projected a total of about 20,000 missionaries. This was more than double the low point during WWII, and Beaver noted that the increase was due primarily to the substantial growth of the conservative evangelical missionary community. When Frank Price and Kenyon Moyer tabulated the figures for 1956, they reported a 25 percent increase since the 1952 survey, with about 220 sending agencies.

The combined total of missionaries in conservative evangelical and fundamentalist agencies now exceeded the number of missionaries in Protestant mainline societies, signaling a trend that by 1968 would result in two and a half times as many missionaries from nonconciliar groups as from mainline conciliar societies. (For an overview in diagram format, covering 1918 to 1996, see Robert T. Coote, “Twentieth-Century Shifts in the North American Protestant Missionary Community.” IBMR 22, no. 4 [October 1998]: 152–53.)

Other areas covered during the quarter-century of the OB include Beaver’s “Pioneer Single Women Missionaries,” which later developed into the book All Loves Excelling (Eerdmans, 1968; rev. ed., 1980); Kenyon E. Moyer’s “The Selection and Training of the Overseas Personnel of the Christian Church,” which documented the dismal state of missionary preparation for cross-cultural ministry, despite decades of acknowledging the importance of such training; Price’s “The Bible in the Christian World Mission”; William A. Smalley’s thirty-six page article and bibliography on anthropology for missionaries; Eugene A. Nida’s “Psychological Relationships in the Communication of the Christian Faith,” with nine pages of bibliography; Clara E. Orr’s “Missionaries from the Younger Churches,” tracing the growth of mission sending by sixteen non-Western churches; Paul Loffler’s “Laymen Abroad in World Mission: A Select Bibliography,” covering options for volunteer and tent-making ministries for persons other than recognized missionaries; and Beaver’s “Mission in Unity.” The last article dealt with the growing problem of division in the overseas Christian witness, which reflected the antieccumenical forces that blossomed after World War II. Beaver also charged that ecumenical missions were “no longer much of a missionary operation but an interchurch aid system . . . [whereas] mission is the sending of representatives across frontiers of cultural difference or of alienation to witness to Christ in the face of unbelief and nonbelief.”

One particularly impressive article, appearing in 1968, dealt with the efforts of mainline Protestant societies to develop partnership models of mission. With merciless logic Frederick S. Downs, who served in India as a professor of the history of Christianity, shredded the partnership theory and the claims of its proponents to have solved the problem of dependency.

Retrenchment and Transition to the IBMR

Jackson resigned as director of the MRL and editor of the OB in 1966. It became clear that further support for the MRL would not be forthcoming. Union Theological Seminary retained the holdings as a special collection, but there would no longer be staff to perform the research, maintenance, and publishing functions. Responsibility for the Book Notes, the statistical directories of North American missionary personnel, and the OB passed to the staff of the Division of Overseas Ministries (DOM) of the National Council of Churches. In 1968 MARC World Vision came forward to help with the statistical directories and assumed full responsibility from the tenth to the seventeenth editions (1973–97); MARC’s title for the publication was Mission Handbook.

Beaver was able to contribute a final historical article on the MRL, in which his distress over the virtual end of the MRL was palpable. Three successive general secretaries of the DOM kept the OB alive, but combined issues and skipped issues were harbingers of its eventual demise. Volume 23 (1972–73), consisting of twelve issues, covered two years instead of one. The final three years produced eight issues each. The secular agenda that dominated the 1968 gathering of the WCC, in Uppsala, Sweden, swamped the “mainline evangelical” orientation that had characterized the OB under the editorship of Beaver, Price, and Jackson, and circulation dropped to less than 300.

In 1973, after fifteen years as professor of missions at the University of Chicago, Beaver came out of retirement to become director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center in Ventnor, New Jersey. Gerald H. Anderson, a returned Methodist missionary from the Philippines, succeeded him as director in 1976 and proposed that the OMSC take over the OB. All parties agreed, and the first issue of the new publication, titled Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research, came out (as a forty-eight page quarterly) in January 1977. Anderson called upon Beaver to recount the history of the former OB in the lead article of the new journal. In 1981 the journal received its present title, International Bulletin of Missionary Research.

The annual quantity of material in the IBMR is more than double that of the early years of the old OB. This statistic reflects the fact that the IBMR carries a greater number of missiological essays and a book review section. “Book Notes,” now a regular back-cover feature, carries the titles of new books received; it is no longer a set of titles on a particular theme. Lists of graduate theses on missions continue as “Dissertation Notices” and appear in almost every issue. On two occasions—1983 (Theodore Bachman as compiler) and 1993 (William Smalley as compiler)—the IBMR has presented multiyear directories of doctoral dissertations on mission produced in North American schools. Following every new edition of the MARC Mission Handbook, the IBMR has carried an interpretive analysis, and on two occasions there have been longer-term overviews. Regional surveys and studies, plus bibliographies on specific aspects of mission, continue in the IBMR, but with less regularity than in the old OB. “Notewor-
Noteworthy

Announcing

The Pontifical Urbaniana University and the International Association of Catholic Missiologists will sponsor an International Missiological Congress, October 17-20, 2000, in Rome. The theme of the congress is “Who do you say I am?” (Mt. 16:15): Missiological and Missionary Responses in the Context of Religions and Cultures.” The inaugural address will be given by Jozef Cardinal Tomko, Grand Chancellor of the Pontifical Urbaniana University, and the keynote address will be given by Bishop Walter Kasper, Secretary of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity. For further information, contact P. John Marconcin, I.M.C., telephone 06-6988-2351; fax 06-6988-1871; e-mail congress@urbaniana.edu

Christianity Today magazine (April 24, 2000) has selected the 102 best religious books of the twentieth century. Four of these books are of particular interest and importance for missionary research: David Bosch, Transforming Mission (Orbis Books); Gustavo Gutiérrez, A Theology of Liberation (Orbis Books); Lesslie Newbigin, The Gospel in a Pluralist Society (Eerdmans); and Andrew F. Walls, The Missionary Movement in Christian History (Orbis Books).

Personalia

The E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, has appointed Terry C. Muck as Professor of Missiology and World Religions. He takes the place of A. H. Zahniser, who is retiring. Muck received his Ph.D. in the history of religion from Northwestern University in 1977 and was executive editor of Christianity Today from 1980 to 1990. For the past ten years he was on the faculty of Austin (Texas) Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

Died. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, 83, a Canadian scholar of Islam and comparative religions, February 7, 2000, in Toronto. Born in Toronto, he went to India in 1941 under the auspices of the Canadian Overseas Missions Council and taught at Forman Christian College, Lahore. He later founded and directed the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University in Montreal, then directed Harvard University’s Center for the Study of World Religions, and established a department of comparative religion at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia. Smith’s major works include Islam in Modern History (1957), The Faith of Other Men (1962), The Meaning and End of Religion (1963), Toward a World Theology (1981), and What Is Scripture? (1994).

“Silver and Gold Have I None: Church of the Poor or Church of the Rich?” David B. Barrett (October 1983).

“Can the West Be Converted?” Lesslie Newbigin (January 1987).


David Barrett’s “Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission”—which has appeared in every January issue since 1985—is the unchallenged front-runner when it comes to requests for reference and reprinting. It is admittedly frustrating to Barrett and some of his readers that this annual update is limited by the editors to two pages, usually the center spread of the January issue. This restriction means that only minimal explanation of methods, sources, and interpretation can be given. The editors impose this limitation because they are convinced that the compactness of the feature helps assure its attraction. For details, readers may turn to Barrett’s World Christian Encyclopedia, the second edition of which was recently announced by Oxford University Press (3 vols., 2,000 pages!).

Twenty years ago readers of the IBMR opened their copy of the January issue and found as the lead article Carl E. Braaten’s “Who Do We Say That He Is? On the Uniqueness and Universality of Jesus Christ” (January 1980). Braaten asserted that “nothing is more clear in the New Testament and the Christian tradition than the uniqueness of Jesus, in whose name alone there is salvation, before whom every knee should bow and every tongue confess that he is Lord to the glory of God the Father.” He wrote to refute the works of liberal theologians such as John Hick and Paul Knitter. But he also stressed the “universality” of Jesus Christ, an emphasis widely neglected by the opposite end of the theological spectrum that recently had found expression in the 1974 Lausanne Covenant. As Braaten understood the position of evangelicals as reflected in the covenant, they teach that “all those who die or who have died without conscious faith in Jesus Christ are damned to eternal hell. If people have never heard the story” has been added as a regular feature. It announces important missiological meetings such as those of the International Association for Mission Studies and the American Society of Missiology; also noted are key appointments to missiological faculties, appointments to executive offices of mission agencies, and obituaries of leading figures in world mission.

Mission Legacies and My Pilgrimage in Mission, two long-running series unique to the IBMR, have brought the journal special recognition. Seventy-five of the essays in the Legacy series have appeared in the series since then, including several by now-deceased elder statesmen of the Christian mission: McGavran himself, Bishop Lesslie Newbigin, Christian G. Baêta, Harry R. Boer, Hans-Werner Gensichen, Katharine B. Hockin, Norman A. Horner, J. Herbert Kane, William A. Smalley, Eugene L. Stockwell, David M. Stowe and M. M. Thomas.

The current editors of the IBMR have reviewed more than two decades of the IBMR and have attempted to identify contributions that particularly stand out. Almost by definition, any list of outstanding articles must include those that are frequently sought after for reference or reprinting, such as the following:

Died. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, 83, a Canadian scholar of Islam and comparative religions, February 7, 2000, in Toronto. Born in Toronto, he went to India in 1941 under the auspices of the Canadian Overseas Missions Council and taught at Forman Christian College, Lahore. He later founded and directed the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University in Montreal, then directed Harvard University’s Center for the Study of World Religions, and established a department of comparative religion at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia. Smith’s major works include Islam in Modern History (1957), The Faith of Other Men (1962), The Meaning and End of Religion (1963), Toward a World Theology (1981), and What Is Scripture? (1994).
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gospel and have never had a chance to believe, they are lost anyway." Braaten continued, "I am convinced that my friends to the left who teach that there are many saviors to accommodate a pluralistic world and my friends to the right who teach that only those who share their faith will be saved in the end are both wrong." The apologetic that follows in the next four pages ought to be reread annually. 41

Another milestone article is Bishop Lesslie Newbiggin’s “Cross-currents in Ecumenical and Evangelical Understandings of Mission,” found in the July 1982 IBMR. Equally valuable for its overview of the range of opinion and its affirmation of a balanced theological position is David J. Bosch’s “Evangelism: Theological Currents and Cross-currents Today,” which was the lead article in the July 1987 issue. For a fresh approach to church history we have Wilbert R. Shenk’s “Toward a Global Church History” (February 1992). For a positive approach to interreligious dialogue that does not sacrifice the truth claims of the Gospel, we may turn to Marcello Zago’s “Mission and Interreligious Dialogue” (July 1998). For a penetrating analysis of what has been lacking in the field of scholarly mission studies—and what still is lacking in many respects—we can recommend Andrew F. Walls’s “Structural Problems in Mission Studies” (October 1991). Finally, for a comprehensive treatment of the state of the world Christian movement and how it reached its present non-Western majority, read “Shifting Southward: Global Christianity Since 1945,” by Dana L. Robert, in the April 2000 IBMR.

We have before us today fifty years, a half-century, of mission/missionary research. R. Pierce Beaver set the pace in 1950 with the first issue of the Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library. Gerald H. Anderson was well placed a quarter of a century later to carry forward the challenge of mission scholarship and to develop the International Bulletin of Missionary Research in faithfulness to the Beaver tradition. While the circulation of the former bulletin amounted to several hundred, the IBMR has advanced to the point of having more than 6,000 readers in some 130 countries around the world. Next year at this time, the editors anticipate that readers will be able to research on the World Wide Web the archives of the IBMR (all the way back to the January issue of 1977), thanks to the American Theological Library Association’s ATLAS project. Current subscribers will have access to this service without charge.

After the present issue, the editorship passes from Gerald H. Anderson to Jonathan J. Bonk, the new director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center. The mandate has not changed. We will endeavor to keep a finger on the pulse of the world Christian mission and to help readers better understand the part all of us play in fulfillment of our Lord’s last command.

Notes


2. OB 16, no. 1 (January 1965).

3. In October 1961, upon the appointment of Herbert Jackson as director of the MRL, the OB became a monthly.


5. Almost without exception, each issue of the OB was confined to a single feature, though sometimes of considerable length. In 1957 a region-by-region survey of the church in the non-Western world ran six complete pages (vol. 8, no. 7). The physical bulk of an OB bound volume (usually four years) is comparable to a four-year bound volume of the IBMR. The actual annual content, however, was less than half that of the IBMR, since the pages of the IBMR are double-sided, while for its first thirteen years, the OB was typewritten and was produced single-sided.

6. OB 2, no. 6 (May 15, 1951).

7. OB 4, no. 1 (January 21, 1953).

8. OB 1, nos. 11 and 13 (October 23 and December 15, 1950).


10. Ibid., p. 1.

11. Wang Ming-tao, “We—for the Sake of Faith,” OB 7, no. 3 (March 15, 1956). The flavor of Wang’s tract is seen in this excerpt: “I believe the Genesis record about the creation of man; the modernists do not. I believe the Virgin Birth of Jesus; I believe that He died to redeem man from sin; I believe that He rose bodily from the dead; I believe that He will come again; the modernist believes none of these truths.”

12. Wang subsequently went to the authorities to disavow his “confession” and was returned to prison. He was finally released in 1980, having spent twenty-three years in prison. See David H. Adeney, China: The Church’s Long March (Ventura, Calif.: Regal Books, 1985), p. 56.


20. OB 11, no. 5 (June 14, 1960): 9, 10.


22. OB 14, no. 4 (April 1963).


25. Beaver, “The Protestant Foreign Missionary Enterprise of the United States,” OB 4, no. 7 (April 30, 1953). The figure of 18,000 missionaries includes a Canadian component of about 600.


27. Frank W. Price and Kenyon E. Moyer, “A Study of American Protestant Foreign Missions in 1956,” OB 7, no. 9 (November 16, 1956). In the next such analysis, published in March 1962, Price placed the missionary-sending record of the average U.S. denomination against the data for leading conservative evangelical agencies. While the average was 1 missionary sent for overseas service for every 3,000 members, the Christian and Missionary Alliance sent out 1 for every 72 members; the Seventh-day Adventist ratio was 1/231; the Assemblies of God, 1/708; the Church of the Nazarene, 1/751.

28. OB 4, no. 12 (September 30, 1953).
Eusebius Tries Again: Reconceiving the Study of Christian History

Andrew F. Walls

The most striking feature of Christianity at the end of the second millennium is that it is predominantly a non-Western religion. On all present indications, the numbers of inhabitants of Europe and North America who profess the faith are declining, as they have been for some time, while the churches of the other continents continue to grow. Already more than half the world’s Christians live in Africa, Asia, Latin and Caribbean America, and the Pacific. If present trends continue, at some point in the twenty-first century, the figure could be two-thirds. It seems that the representative Christianity of the twenty-first century will be that of Africa, Asia, Latin and Caribbean America, and the Pacific. It is at least possible that the Christianity of Europe may become increasingly a matter of historical reference. The events that, for its weal or for its woe, will shape the Christianity of the early centuries of the third millennium are those already taking place in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

We have long been used to a Christian theology that was shaped by the interaction of Christian faith with Greek philosophy and Roman law. We are equally accustomed, though not usually so conscious of its origins, to ecclesiology and codes of practice shaped by Christian interaction with the traditional law and custom of the Germanic and Slavic tribes beyond the Roman frontiers. These forms have become so familiar and established that we have come to think of them as the normal and characteristic forms of Christianity. But in the coming century we can expect an accelerated process of new development arising from Christian interaction with the ancient cultures of Africa and Asia, an interaction now in progress and with much further to go.

The fact that Christianity, after being a Western religion for centuries, has now become a non-Western one is especially striking for the suddenness and rapidity of the transition. Kenneth Scott Latourette spoke of the nineteenth century as the great century of missions, but it is the twentieth that has been the most remarkable for the transformation of Christianity. One has to go back many centuries to find such a huge recession in one part of the world paralleled by such a huge simultaneous accession in another, producing the radical shift in the cultural and demographic composition of the Christian church that has occurred since 1900. It took Christianity a long time to become a Western religion, let alone the Western religion. It did not begin as a Western religion (in the usual significance of that word), and it took many centuries to become thoroughly appropriated in Europe. It was still later that Christianity became so singularly associated with Europe and Europe alone as to be thought of as a European religion. Indeed it was not until comparatively recent times—around the year 1500—that the ragged conversion of the last pagan peoples of Europe, the overthrow of Muslim power in Spain, and the final eclipse of Christianity in central Asia and Nubia combined to produce a Europe that was essentially Christian and a Christianity that was essentially European. Paradoxically it is just at this point, when Europe and Christianity were more closely identified with each other than ever before, that the impact of the non-Western world upon the Western became critical. In the very era in which Western Christianity became fully and confidently formulated, the process that was to lead to its transformation or supersession had begun.

I speak deliberately of the impact of the non-Western world...
upon the West, rather than the other way round. I do so because insofar as the rewriting of church history is concerned, that is the more important aspect of the story. New church history writing must deal with the interaction between a Christianity formulated in relation to Western needs and conditions and a Christianity formulated by a whole series of other cultures with histories of their own. If church history writing is to recount the whole story of the faith of Christ, it must explore how that story since the sixteenth century has been determined, directly or indirectly, by the worlds that first burst upon Western Christian consciousness at that time. Not until the twentieth century did it become clear how substantial that impact had been. And the task of catching up with that development academically has hardly yet begun.

**Shifting Boundaries in Scholarship**

When I began academic work relating to Africa some forty years ago, religion was a marginal area of African studies. The primal religions of Africa were still largely considered to be the domain of the anthropologist. A place could be allowed for Islamic studies as a specialized area, but as regards Christianity in Africa, only African Independent Churches, as they were then beginning to be called, could be regarded as properly African. The rest of African Christianity could be subsumed under the heading "missions," and any study of missions was likely to be about external influences on Africa. Thus, for example, one of the distinguished studies published in the 1950s is entitled *The Missionary Factor in East Africa.*

That period of academic study saw the beginning of decolonization and the emergence of the new African states. It was, and is, recognized that "the missions" influenced these events through the organizational and leadership structures of the churches and through the education of the elite who led the movement to independence. In general, however, the undoubtedly Christian influences on the pan-African revolution of the 1950s and 1960s—a period when the study of Christianity in Africa was largely the study of "missions"—were indirect, often unconscious, and sometimes unintentional.

A generation later, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a second pan-African revolution took place, as dictators and military regimes in different parts of the continent were overthrown and a new South Africa emerged out of Africa's seemingly most intractable situation. In this second revolution, in country after country the churches were vehicles of change or catalysts in times of transition, or they acted as umpires on behalf of society. Time after time the churches of Africa preserved a viable form of civil society when other forms had collapsed or had been suppressed. The phenomena can be observed in countries as different as Benin and Zambia; even in an overwhelmingly Muslim setting such as Mali, a Christian bishop acted as keeper of the national conscience. Political scientists in the African field found that knowledge of church structures was a necessary part of their equipment. It is now clearly the case that Christianity has become so much a part of the fabric of sub-Saharan African life that scholars in a wide variety of disciplines who want to undertake serious study of Africa need to know something about Christianity.

The converse is equally true; anyone who wishes to undertake serious study of Christianity these days needs to know something about Africa. It follows that the student of Christian history not only must know something about Africa but also must consider the part that Africa plays in the total story of the faith. The issue is much wider than Africa; it goes to the heart of the task of the global church historian. *What is required is no less than the reconception of the task of the Christian historian.*

**Reconception of Resources**

What conceptions govern the present study and teaching of Christian history, and to what extent does the Christian historian's understanding of the contemporary situation of Christianity call for adjustment or replacement?

It is difficult here to avoid intruding an autobiographical note. Three episodes come particularly to mind. The first occurred in West Africa while I was in my early thirties. I had been appointed to teach church history. My training for the purpose could be counted impeccable; what better exposure could the younger churches (as they were called in those days) have than to the ripe experience of the older churches, and especially of their oldest period? I had done my graduate work in patristics, and in Oxford, a temple of patristic study, and under the great F. L. Cross, its high priest. What I lacked, however, was something

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If we are to know the whole story, we must explore a Christianity formulated by a whole series of cultures with histories of their own.

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My early life as a teacher, seeking to impart the lessons of early church history, was somewhat frustrating. My rich compensation came from developing acquaintance with the local church and society. The students, of course, wrote down all I said; it was part of the ritual transfer of knowledge. Yet all the while they possessed keys that might have opened new doors into such vexed questions as apostolic tradition, whereas I had only secondhand accounts of earlier versions of those questions. I doubt if I did much good in my first five years as a church history teacher in Africa, but I am everlastingly grateful that I learned there that second-century Christianity (and third-century, and even first-century) can still be witnessed and shared in.

A saying of F. L. Cross, my revered teacher, brought further illumination. "We know next to nothing about the ante-Nicene church." He was right, as he usually was. But we now have better resources for understanding the patchwork of fragments of Christian literature that survive from before the age of the great councils. We will find that by examining the recent histories of the churches of Africa and Asia we will discover more than the Bodleian or the Vatican libraries can yield. The same themes, often the same media, occur. When we look at post-Apostolic, anti-Nicene materials, we find earnest, but rather turgid, moral homilies (much of Romans 12–16, little of Romans 1–8); eloquent episcopal letters displaying equally autocratic temper and moving self-sacrifice; apocalyptic visions of the fate of church members who behave badly; guidance on discerning the spirits (a prophet whose "word from the Lord" is to order a meal for himself is a false prophet, one who outstays reasonable hospitality is a false prophet); cheerful fictional correspondence between Jesus and a local king, showing how early this particular locality accepted the Gospel; decisions of synods determining who had
what relations with which now-discredited government officials; regulations about exorcising the water prior to baptism; gospels with bigger and better miracles than the canonical ones. These ante-Nicene snapshots are found among heart-moving testimony and muckraking scandal, coded utterances, gnomic memorials, and thought-provoking graffiti. And all readily find analogies, and sometimes replications, in the recent and contemporary history of the churches that are now in their first and second centuries of existence!

I yield to no one in desiring that the theological libraries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific be equipped to bear the responsibilities in Christian scholarship that are theirs. But the scholars of those areas will have resources in their own experience, and in the present and recent experience of their churches, that may provide deeper insight than we have yet had into the surviving literature of ante-Nicene Christianity. The whole delirious mixture includes the proliferation of local varieties, the official and popular faces of the church, its moderates and its radicals, its bridge builders and its pacesetters, and its interaction with the mind-sets of the synagogue and the academy, the club and the street corner.

Latter-day Protestants, nourished on the legacy of the sixteenth-century Reformation, are sometimes puzzled by the transition from the Apostle of the Gentiles to the Apostolic Fathers. How is it that leaders of churches associated with Paul, who treasured his words and revered his memory, people to whom we owe the very preservation of the Pauline letters—and who knew Greek better than we do—seem to have no idea of what we think Paul means by justification by faith? Scholars coming from the new second-century churches will probably see no puzzle at all.

The first aspect is thus to reconceive the resources available for the study of the history of world Christianity. There are rich possibilities in rereading earlier history in the light of the living experience of the churches of the southern continents.

**Church History, or Clan History?**

The second aspect is suggested by another personal experience. After almost a decade teaching church history in Africa, I was again teaching church history, but this time in the theological faculty of an ancient Scottish university, in a course designed principally for candidates for the ministry of the Church of Scotland. The course was solidly planned and executed, demanding three years' study. The first year was devoted to study of the early church (a concept that we must examine in a moment). The second year was concerned with the Reformation, for the Church of Scotland is a Reformed church. (Notice how effortless is the transition from Augustine to Luther, how cursory the consideration of the intermediate period in which Scotland, and most of northern Europe, became Christian. Very few Western theologians get much idea about the origins of Western Christianity from their church history course.) The third year was devoted to Scotland. There could hardly be a clearer statement of the purpose of a degree course in church history: it is to gain an understanding of Us As We Are.

The general scope of this course, reflecting and incorporating the work of very formidable scholars, had probably changed little over the twentieth century. What had changed over that time, however, was the shape of the Christian constituency. A person following that course could gain an excellent grasp of how the Church of Scotland came to be what it was. But what hope would one have of understanding the true nature of the twentieth-century church, of which Scottish Christians were a part? What mental space was there to take in the idea of a world church in which Scotland was on the outside edge? Everything in ministerial training conspired to promote the idea that Scotland was at the center. But the students following the course, preparing for the ministry, were aware that the Church of Scotland was a church in recession, losing members every year since 1950. By devoting its ultimate focus to Scotland, the teaching of church history implicitly emphasized decline—a glorious past, but an uncertain future. What hope would Scottish congregations so served ever have of learning the full truth about the church?

The traditional Scottish church history syllabus of that day—a rather blatant example of the genre—exhibited in conception and design the general features of most Western church history syllabuses. These provide a selection of topics designed to exhibit a particular tradition. Usually that tradition is partly geographic—that is, the selection represents influences bearing on a particular locality, such as Scotland, Germany, or North America. The geographical bias starts early. Church syllabuses tend to lose interest in the Greek-speaking church—though it was still the largest sector of Christianity—after the great creedal controversies. There are two reasons for this bias. The first is that Scottish, German, and American Christianity were more directly affected by events in the Latin-speaking area. And in this case, as in others, the geographic bias reinforces a linguistic and cultural one.

The second reason is simply that the main principle of selection is confessional: the church that is the subject of church history is implicitly defined as the church we ourselves know—our tradition as it has developed. In principle, there is no harm in this focus, provided we know what we are doing, and provided also we do more than this. It is natural and right to seek to understand one's own tradition; it means to know who one's ancestors are.

But there are lurking dangers, both historical and theological. One is that we think by study of our own tradition we are doing church history. We are not—we are doing our church history. If this is the only lens through which we study Christian history, we have bypassed the story of the whole people of God in favor of clan history. Such an approach reduces the area in which we look for the works of God, whereas the promises of God are to all who trust them. The Lord of Hosts is not to be treated as a territorial Baal.

The second danger arises from inertia: There is little internal compulsion to review the construction of one's historical framework as conditions change. This was the case with the Scottish example mentioned earlier, a framework that fairly interpreted the tradition around 1910 no longer did so sixty years later. As a result, the students, and the congregations beyond them, were actually being prevented from understanding their own church history. They were part of a larger, more dynamic Christian movement than they could ever realize from their education.

**Reconception of the Syllabus**

There is a third danger. Not only may we think we are engaged in church history when it is only clan history, but our version may be copied by people who have different ancestors. My most vivid recollection of this danger comes from my involvement a few years ago with a group of seminary teachers from various parts of India. We were engaged in a workshop on the teaching of church history. It soon became clear that those present were using
versions of syllabuses originating in Europe or, more often, North America. Most were also trying to teach some Indian, or sometimes Asian, church history which in most cases was taught as a separate course. That is, there was church history, and there was \textit{Asian} church history. And (it was an entirely Protestant gathering) the latter, after the obligatory reference to St. Thomas, began in 1792 with William Carey. Church history was a given; the course offered for study was a seamless robe into which Asia could not readily be sewn.

The striking thing about that gathering in India was that everyone seemed to realize that what they were doing was dire, that both the teachers and the students were bored with the process of transmitting and receiving an assemblage of facts that were completely unrelated to anything that actually excited any Indian Christian of today. But both must persevere; their task was theological education and church history was a constituent of theological education. And how could theological education, continue without one of its principal constituent disciplines?

If the traditional Western church history syllabus is defective and obscuring for Western Christians, how much more stultifying is it for African and Asian Christians? The problem is not so much that it does not contain African or Asian church history, but that it provides no framework in which either can be considered as part of the whole Christian story.

If the first aspect of our task is the reconception of resources, the second must surely be the reconception of syllabus. There is no way in which African and Asian church history can be incorporated within a traditional Western-type syllabus, nor can they be treated as appendages to Western church history.

Reconception of the Early Church

A more fundamental issue affects the teaching of church history in any setting. If Christianity is principally a non-Western religion, why should its Western period dominate the approach to its history?

How great is that dominance can be divined if we examine more closely the assumptions underlying the standard forms of syllabus that have been exported all over the world. For instance, the majority of academic institutions provide courses on the history of the early church. It is safe to assume that in most cases “early church” means, substantially, the church in the Roman Empire. Undoubtedly, Western Christianity, Catholic and Protestant (and for that matter Greek and Russian Orthodox too), were shaped by events that took place in the church’s interaction with Hellenistic civilization and the Roman state. As Eusebius, the first great church historian recognized, the conversion of Constantine marks a turning point, a turning of the tide, a new epoch.

But suppose we look at early Christianity outside the Roman Empire? Suppose we look not only at the well-known movement westward from Antioch but at the eastward movement as well? The little buffer state of Osroene, on the Roman imperial frontier, was the early base of a remarkable Christian movement. In Edessa, its capital, are the remains of the oldest church building yet discovered, built at a time when no such thing was possible in the Roman Empire. Edessa, indeed, often does appear on maps of the early church. Unfortunately, it is usually at the eastern extremity of the map, yielding the idea that it represents the eastern extremity of a Christianity centered on the Mediterranean. If, however, we place Edessa at the western end of the map, and pigeonhole the Roman Empire for a while, we can observe a remarkable alternative Christian story.

Early Christianity spread down the Euphrates valley until the majority of the population of northern Mesopotamia (i.e., modern Iraq) was Christian. It spread through the Arab buffer states, so that a third-century poet could announce that the social customs of the desert Arabs had changed. It moved down to Yemen and was adopted by the royal house. It moved steadily into Iran proper, into the Zoroastrian heartland of Fars, and northward to the Caspian. (It had previously moved west of the Caspian; the first nation to adopt Christianity as its state religion was not the Roman Empire but the kingdom of Armenia.)

This eastern Christianity that grew up in the Persian Empire had much in common with the form of the faith that was developing in the same period in the Greco-Roman world, but its cultural milieu was quite different. Like the earliest church of all, it was Semitic in language and in cast of thought and retained some of the features of that earliest church that were lost in the development of Hellenistic Christianity. Its immediate milieu was not solely Hellenistic, and its earliest leaders show little interest in the issues that so exercised those who were trying to translate the Gospel and the convictions associated with it into Greek terms. Arius caused hardly a ripple. With much less need to work with the categories and methods of philosophical discourse, these Christians had to take account of a range of indigenous and Eastern religious influences, including the effect of the Zoroastrian influence in local culture. There emerged a religion of intense moral seriousness, of spiritual athleticism, that spoke to a community marked by the eternal conflict of the principles of Light and Darkness and by the realities of death and judgment. A literature developed that gloried in displaying Christ’s victory over death and evil, rich poetic theology, and striking imagery, such as we find in Ephraem’s magnificent taunting songs about the defeat of humanity’s two discredited enemies, Death and Satan.

Like their fellow Christians in the Roman Empire, the Christians in the Persian Empire fell foul of the principalities and powers. The persecutions under Decius and Diocletian are a well-known feature of the story of Christianity of the Roman Empire; the Christians of the Persian Empire knew still fiercer, and more sustained, pressure. In one forty-year period of the fourth century, no less than 16,000 Christians were put to death by the Persian emperor Sapor II. The cause for this particularly savage attack on Christians was a direct response to the increasing favor shown by Constantine to Christians. Anything so appealing to the Roman state as Christianity had now become could hardly appeal to Rome’s perennial enemy. The critical difference between the story of Christianity in the Persian Empire and that in the Roman Empire is that the Persian Empire never had a Constantine. Eastern Christianity never knew steady imperial favor or predictable political security. That factor in itself makes it a story worth studying along with that of its
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Eastern Christianity, however, had its periods of peace and substantial seasons of growth. It spread not only through but beyond the Persian Empire, along the trade routes by sea and by land. Its age-old presence in India is well known, its presence beyond India—in Sri Lanka, for instance—documented. That Eastern Christianity reached China is also often recognized; those interested in synchronic parallels might note that the missionary whose Chinese name was Alopen was putting Christianity before the Chinese Emperor in 635, much the same time as the faith was put before the king and council of Northumbria in northern England. Indeed, if we are thinking in terms of geographic extent, the eastward spread of the Christian faith across Asia is still more remarkable than the westward spread across Europe.

Its spread was sustained through a period that in Western church history is substantially one of loss and decline. The arrival of the Muslim Arabs in Egypt and Syria, the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, marks the beginning of a period of eclipse—Latourette’s “thousand years of uncertainty.” Further east, Christianity was allowed a new period of flowering, so that the tenth century began a time of Christian growth. Right up to the fourteenth century the expansion of the faith went on among the shamanistic Turkic peoples who surrounded the Chinese Empire. It is a period little understood, and the sources are difficult of access; yet if we could understand it better, we might gain some clues to developments of much later periods—perhaps, for instance, some features of Korean Christianity, which also has a shamanistic background. One striking feature of the period is that during it Christianity became the faith of nomadic peoples. Many of the Turkic peoples were pastoralists on the move. We hear of bishops appointed to such peoples who had no fixed capital but moved with their communities. In the modern period of missionary endeavor it is hard to find examples of nomadic communities who embraced the Gospel and remained nomadic.

If we look at the eastward as well as the westward Christian movement, and look at it on the grids of the Persian and Chinese Empires as well as on that of the Roman Empire, it is evident that there was almost a millennium and a half of Christian history in Asia before ever Western Christian missions to Asia began. It is equally evident that the early Christian history of Asia is not a marginal or ephemeral one, but substantial. The ancestors of modern Asian Christianity exist, but their names are not being called. And both Western and Asian Christians will remain impoverished by this omission until the work of reconception of the syllabus progresses.

Reconception of Early African Church History

African church history is equally distorted by attempts to make it an appendage of a general church history that is really a form of European clan history. Africa has a continuous Christian history since subapostolic times, a history that antedates not only Western missions to Africa but also the Islamic presence there. It is important for African Christian consciousness that this heritage be reflected in the syllabus. Even the part of African Christianity that lay within the Roman Empire has its ongoing importance, not least because, in Egypt, it has continued to the present day. The sheer luxuriance of early African Christianity is worth noticing. It was the source of such seminal figures as Origen, the first systematic theologian, and Tertullian, the first theologian of Pentecostalism. It was the birthplace alike of vernacular theology and of Western theology through the African lawyer-theologians Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, and it was the source of innovative, socially conscious Christian movements like Donatism, which perhaps produced the first liberation theologians. We dare not separate these factors from modern Christianity in Africa any more than we can separate sub-Saharan Africa from the lands to its north. There are geopolitical forces that tie the whole continent together. In our own day Islam has become the focus of those forces. It is worth recalling that Christianity once had a similar role in African history.

The Christianity of Egypt and Roman Africa normally reaches the standard syllabus. But equally significant for Africa is an aspect of early African church history that rarely does: the Christian movement in Africa outside the Roman Empire. With all the uncertainties and deficiencies of the sources, we nevertheless have enough material (with archaeology providing much that was not available to our predecessors) to illuminate one chapter of African Christian history that lasted nearly a millennium and another that has continued to the present. The thousand-year chapter is that of Judaism. This Christian community in what is now Sudan antedated the rise of Islam by five hundred years and for further five centuries held a unique place as a Christian state on the borders of the Islamic world. The continuing story is that of Ethiopia. That story begins with the Syrian brothers Frumentius and Aedesius, deflected from their original purpose when stranded in Aksum, in what is now Tigre, entering the service of the king and eventually seeing not only a church emerging but the conversion of the king. Again the archaeological sources illuminate the story; King Ezana’s inscriptions show his progress from polytheist to monotheist to Christian.

The continuation of the story has many other surprises and many mysteries. In Ethiopia a tradition of Christianity grew up in the heart of Africa, in daily contact with the realities of African worldviews, that was recognizably part of the Great Church, and yet quite unlike anything that developed elsewhere. Ethiopian Christianity has incorporated the Old Testament to a degree unusual among Christians, and its people have often lived under conditions reminiscent of those of the Old Testament. Yet Ethiopia, for all its distinctiveness and all its long years of isolation, never entirely lost contact with the church outside. The foundation story makes the point clear: Frumentius went to the nearest center of the Great Church to ask for a bishop for the church he had founded. The patriarch sent him back as bishop. That patriarch was Athanasius. Century after century afterward, the Ethiopian church drew its bishop—its only bishop—from Alexandria, thereby recognizing the universality of the church, even in its very particular circumstances. The significance of Ethiopia for all African Christians—as symbol of Africa indigenously, primordially Christian, and as symbol of a Christian tradition completely independent of the West—has been seized all over the African continent. To this meaning countless churches and societies across the breadth and depth of Africa bear witness by taking “Ethiopian” as part of their title.

Catholic and Protestant, Mission in Common

If the new situation calls for reconception of the object and content of the syllabus, it calls also for reconception of the significance of some elements within it. A single example must suffice. For Western Christians, the sixteenth-century Reformation (perhaps it would be better to say Reformations) is of defining significance, a watershed. But in the total history of Christianity its significance may be different and not necessarily so defining. Certainly it continues to determine the outside
affiliations and the church-consciousness of Christians across the world, but for some historical purposes the differences between the various types of Western Christians have been less significant than the similarities. This fact may be particularly true in tracing the place of Western Christianity in the non-Western world. From the point of view of Africa and Asia, the missionary movement—Catholic and Protestant—has been a single story since the sixteenth century, the Catholic Reformation and the Evangelical Revival alike necessary to it. Protestants as much as Catholics owe the conception of a missionary movement, based on people sent to persuade and commend but unable to coerce, to the first encounter of Western Christians with the non-Western world. The missionary movement emerged from the realization that Asia and Africa could not be won for Christ by the methods used to extend Christendom in Mexico and Peru.

In the West it is possible to recount Catholic and Protestant histories separately from one another. In many parts of the world it is not; the stories interlock. The first Protestant missionary in China owed his initial grounding in Chinese to the presence in the British Museum and the Royal Society of a translation of the Gospels and a Chinese-Latin dictionary made by Jesuit missionaries of an earlier century. He owed his first breakthrough in China to the assistance of Chinese Catholics. There is a single Christian story in China from the sixteenth century; nay, even that story needs its prologue in the movement that began nine centuries earlier when Alopen and his Syriac-speaking colleagues reached the emperor’s court by way of central Asia.

There is another reason why we may need to reconceive the historical significance of the Reformation. We have become used to the assumption that Christianity exists in three more or less permanent modes: Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox. These categories, however, reflect events in Western history; in the West they have a significance that they cannot have in the non-Western world. They will continue to be valid outside the West as indicators of organization and affiliation, but they will likely become less and less useful as descriptors. A large segment of African Christianity, for instance, cannot be called either Catholic or Protestant in any meaningful sense: it is simply African. Furthermore, its features are to be found among thousands of African believers whose affiliation is Catholic or Protestant. There are “traditions” in the Christian world community today that reflect modes of Christian existence in the same way as the labels “Catholic,” “Protestant,” and “Orthodox” have hitherto done. It seems likely that, if we are to acquire historical understanding of Christianity as a non-Western religion, the reconception of the categories by which Christians have been described will be required.

The situation of the global church at the end of the second millennium calls us to a reconception of the task of the Christian historian and offers a new vision to direct the study, teaching, and writing of Christian history. The task of research will be immeasurably expanded beyond what has ordinarily been in view, and vast unexplored sources are already at hand to support that research. The church historian’s task will now need more than a simple, natural evolution from current practice. It will require a new breed of church historians with all the skills and virtues nourished in the older school but with a range of others as well, skills and virtues demanded by the new environment of Christianity in the southern continents. It is time for the recommissioning of church historians.

Evangelicalism, Islam, and Millennial Expectation in the Nineteenth Century

Andrew N. Porter

Great Britain’s nineteenth-century imperial expansion paralleled the growth of the modern Christian missionary movement. Of special interest to evangelical supporters of Christian missions was the fact that Britain had emerged as the power having the most extensive control in Muslim lands. These developments, intertwined as they were, prompted speculation about the future of Islam and Christianity. For example, at a Church Missionary Society (CMS) prayer meeting in the early 1880s, the vicar of Fareham offered this far-reaching observation:

Many of you, probably, have come to the same conclusion that I have, that the fifth horn in the vision of the ram and the he goat in the eighth chapter of Daniel is a symbol of the Mohammedan power, and that its time for practising and prospering against the Prince of princes is now coming to an end. And many of you, probably, consider that the drying up of the River Euphrates predicted in the sixteenth chapter of Revelation, the effect of

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which is to be... the Eastern kingdoms finding their way to Christ, is now fulfilling in the exsiccation and absorption of the Mohammedan power as a political and ruling power... Certainly it is a sign of the times that the Crescent is waning before the Cross... Surely, then, the conversion of Mohammedans should be a special subject at missionary conferences.

Two decades later, in Edinburgh, James Stewart, the 1902 Duff Missionary Lecturer, highlighted the ambiguity of the situation: “Taking Mohammedanism as a whole, with its strange and wonderful career, the difficulty is how to fit that career, as an event permitted by God, into the progress of the world, or into the evolution of its spiritual history, and how to understand the purpose it was meant to serve.” Here, in other words, was one of the continuing great questions of the age. Like most great questions, it was an open one; as Stewart acknowledged, “No theory seems fully to explain the subject.” CMS secretary Eugene Stock contributed his own rather inconclusive views on the subject. Consistent with his well-known sensitivity to evangelical concerns, Stock at least knew that the questions about the future of Islam needed to be acknowledged.
The existence and development of Islam increasingly required scrutiny, encouraged speculation about the "signs of the times," stimulated the study of biblical prophecy, and spurred individuals to become missionaries. The chronological pattern of social and political upheavals was important to both theological perspectives. In the light of current events, many were assured that their missionary activity was timely. Postmillennialists were persuaded that missionary endeavor would prove effective in transforming the world; premillennialists focused on the immediate necessity for saving souls from a world that was under divine judgment. In surveying the world scene—including the American and French revolutions, the misfortunes of the papacy, and the spread of atheism and "infidelity"—evangelical commentators (e.g., William Carey and Melville Horne) often drew attention to the significance of Islam. By 1810, Anglican figures such as George Faber and Claudius Buchanan consistently linked prophecy with the waning power of Islam and the future of the Jews.6

Initially much interest centered on Henry Martyn, who distinguished himself by translating the Bible into Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. To his patron, Charles Simeon, Martyn was more important even than David Brainerd. Particularly significant were Martyn's "disputations with the Mahometans.... The day that such an appeal to reason shall receive the sanction of the Priests, Mahometanism will receive a fatal blow."7

As this quotation suggests, Martyn engaged in what soon became the conventional approach to Islam, that of rational disputation with Muslim clerics in the expectation that Muslim defenses would collapse and conversion ensue. Learned Muslims—like educated Hindu Brahmans, as it was then assumed—would ensure that Christianity percolated downward to their people. For Simeon and Martyn this approach was linked to the conversion of the Jews and their return to the land of Israel.8 With steady application on all three fronts—Hindu, Muslim and Jewish—postmillennialist Christians felt that providentially assured success would usher in the millennium of peace and Christian harmony, after which would follow the second coming.

For some, such as Buchanan, reasons for targeting Islam came not only from "general contemplation of the prophecies" but from "the signs of the times," significant among which was the expansion of Britain's empire in India.9 India offered not just a back door into the Near or Middle East; there, under British auspices, Islam and Hinduism could be tackled in the same field. Moreover, in India, unlike the Ottoman territories, Islam could easily be countered with the same methods by which it was itself promoted—the public reading of religious texts, counterposing Koran and Bible, and "the instruction of children."10

Here, alongside the campaign against the East India Company for greater missionary access in India, were emerging the components of the dominant evangelical approach to Islam until the midcentury: a background in postmillennialism, nonetheless linked to analysis tying biblical prophecy to world events; a preference for approaches via India rather than the Middle East; and elevation of "rational controversy" over other methods. Only in the 1860s did this approach begin to change, encouraged by a growing sense that Muslim influence was increasing, contrary to expectations, and a mounting feeling that missionaries had neglected Islam after all.

Resurgent Islam

By midcentury some mission leaders observed that Islam appeared to be expanding rather than contracting. This development was especially clear in West Africa. In Sierra Leone early sympathy with Islamic influence seems to have given way to critical concern as early as the 1830s. This attitude crystallized under the impact of explorers' writings published in the 1840s and 1850s,11 which highlighted the importance of Islamic jihads in West Africa's history, the development of Islamic states, and widespread conversion to Islam. By midcentury Islam had also made a significant impact on northern Yorubaland, in coastal towns such as Badagry and Lagos, and far down the Niger.12 Accurate appreciation of East African conditions was slower in coming. Nevertheless, from the 1870s CMS missionaries were expressing concern, and by the 1890s Islamic expansion in East Africa was seriously worrying contemporaries.13

In the 1860s the explorer Richard Burton was already anticipating an Islamic conquest of Africa, and soon Bosworth Smith wrote of Muhammedanism in Africa "spreading itself by giant strides almost year by year."14 Ronald Hyam, in his recent analysis of the late nineteenth-century political division of Africa, states, "In one sense the partition of Africa was a device to contain or counteract the expansion of militant Islam, ... it could be described as a struggle for control of north and central Africa between Christian Europeans and Muslim Arab-Africans."15 By the final decades of the century, events in the north such as the Urabist revolt (1881–82), the rise of Mahdist power in the Sudan, and the pan-Islamism of critics of British rule in Egypt were seen as strong evidence of Islamic resurgence.16

In response, unlike British imperial officials, evangelical missionaries often thought of doing more than simply holding the balance. For James Stewart, writing of the "struggle for the continent" among Christianity, paganism, and Muhammedanism, issues were coming to a climax: "The struggle between them is not new. It is rather being renewed, and this time will probably be final."17

Christian concern about Muslim advance was not limited to Africa. In the Asian subcontinent, for instance, while Buddhism and Hinduism seemed essentially static, Islam was seen to be expanding its influence in North India and Bengal.18 The editor of the 1888 London missionary conference proceedings virtually...
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took for granted the “discouraging fact” of widespread Islamic resurgence.19

As recognition of Islam’s advance began to take root in the 1850s and 1860s, there developed guilty feelings that the missionary world had been neglectful of Islam and probably misguided in its evangelistic methods.

Few missionaries had followed Martyn into Muslim evangelism. Explanations for this lack include the physical dangers of proselytization in Muslim countries, where the risks seemed far greater than elsewhere. Lack of conversions confirmed traditional Western views of Muslim bigotry and intolerance and suggested that scarce resources might be better deployed elsewhere.20 For many Protestants a greater problem existed in the ancient Christian churches in the Ottoman Empire, commonly regarded as “the centre of Mohammedanism.”21 Although high Anglicans supported the reform and revitalization of the churches of the East, most others saw them as corrupt and heretical, undermining true Christianity while encouraging both Roman Catholic and Islamic resurgence.

Despite initial optimism, neither the Jerusalem bishopric (1841) nor the CMS Palestine Mission had any serious impact,22 and British efforts were largely directed into the Turkish (Western Asia) Mission Aid Society, helping American efforts in the Levant. In India the development of Martyn’s legacy in the 1840s and 1850s by Carl Pfander and Thomas Valpy French at Agra was

Renewed premillennial speculation and the
Ottoman and Egyptian crises
forged serious engagement
by evangelicals with Islam.

Gains in Premillennial Mission

Millennial thinking in Britain after 1860 involved a significant expansion of premillennial beliefs, accompanied by an increasing interest in overseas missions. Even earlier, premillennialism as “a biblically-based, eschatological system was gaining ground”; numbers of Anglican clergy and many public figures shared premillennialist views.23 It seems reasonable to suppose that premillennialist views were widespread among the wider community of Christians whose offerings supported overseas missions and whose approach to the Bible was often literalistic.

Striking concatenations of world events had the power to excite such enthusiasm. There was a flood of prophetic literature in 1860, partly because of events in Turkey and Italy. “Islam sees all her frontiers falling in,” wrote William Arthur, “Rome, her centre heaving beneath her: humanity, sighing under the feet of both, does not ask, ‘Will they fall?’ but ‘When?’”24 In the 1860s, and again in the 1880s and 1890s, the missionary strategy of “commerce and civilization,” which reflected a postmillennial vision, was vigorously criticized by those disappointed with the results of missionary progress and who felt that genuinely evangelical preaching was being forgotten. Premillennialists were prominent in attacking what they regarded as glib postmillennial optimism. Like Edward Irving in the 1820s, they argued for extensive peripatetic evangelism and an end to the bureaucracy of the established societies. Their model became that of the “faith mission,” as embodied in the China Inland Mission (CIM, formed in 1865). Such missions, they maintained, had the vision and drive to occupy the remotest missionary frontiers with all possible speed.

Millennial preoccupations were injected into the missionary movement, especially by the Mildmay and (subsequently) Keswick conferences. In the message of American revivalists visiting Britain after 1870, millennial themes figured prominently and provided inspiration for the Student Volunteer Movement, which in 1886 took as its goal “the evangelization of the world in this generation.” In a period when, especially among the young, interdenominational Christianity held far more appeal than long-established sectarian groupings, it is difficult to gauge the spread of prophetic persuasions. Certainly, premillennialism made a deep impact on Anglicans. Mission leaders like Stock were anxious to accommodate the new enthusiasm rather than lose volunteers to rivals such as the Salvation Army, which often reported striking successes on the field as the consequence of the work of the younger generation.25

Renewed Concern for Muslims

In this setting it is not surprising to find a revival of interest in missions to Muslims. The international spurs to this interest lay in the escalating troubles of the Ottoman Empire and of the papacy (such as the loss in 1870–71 of its territories outside Rome). Signs of this renewed interest can be seen in the Anglican Church Congresses of 1873 and 1874 and in the Church Missionary Intelligencer. A CMS conference met in October 1875 and recommended a strategy that included initiatives among Muslims in Sierra Leone and Lagos and among the Hausa. Noting the recent conference of Indian missionaries in Allahabad in 1873, it asked the leaders of the missionary conferences in Bengal and the North-West Provinces to make further plans for mission to Muslims.26

Millennial awareness was behind observations like the following editorial comment in the Intelligencer of January 1876:
As we begin the new millennium, church leaders around the world are confronted with a serious problem. While many Western churches face a leadership crisis, the formal paradigm of institutionally educated professional ministers cannot alone meet the burgeoning need for trained leaders in the Two-Thirds World.

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Although “quite out of our province to discuss prophetical questions, we cannot refrain from a passing notice of the wonder­ful manner in which the whole question of Mohammedanism is now absorbing public attention.” Behind the scenes, several of the regular meetings of the London [Missionary] Secretaries Association reviewed the expansion of Islam, along with prophetic studies and their fulfillment.39

Along with regrets for the insufficiency of past efforts, mission leaders claimed that Muslims, like Christians, were aware that they had reached a turning point. Accordingly, the leaders called for a fresh approach with new methods. Bishop French observed how “everywhere we find Mohammedanism . . . on the alert . . . hotly and sorely pressed in a life and death struggle.” French argued that progress in North India depended not on rational controversy so much as on aggressive preach­ing.31 While schools remained prominent in mission strategy, a broader spectrum of agencies developed, including medical missions and missions to women, such as the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (established in 1880).

The extension of British control over Islamic Africa and the CMS’s return to Cairo in the wake of the British invasion of Egypt in 1882 refueled debates about the best place to base a mission outreach to Muslims. While some urged the case for the Punjab,32 the millennial significance of Egypt’s occupation impressed others. For Major-General Haig, “The days of the Mohammedan Antichrist are numbered. The disintegration of the Turkish Empire proceeds apace.” Given the overthrow of rebellion in Egypt in 1882, and the British occupation of that country, Haig argued for establishing a mission base at Aden. His lobbying paid off. The CMS officially adopted Aden as a jumping-off point for the interior in 1885. The importance of mission in Arabia persuaded French to come out of retirement in 1891 and undertake a new work in Muscat.

With (Scottish) Free Church support, Ion Keith-Falconer, a Cambridge Semitic scholar and evangelical, set himself up at Aden in 1886.33 Khartoum, center of the new Mahdist state and exemplar of Islam’s revival, emerged as a still more powerful focus of evangelical ambitions. Muslims were excited by Mahdist successes, while evangelicals were fascinated with the correspondences between Muslim and Christian eschatology.34 General Charles Gordon’s death at Khartoum in 1885 added to Khartoum’s symbolic significance in the confrontation between Christianity and Islam.

People like Keith-Falconer saw themselves following Gordon’s example. Although Khartoum was inaccessible, they could follow Gordon’s footsteps to Cairo. In 1897–98 Douglas Thornton, who was determined to engage “the Mohammedans,” reviewed all possible openings. Cairo, he wrote, “grows upon me more and more, for I believe prophecy indicates the future importance of Egypt in this question.”35 Temple Gairdner, traveling secretary of the Student Christian Movement and Thornton’s close friend, agreed.36

For other missionary recruits in the 1880s and 1890s, Hausaland and the western Sudan rather than the Nile valley offered “the opportunity of the hour.”37 Offering access to the frontier of Islam’s engagement with African religions, these regions were seen as lying beyond the corrupting effects of Western secular influences. They thus provided a perfect arena for those sharing the enthusiasms of the “faith missions” and influenced by the premillennial concern for rapid and far-reaching evangelization.38

Crisis and Opportunity

In the early 1900s Islam retained its prominence, especially for the younger evangelical missionaries recruited in the 1890s. Thornton attached great importance to Cairo precisely because influence exerted there would have an impact throughout the Muslim world. Reckoning that “the Arabic language is read by as many people as Chinese,” he regarded Islam as the greatest obstacle to evangelization of the world. While he worked in Cairo, Thornton also read about central Africa and “meditated on Stanford’s map of the Nile Valley. Every visitor to the house must have a look at it. Day after day I open it and study its contents. It is the burden of my heart that all these tribes be reached. It was Gordon’s wish.”39

Thornton’s mention of Arabic and Chinese provides a useful reminder of the global perspectives influencing leading mission­aries and society organizers, and of how the world was steadily shrinking. Some spoke of the “Moslem Menace” as paralleling the “Yellow Peril.” In correspondence with John R. Mott, J. N. Farquhar wrote from India of “a great awakening” among Mus­lims there, leading to greater political activity, educational enth­usiasm, and a revival of “Mohammedanism.” He saw these developments in a positive light, as opening the way for Chris­tian influence. On a world scale, Farquhar saw “two problems . . . beyond all others, the Oriental problem, and the Mohammedan problem.” He expressed the hope that the YMCA and the World Student Christian Federation would be able to deal effectively with the “crisis of the evolution of Asia” and the impact of “the explosive forces of Western thought” in the Muslim world. His perspective was shared by up-and-coming mission leaders such as J. H. Oldham.40

In these years major conferences on Islam and missions were convened at Cairo (1906) and Lucknow India (1911). At the 1908 Pan-Anglican Congress and the 1910 World Missionary Confer­ence in Edinburgh, the problem of Islam also received much attention. This interest reflected not only evangelical preoccupa­tions but a general characteristic of a period in which observers, whether or not sympathetic to missions, recognized that large segments of the non-European world were in turmoil and were demanding social and political change.41

Mission leaders reached general agreement that “there never was such unrest, politically, socially and spiritually, in Moslem lands as there is today, and . . . this very unrest is accompanied by a new sense of solidarity and an attempt to unify the disinte­grating forces of Islam,” particularly in Africa. Participants at Lucknow endorsed Edinburgh’s conclusion that the “absorption of native races into Islam is proceeding rapidly and continuously in practically all parts of [Africa] . . . Either Christianity or Islam will prevail.”42

These statements echoed two long-standing and contradic­tory evangelical perceptions. On one hand, many emphasized that Muslim unrest meant the breakup of hostile historic struc­tures that formerly had blocked the advance of the Gospel; on the other hand, others felt that Islam’s resurgence would severely
limit Christianity’s opportunity. For reasons that drew strongly on traditional criticisms of Islam—its lack of moral sense, its restrictions on women, its bigotry, and its association with slavery—Islam was recognized more than ever before as Christianity’s main opponent.

Signs of the times and the spirit of the conferences again prompted eschatological reflections. Reviewing Edinburgh 1910, Gairdner compared the present world crisis with that which prevailed at the time of Christ. He could see “the Beast [of the Revelation of John] rising from the world-tide and presenting once more the immemorial alternative, ‘Naturism or Deeper into God.’ The spectacle of the East, with half a worldful of men, suddenly drawn into the full current of world-thought is one scene in the vision of the modern Apocalypse. The spectacle of the West rapidly surrendering to a radically atheistic philosophy of Nature is the other.”

The Fading of Premillennial Influence

Despite continuities, the relationship of evangelicalism, Islam, and millenarism continued to change. Although the sense of crisis, urgency, and pessimism evident between 1900 and 1914 might still seem to reflect the premillennial outlook popular between 1870 and 1890, in fact it was no longer so dominant.

Although Gordon cast a long shadow, his legacy was ultimately limited to Gordon College in Khartoum and to the Khartoum cathedral, erected between 1900 and 1904. Christian teaching and preaching remained proscribed in Muslim regions that were under British rule, and premillennialist missionary practice in the manner of the CIM was impossible. Despite tendencies to view Islam as a whole, the later nineteenth century saw growing divisions of opinion among missionaries over approaches to Muslims. In part, this disunity reflected differences between conditions in North India and those elsewhere. By the turn of the century there is little to suggest that premillennial expectations shaped the thinking of those going to India. The controversies of earlier years over missionary practice had emphasized the need for preaching and economy, but in fact in the years that followed there was little change in mission society standards regarding the schooling they provided and their training of missionary recruits.

British scholars also moved gradually toward alternative understandings of Islam, starting with the assumption that revelation and religious development were part of a continuing historical process. They began to explore some sort of accommodation with Islam rather than persist in confrontation. This new stance gained ground after the mid-1870s as acquaintance with African conditions grew and writers developed the case for Islam’s contribution to Africa’s advance from its position at the bottom of a racial and cultural hierarchy.

Although that debate was inconclusive, the tolerance that it displayed found significant reinforcement. For example, Archbishop E. W. Benson in 1892 argued publicly for respect toward Islam and recognition of its equal capacity with Christianity to form excellent characters. This position made sense to many even within the missionary world. Members of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, feeling themselves in the front line against Islam, compared Muslims favorably to many Europeans, whom they saw as undermining their work. Bishop Frank Weston, who “feared Islam not a little,” made it clear that he feared European commercialism even more. By the early 1900s in Egypt, Gairdner, Thornton, and many of their contemporaries not only took up the long-standing tasks of translation, publication, schooling, and the promotion of literature societies; they also began to side “with national aspirations.” They stated that they wished to “cultivate friendship, remove misunderstandings, and [be restored] to as counsellors.” This would “help the nation” by preventing the emergence of “an educated class of agnostics on the one hand, and a recrudescence of Islam in its most fanatical form on the other.”

Thus a gradualist, optimistic strategy, essentially postmillennialist in stance, reasserted itself in missions to Muslims. Missionary rhetoric still preserved traces of pessimism and premillennialist expectations, but British missionary practice, in particular within the Anglican and CMS community, was turning back to the fresh development of older traditions. In one sense growing familiarity with Islam had created the problem for Stewart with which this article began—how to fit [Islamic history] . . . into the progress of the world.” Stewart’s further question—“how to understand the purpose it was meant to serve”—was by 1914 no longer likely to be answered with reference to the interpretative framework of premillennialism.

Notes

4. See, for example, J. A. De Jong, As the Waters Cover the Sea (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1970).
40. Farquhar to Mott, April 15, 1909, Mott Papers 45/29/521, Yale Manuscript Collection.
43. H. C. G. Moule to John R. Mott, June 22, 1910, Mott Papers 45/64/1175.

The IBMR welcomes more than 800 new readers who have subscribed since April 2000.
Born in Akron, Ohio, in 1928, I was in the third grade when I decided to be a preacher. In my home churches, where I first learned about missions, were popular people, usually admired and always talked about. Even more, missionaries were in a special category. When missionaries came to our church it was like a visit from the gods. My mother’s cousin and her husband were pioneer missionaries in Africa. To refer to someone as a pioneer seemed truly heroic to a ten-year-old. Those cousins, George and Gladys Powell, were in fact well-known missionaries to the former Ivory Coast under the Christian and Missionary Alliance. The glamour of their furlough presentations with colored slides, “native dress,” and bags of curios made a bigger impression on me than I knew.

My denomination, the Evangelical Church, had a program for mission education at all levels. (In 1948 this group became the Evangelical United Brethren [E.U.B.] and later merged with the Methodist Church to become the United Methodist Church.) As a child, it was impossible not to know about missions in my church. Primary-age children met once a month in Mission Band while the old folks worshiped. The Young Peoples’ Missionary Circle took over our lives at age fourteen. We read biographies of the great names in missionary work and put on missionary plays on Missions Sunday. In this way I first met Carey, Judson, Brainerd, and of course Moffat and Livingstone.

I won first prize, a gold medal, in the Ohio State Missionary Oratorical Contest when I was thirteen. Our speeches were judged on both content and delivery. It was a good feeling, but I wondered sometimes what all of this was about and where it was going to take me.

I knew even then that there was a special romance about Africa for me. When I was in the Mission Band, I wrote a letter to Ira McBride. McBride was almost a household name among the missionaries of our congregation. McBride actually answered my letter all the way from Africa. I was only nine years old at the time. Not in my wildest imagination could I have thought that sixteen years later I would become his protégé in Nigeria.

My Calling to Mission

With that kind of tutelage in both home and church, who would not be risking a “call” to missions? My encounter came when I was a junior in Houghton College, in Houghton, New York. Norman Grubb was the speaker for the annual missions emphasis week sponsored by the Foreign Missions Fellowship. Grubb personified the missionaries I had learned about. Director of Worldwide Evangelization Crusade, he was the son-in-law of C. T. Studd, inimitable missionary to both China and Africa, and a hero no one could forget. The commitment I made that night in the College Church was the beginning of the rest of my life.

A special part of this experience was that Lois Harris “went forward” that same evening. Sometime afterward we began a courtship that led to our marriage in 1951. Africa was always in the background as Lois and I planned our life. However, it was not as easy for her as it was for me. She is a daughter of medical missionaries who went first to Congo under an independent society and later to Nigeria with the Sudan Interior Mission. Lois brought some deep reservations about missionary life into our relationship. She had lived a life of separation from her family for most of her twenty years. She felt this loss and abandonment in ways that she has been processing ever since. This history, in part, was what motivated her to become a licensed family therapist after we came to Fuller Seminary in 1977. Through her counseling practice many who have been hurt by their years as missionary children have found help. This story deserves to be heard quite separately from this writing.

Seminary: The Exquisite Delay

After graduating from Houghton, I entered our denomination’s school, Evangelical Theological Seminary (ETS), in Naperville, Illinois. I found myself often impatient because so much of the B.D. curriculum and professors did not touch on my plans for the mission field. One exception was my mentor, Wilbur Harr, who had been a missionary to the Nigeria field of our denomination for one term in the late 1930s. He had then enrolled in the University of Chicago to study with R. Pierce Beaver. Two of the missions courses taught by Harr were especially good background for missionary preparation at that time. One was what he called “Philosophy of Mission” and the other carried the rather innocuous title “Missionary Experiments.” Harr was also active in the beginnings of the Association of Professors of Mission in North America and was its president at some point in the 1950s.

During my seminary days, ETS was a small, intimate school that reflected very closely the kind of theological environment I lived in during this period. (Later, in 1968, ETS merged with Garrett Seminary in Evanston, Illinois, following the merger of the EUB and the Methodist Church.) “Missiology” was not a term that we used, but I suppose my theology of mission at that time could have been called evangelical-ecumenical. My upbringing in Ohio had been in the Holiness tradition, Holiness in the non-Pentecostal way. My home church was almost paranoid about both Holy-Rollers and modernism. Friends and family worried a lot about me because I did not follow the stream of ministerial students who went to Asbury Seminary. My professor-mentor Wilbur Harr was in touch with leaders of the National Council of Churches. In 1962 he edited a book of essays in honor of Kenneth Scott Latourette entitled Frontiers of the Christian World Mission Since 1938. The scope of the contributors tells a lot about where I was missiologically in those days and how I was being shaped theologically.

While I was in seminary the Board of Missions of the EUB Church was so reluctant to give me any encouragement about my great desire to go to Nigeria that I asked Harr to inquire about their lack of action. He reported that the mission doctor had written “risky appointment” across my application, something they had never reported to me. What a disappointment! When I got in touch with the secretary of the board about this matter, he said I was a “potential ulcer patient.” I was only twenty-three at the time, and this judgment sounded completely out of line with my reality. My response was that their lack of communication with me for over a year would be enough to give anybody an

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ulcer! Then I wrote to them that I had already applied to another mission society (the Africa Inland Mission). It was amazing how quickly the EUB board took action. In three weeks Lois and I were accepted and making plans for departure to Nigeria after seminary graduation. God was in this situation, driving me back to reexamine the grounds for my call.

Besides finishing the B.D. degree, the board also required a year of pastoral ministry in the United States. I agreed to this stipulation, even though I had been a student pastor at a church in Iowa during all of my seminary years. Upon seminary graduation I took the combined job of youth pastor and minister of music in a church in Akron. After one more year, in 1955, Lois and I and our two infant boys joined about sixty others in an inter-church missionary orientation course conducted at Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania.

First Years in Africa

We boarded the Queen Mary in September 1955, headed for London, where we spent three months. These were the final days of British colonialism, and it was felt, rightly so, that we not only needed to understand Africa but also had to be comfortable with British culture and understand the British philosophy of rule and education. To be truthful, Lois and I were actually irritated at what seemed to be a further delay. London was a cultural experience we had not expected. Yet looking back, I believe the board was wise in making this requirement. Our American ethnocentrism had to be melted down, and England was a good place for this process as well as for understanding the transition we would see in 1960 from British to African governance.

It was stamped in our Nigerian visa that the purpose of our mission work was education. Actually it was evangelism, but almost every missionary in the 1950s had responsibility for mission schools. Yet for me it was almost a surprise that I, who had always understood the Gospel as a message to be preached, was almost immediately handed responsibility for a training school for lay evangelists and catechists. I was the only teacher for all subjects. Lois was now the mother of three little boys. Even with the full-time task of being mother, she was in charge of the women’s school. We were amazed that the full responsibility for twenty men and their wives was handed over to absolute newcomers, with everything carried out in the Hausa, African trade language—all just nine months after our arrival on African soil!

An important vocational shift was taking place. I became more a teacher and supervisor of educational facilities than a preacher and pastor. I find it impossible to write of the reorientation I experienced in seeing the Gospel from the interior of another culture. I discovered a much broader definition of mission than I was prepared for. I worked cooperatively with a parent mission, the Sudan United Mission. Although predominantly British, it was made up of Lutherans from Denmark, Reformed from South Africa, Anglicans and Plymouth Brethren from England, and members of the Christian Reformed Church from the United States. Other missions were also working closely with us such as the American Church of the Brethren. This ecumenical and intercultural environment for Christian witness has always been stimulating for me. With all its complexities and even confusion at times, both for missionaries and the African church, I learned about oikomene and koinonia in ways that have sustained me to the present.

Saved by Study

Honesty makes me admit of our discouragement at the end of our first term. I was especially discouraged regarding fellow missionaries, but also I was confused about the African church. Before going to Africa I had idealistically assumed that this first generation of Christians would reflect the zeal and charismatic spirituality of the apostolic church. In some ways this assumption proved true, but when the time for our first furlough finally arrived, both Lois and I felt overwhelmed by the difficulties. We had only one idea about mission work and that was to give our lives to it. Now we wondered whether we should review all our thinking.

I decided to take a look at our future by enrolling in the Th.M. program at Princeton Seminary. This step proved to be a lifesaver. Not many mission courses were offered at Princeton in 1960. So I studied Paul to understand the contextual diversity of his churches, his frustrations, and his creativity in nurturing first-generation believers. I became bonded to Paul and have been turning to him as a model for contextualization ever since. My book Pauline Theology and the Mission Church (Baker, 1983) came out of this Princeton study. I also learned how to study the Scriptures inductively under H. T. Kuist so that the biblical text could speak for itself. This approach was a boon to teaching in Africa, where the library of most pastors was the Bible and nothing more.

The Influence of Special People

Friendships with special people influenced me greatly along the way as I began to understand missiology. Their number included Harry R. Boer, W. A. Bijlefeld, and Desmond Tutu. Harry Boer, a Christian Reformed missionary scholar, was like an elder brother to me in many ways. The close personal relationship I had with him began in 1957, when he visited our mission area to share his vision of a seminary that would bring together the major denominations and reach a level of academic theological study not yet attempted in northern Nigeria. Boer is remembered as a Reformed scholar, missionary teacher, preacher, and writer of mission theology. He was a man of unusual vision, conviction, and wit. While he is perhaps known best for his Pentecost and Mission, his work as a scholar was prolific both in journals and in a variety of books that always dealt with Scripture and mission theology. I was principal of a vernacular pastors’ school in 1963 and field supervisor of the EUB Nigeria work when Boer first asked me to join him on the faculty of the new Theological College of Northern Nigeria (TCNN). I declined at that time but accepted a second invitation three years later, when I was doing research in connection with a Ph.D. degree. Boer resigned as principal of the college in 1971, the same year that I received my doctorate from Hartford Seminary. I was then installed as prin—
Christianity's World Mission would be less intimidating and more manageable if everyone spoke the same language, followed the same customs and viewed life the same way. That idyllic world, however, is not the world Christ calls us to engage.

The real world features at least a dozen major cultural families and more than 2,000 religions, 6,000 languages and 30,000 distinct societies and cultures. There are also an unknown (and shifting) number of sub-cultures, counter-cultures and peoples with their own distinct name, history and identity. Furthermore, secularization has transformed Western nations into “mission fields” once again.

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So if you are interested in making sense of a piece of the world, and in helping its people make sense of the Christian gospel, call the admissions office today at 1-800-2-ASBURY or e-mail us at “admissions_office@asburyseminary.edu.”
cipated in both African traditional practice and Islam in a much more positive, even exciting way. Bijlefeld left Africa to become dean of Hartford Seminary and editor of the journal Muslim World. I followed him to Hartford in 1968, where he mentored me through my Ph.D. studies in African Islam. There was no question that my second book, *African Religion Meets Islam* (1986), should be dedicated to Bijlefeld.

After sixteen years in Africa I could now see religion and theology as a much more integrated whole, enriching my appreciation for both and bringing me to a new hermeneutic of the biblical text. With Nigerian people from over thirty ethnic groups as the everyday human reference and my widened understanding of ecumenism in mission, I was gratified by the new word “contextualization” that was coming into use around 1972.

The most important association I had beginning that year was with Desmond Tutu, while he was associated with the Theological Education Fund (TEF) in London. TEF was the key to launching the new language of contextualization. Desmond Tutu’s quick mind, colorful charisma, and serious scholarship intrigued and challenged me. His visits to our theological college and his attendance at several conferences relating to theology for Africa brought me inevitably to contextualization as the main focus for my academic work in missiology. With Desmond Tutu and several African theological educators, we put together the West African Association of Theological Institutions (WAATI). This group allowed us to hear papers on African contextualization topics and evaluate the member institutions. Desmond was a model for me in the WAATI enterprise and through his counsel from the London office of TEF. After he left London to take up his post as bishop in South Africa, the contacts we have had continue to caution me not to make things seem easier than they really are.

**A Difficulty That Changed Our Direction**

At this point our family life was completely changed. Lois and I had five children, three of them born in Africa. By this time our two eldest were attending college in the States. Our second son, David, however, was unable to continue in school because of severe emotional difficulties. His situation was so serious that we brought our Nigeria years to an end and returned to the States. David’s breakdown is a story in itself but needs to be mentioned here because of the reorientation that it led to for all of us. David’s history of schizophrenia is a family story, but it also had massive influence on the rest of our pilgrimage in mission. In short, it is the reason we returned to the States and took up our teaching at the Fuller Theological Seminary School of World Mission.

In an article Lois and I wrote for *Fuller’s Theology News and Notes* (December 1998), I made the following statement: “Our experiences day and night [with David], laid against the material I had prepared to teach, often became an irony bordering on contradiction. I had to reconcile somehow what I was bringing to the classroom with what was happening to our son. This process forced me to ask a different set of questions and look for answers that I found I did not have.” I include this difficulty as an important part of our story because Lois and I have done some of the most difficult and, ultimately, most rewarding thinking about our entire life as missionaries in light of these family issues.

**A “Fuller,” Wider World**

The rest of my pilgrimage in mission takes place among colleagues and students in the School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary. With no idea as to where we would turn to continue our pilgrimage in 1976, we spent one year in New York at the offices of the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries. Then a call from Fuller came with an offer to teach in African studies and contextualization. This opportunity fit very well our experience and qualifications and met a need for job security at age forty-nine. No other seminary or school for the training of missionaries had a faculty position with the title of contextualized theology. At Fuller I could now organize and systematize the African years and the graduate work done at both Princeton and Hartford. The disciplines of biblical theology and the study I had done in phenomenology, combined with our continuing love for Africa and a specialized interest in Islam, served me well for this new position.

Immediately Fuller provided a much enlarged world of mission. Midcareer missionaries as well as young people from almost every place on the earth who planned to become missionaries provided a new and exciting community for both teaching and learning. The mission theology of Paul and the understanding of cultural issues reflected in both Christianity and Islam combined to give me a teaching base. I could now bring these insights into mission theology, African studies, and especially contextualization. My book *The Word Among Us* (1989), written together with colleagues at Fuller, was a rewarding convergence of the pilgrimage I have been writing about. These years at Fuller have provided a fitting way to bring all those earlier years closer to maturity. Besides mission thinking from every corner of the world, there has also been the integrating challenge coming from the Schools of Theology and Psychology at Fuller. These contacts on an everyday basis have deepened further my perceptions and challenged my assumptions. In completing twenty-two years at Fuller, following upon those twenty years in Africa, I am beginning to see more clearly a vision of where the closing years will take us, mindful always of the incalculable providence of God in arranging our lives with order and grace.

I now know that I did not miss the point in Mission Band when I was ten years old. I have been learning about the simplicity and mystery of the Good News for all people and for the whole world ever since.
The Legacy of Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff

Jessie G. Lutz

Few missionaries are more controversial than Karl Gützlaff, German missionary to China during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Extravagantly praised for his dedication to bringing the Gospel to all China, he was censured with equal immoderation when his attempt to convert the whole nation through Chinese evangelists proved a fiasco. For a hundred years after his death in 1851, negative images of Gützlaff prevailed. Recently, Herman Schlyter, A. J. Broomhall, and I have attempted more balanced assessments.

Understanding this conflicted, complex individual is not easy, however. At one moment he gloried in his exploits, braving an ice storm or outbluffing a mandarin in order to make known the Christian message; in the next, he could refer to himself as the insignificant instrument of God. He chafed under the strictures of his Dutch missionary society and quickly became an independent missionary, beholden to none but God. He acted as interpreter for opium smugglers so that he could make illegal forays to China coastal villages to distribute Bibles and religious tracts. Like many missionaries of his era, he acted on the premise that a higher law justified defying human restrictions on Christian evangelism.

Gützlaff's legacies include the strengthening of Chinese perceptions that missionaries were the forerunners of imperialism; even Westerners often cited Gützlaff as a prime example of the unfortunate intertwining of Western religious, political, and economic expansion. Simultaneously, Gützlaff probably did more to popularize China missions and to awaken Western Christian congregations to Christ's Great Commission than any other Protestant missionary of the early nineteenth century. Among those Gützlaff inspired to volunteer for work in East Asia were Issachar Roberts, notable for his connections with the Taiping rebels; J. Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission; and John T. Gulick, the first of many Gulicks to work in China and Japan. As an independent missionary, Gützlaff was a pioneer among missionaries such as David Livingstone, who volunteered for China but was sent to Africa, where he went his own way; Albert Schweitzer, also of African fame; and hundreds of evangelicals today. These legacies, however, do not encompass the whole of Gützlaff's multifaceted career.

Early Years

Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff was born July 8, 1803, the only son of a tailor in Pyritz, Pomerania. His mother died when he was four, and his father soon married a widow with eight children. Relations with his stepmother, according to some sources, were distant and contributed to his becoming a loner at an early age. After attending a municipal school offering a classical curriculum, Gützlaff apprenticed to a saddler. While at school, he encountered the Enlightenment heritage and began to question the tenets of his religion; later, he lived with a Moravian family and came under the influence of a pietist, evangelical interpretation of Protestantism. In this nonsectarian Christocentric version, the essential doctrine was God's sacrifice of his Son, which offered hope to all willing to become servants of the Savior. Paramount was the experience of rebirth in Christ. Romanticism, with its celebration of individualism, exoticism, and excess, was also pervasive in early nineteenth-century Germany. Contradictory though romanticism, Pietism, and rationalism might be, Gützlaff responded to each. Above all, Gützlaff was ambitious and adventurous, even considering the possibility of becoming a missionary in some foreign land.

Once when Emperor Frederick William III visited Stettin, Gützlaff and a friend boldly threw a welcoming poem into the emperor's carriage. Frederick William was pleased and offered to educate the two, designating Gützlaff for the Berlin Mission Institute. Initially Gützlaff seemed a misfit in this small pietist institute founded by Johannes Jänicke. He did not demonstrate proper humility but rather expressed a desire to become an eloquent preacher; he did not lead a life of prayer; and he showed too much interest in secular learning, enrolling for courses at the University of Berlin. Most damaging of all, he gave no indication of having undergone an emotional conversion. Under the tutelage of Jänicke and fellow students, however, Gützlaff did come to acknowledge his sinfulness, and after a night of repentance and prayer, he experienced rebirth. He accepted the minimalist doctrines of Pietism as true Christianity and, in return, was accepted into the community.

Evangelism in Southeast Asia

Gützlaff next studied for three years in Rotterdam at the seminary of the Dutch Missionary Society (NZG). While there, he composed an appeal to the Dutch on behalf of the heathens and produced an ambitious work on the expansion of Christianity since the founding of the church. He also went to London to visit with Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China. In 1826 the NZG posted Gützlaff to Sumatra. Because of local feuds, Gützlaff worked temporarily in Java with Walter Medhurst, a London Missionary Society (LMS) missionary. Gützlaff accompanied Medhurst on itinerations among Malays and Chinese, Medhurst preaching in the dialects of each and distributing tracts. Impressed by Medhurst's linguistic facility, Gützlaff assiduously studied the Fujian dialect along with classical Chinese and Malay; within two months he was ready to try to communicate with the populace on his own.

Java was too confining for Gützlaff's ambitions, though; China's heathen millions called him. He moved on to Bintan Island, then to Singapore and Thailand. Here there were sizable Chinese communities as well as traders from Fujian and Guangdong among whom he could evangelize. Perhaps some of the tracts he distributed would reach China and plant the seed of the Gospel. The NZG was not happy; Gützlaff was too obsessed with the Chinese, a director wrote. Evangelizing China was beyond NZG resources, and the society preferred to concentrate on the Dutch colonies.

Gützlaff married Mary Newell, an English missionary and schoolteacher, and remained in Southeast Asia from January...
1827 to June 1831. With LMS missionary Jacob Tomlin, he began a Thai translation of the New Testament, though only the Gospel of St. John was published. He also composed tracts in Malay and Chinese and, with his wife, drafted a Thai-English dictionary. He and Tomlin gathered small groups of believers, many of them initially attracted by Gützlaff’s distribution of medicines, but Gützlaff reported baptizing only one convert. He continued to work on mastering Chinese dialects and made plans for a trip to China.

**China Coastal Journeys**

In June 1831, suffering from ill health and distraught by the death of his wife and newborn daughter, Gützlaff ignored NZG wishes and boarded a Chinese junk bound for Tianjin. Henceforth Gützlaff would be an independent missionary responsible for his own support and free to choose his own field and develop his own methodology. At every port of call Gützlaff defied imperial edicts prohibiting evangelism in China as he visited villages to preach and disperse tracts and medicines. He wore Chinese dress and spoke Fujianese so fluently that in North China he was once actually mistaken for a Chinese. Several times his life was endangered either by stormy seas or the plotting of fellow sailors, who presumed he carried gold in his chest of Christian works. In each instance of deliverance he perceived that the hand of God had come to his rescue to enable him to fulfill his destiny as apostle to China.

During the early 1830s Gützlaff made almost a dozen coastal journeys and forays into China, each time preaching and dispensing Christian tracts among villagers. The second expedition was on the East India Company’s vessel *Lord Amherst* in association with H. H. Lindsay, another missionary. Their goal was to explore trade possibilities beyond Canton, despite Chinese prohibition. Two treks attempted to break the Chinese tea monopoly by securing seeds, plants, and information on tea culture and processing. The other trips were made on fast boats carrying opium to coastal way stations and Chinese offshore craft. Gützlaff did express qualms about the propriety of acting as interpreter on opium-smuggling boats in order to spread the Gospel, but after some hesitation he entered into his assignment with his usual gusto.

These journeys were of importance both for the history of China missions and for subsequent Sino-Western relations. As indicated above, missionaries became irrevocably linked in the minds of many Chinese with commerce in an illegal destructive drug. The opium trade was so pervasive and the whole monetary exchange so dependent on opium profits that few Westerners escaped completely from association with the traffic. Letters, salaries, boat passage, and supplies depended on the opium clippers. Even so, Gützlaff participated more actively in the opium trade than other missionaries, and he became the stereotypical negative model.

Gützlaff sent journals of his evangelistic exploits to the *Chinese Repository*, a mission journal edited in Canton by Elijah Bridgman of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and these accounts were widely reprinted in British, European, and American mission magazines. They were repeatedly cited at mission society meetings, and in 1833 they came out in book form as *Journals of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China*. So popular was the work that new editions followed; it was excerpted in secular periodicals, and German, Norwegian, and Dutch translations appeared. An astute publicist, Gützlaff also maintained a voluminous correspondence with mission and tract societies, church congregations, individual donors, periodicals, and newspapers.

In his writings Gützlaff advanced a number of themes. The Chinese people were eager for Christian books and open to the Christian message; the principal opposition came from imperial circles. Millions of Chinese were on the brink of damnation because they were ignorant of the Gospel, but dedicated, intrepid missionaries could bring them the message of salvation. Missionaries had only to adopt a Chinese lifestyle, reside in the interior, and avoid the mandarins. China was open! Such unbounded optimism, pioneering bravado, and commitment to the great cause resonated in an expansive, self-confident Western society that was experiencing the Second Great Awakening. In actuality, missionaries and mission societies soon discovered that the obstacles to evangelism in interior China were formid­able and that most Chinese were either indifferent or hostile to the foreign teaching. Even so, Gützlaff and other early Protestant missionaries had stimulated a new awareness of the Chinese challenge. Individuals had volunteered for service, and monies were forthcoming for their support and also for the printing and distribution of thousands of Bibles and tracts. Whatever the frustrations and setbacks, new recruits carried on the publicity, Western investment in the China field continued to expand, and home congregations were revitalized by their commitment to the task.

Gützlaff’s journals included information on Chinese government, religious beliefs and practices, women’s status, language and literature, history and geography. He reused and expanded this material in subsequent books, including *A Sketch of Chinese History, China Opened*, and *The Life of the Emperor Taou-kwang*. His combination of interesting details about daily life, assurances regarding the friendliness of the populace, and on-site accounts found a ready audience. He also contributed more scholarly articles to the *Chinese Repository*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, and *Das Ausland*. These pieces addressed such topics as the geography of Burma, Laos, Cochin China, and Tibet; the languages of Japan, Thailand, Korea, and China; Buddhist temples; Chinese classical works and novels; and the Triad Society. Though the essays were primarily descriptive and soon outdated, they proved useful at this data-gathering stage of Western knowledge about Asia.

Like most Protestant missionaries, Gützlaff was in contact with the masses, not the educated elite, unlike earlier Jesuit missionaries, who served at the Beijing court. The Chinese image conveyed in the nineteenth century differed sharply from that of the earlier era. What has been called the Age of Respect gave way to the Age of Contempt. Pioneer Protestant missionaries might love the Chinese in the abstract and even form a few close friendships, but in general they were repelled by the poverty, dirt, and disease they confronted. They had come to China with little knowledge about Chinese values or mores, so that they often misunderstood Chinese responses. For example, Gützlaff, like others, interpreted Chinese attempts to maintain social harmony or “save face” as deviousness and dishonesty. Whatever merits the Chinese people possessed, as heathen they were against natural law and God’s will in restricting all three. He
shared with many Europeans the conviction that Christianity lay at the source of the West's progress and prosperity. Only with the acceptance of Christianity and the opening of its doors to free intercourse could China break out of its stagnation and become strong and wealthy. The West under Great Britain's leadership should accept the responsibility of the "white man's burden." Not only did Gützlaff believe that China offered a great market, but on the Lord Amherst voyage he and Lindsay collected details about the harbors serving Fuzhou, Ningbo, Shanghai, and Xiamen, along with information about potential export and import products from each. They portrayed a China so weak and ill prepared militarily that only brief military action by British gunboats would be sufficient to bring victory. Chinese officials, they said, took advantage of any indication of weakness or willingness to compromise but quickly gave way before force. Such reports reached British textile manufacturers and members of the British Parliament as well as Christian congregations and mission societies.

The Lord Amherst journey had disclosed a readiness by Chinese merchants to trade, provided it could be conducted beyond government purview; many officials appeared disposed to overlook smuggling if it was made worthwhile. Opium traders took note. Soon vast amounts of opium and considerable quantities of textiles were being illicitly exchanged along the coast. The Chinese government garnered no tariffs on the traffic, and silver had to be exported to restore China's trade deficit. Both government authority and the Canton system were being undermined. Anger and concern mounted in Beijing. The emperor, enraged by the defiance of edicts against Christian proselytism and coastal trading, ordered officials to drive the foreign ships out of port and arrest those Chinese who had assisted in translating and printing "evil and obscene literature." Reactions of both Chinese and Westerners led to the Opium War of 1839-42.

Evangelical and Literary Activities, 1831-1843

From 1831 to 1843 Gützlaff's base was the Macao-Canton nexus. He married a second time, again to an Englishwoman, Mary Wanstall. The two had no children but adopted two blind Chinese girls, one of whom was educated in England and returned to teach blind girls in a Ningbo school. Mary Gützlaff also founded a school in which she taught for several years before her death in 1849. Gützlaff continued the propagation of Christianity, circulating in nearby villages, especially to poor Hakka communities, where he found a ready reception. Occasionally he probed the Fujian coast. He formed prayer circles and Bible reading groups, held regular worship services in several Chinese dialects, and taught catechism classes to inquirers. From among the latter, he selected the most promising ones to accompany him on his preaching tours, and he became increasingly impressed by their ability to communicate Christianity to their compatriots, even if their theological knowledge was weak.

Gützlaff composed approximately fifty Chinese religious tracts during this period. He also translated the Augsburg Confession and selections from the Anglican liturgy for use in training assistants and in worship services. In an effort to lend credence to Christian teachings and establish a bond with Chinese readers, he sometimes constructed a fictional dialogue between two Chinese, one a skeptical inquirer and the other a Christian. Generally he used a simplified, semipopular style, though he did include Chinese metaphors and quotations from the Chinese classics to lend authenticity. He revised the Chinese version of the Bible that he and Medhurst had begun, one revision of which the Taiping rebels adopted.

Gützlaff, like other missionaries, also published secular works in Chinese, for he came to believe it was necessary to educate Chinese about the West in order to gain their respect. Evangelists must demonstrate that there were other worthy civilizations besides that of China. Thus, Gützlaff composed a history of England, a world geography, and a universal history. Since he believed in the reality of Western Christendom, with religion integral to political liberty and scientific progress, religion was not absent from the works, but ordinarily it was not overly obtrusive. From 1833 to 1839 Gützlaff also edited Dong-Xi yang kao meiyue tong jizhuan (The East-West monthly magazine), which included essays on the British Parliament, the U.S. Congress, Western law and individual rights, trade, descriptions of European and Southeast Asia countries, and elementary articles on Western science and technology. How widely the missionaries' secular works circulated in China is difficult to ascertain, but extensive sections from them were excerpted in writings of the scholar-officials Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan, and Xu Jiyu at a time when interest in the sources of Western power was growing and information in Chinese was scarce.

Having taken in several shipwrecked Japanese sailors, Gützlaff began to study Japanese and translate the New Testament into Japanese, though only the Gospels and Epistles of John were published (in katakana). In 1837 Gützlaff, along with American missionaries S. Wells Williams and Peter Parker, M.D., used the excuse of returning the Japanese seamen to their homeland to test the possibility of opening Japan to commerce, evangelism, and international intercourse. Although their ship was rebuffed with gunfire at Tokyo and Kagoshima, the mission added momentum to sentiment already building. When the U.S. president dispatched Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1853 to demand diplomatic relations with Japan, Williams was official interpreter, and his assistant was one of the Japanese sailors.

Civil Career

With relief, Gützlaff in December 1834 accepted a position as Chinese interpreter for British administrators; he need no longer support his missionary activities by participating in the opium trade. Rather, he anticipated that he would be able to promote the dual causes of free trade and the right to evangelize throughout China. During the Opium War Gützlaff was an interpreter for British commanders and negotiators, temporary magistrate of conquered cities, and scout for British forces. With his prodigious energy and drive he still conducted preaching tours, composed Christian pamphlets, and instructed inquirers and converts, but the range of his activities and the time available for evangelism were limited. After the war Gützlaff became Chinese secretary to the Hong Kong government, a position he held until his death. In this capacity he often acted as spokesman and defender of the
Chinese community. He represented their interests, for example, when their rice fields were drained to reduce the incidence of malaria or their lands were bought to make way for roads, markets, and other public centers. When the British tried to institute rules for registration of all Chinese, he helped evolve a compromise that made it less blatantly racist by basing the requirement on income and property. For better or worse, he contributed to the evolution of separate rule for Chinese and Westerners in Hong Kong. Thus, he initiated recommendations for the first government subsidies to Chinese schools and assisted in establishing a Chinese police force, employing collective responsibility according to Chinese custom.

The Chinese Union and Legacies

In 1844 Gützlaff began organizing a group of Chinese evangelists and colporteurs to carry the message of salvation throughout China. He had a threefold purpose in founding this society, later known as the Chinese Union. He had noted the contrast between the considerable success of Chinese converts in persuading kinsfolk to accept Christianity and the meager results of the Westerners’ efforts. Westerners could not legally travel beyond the neighborhood of the five treaty ports, and he was confined by his job to the vicinity of Hong Kong. Chinese were free to traverse all China, however, and they were less likely than the foreigners to encounter hostility. Finally, Gützlaff saw the need to sinicize Christianity. By sinicization he did not mean compromise with Chinese religious tradition or transmutation of Protestant teachings, but rather what is currently labeled contextualization. His plan was to have Chinese present the essence of Christianity in local dialects and compose tracts that were Chinese in tone and style. Chinese would win China for Christ. They would, however, require supervision and continued instruction by Westerners living in the interior.

Membership in the Chinese Union expanded swiftly; in 1848 Gützlaff reported 1,000 colporteurs and 100 preachers working in twelve of China’s eighteen provinces. He returned to Europe to gain support and recruit missionaries for his grand project. What began in 1849 as a triumphal tour leading to the founding of dozens of support societies, however, concluded on a note of discord and foreboding. Theodor Hamberg, the Basel missionary left in charge of the Chinese Union, discovered that a high proportion of the members were impostors, collecting travel allowances but not leaving the Hong Kong region, and he dismissed most of them. Gützlaff suffered from rheumatic fever and other illnesses while in Europe. A sick man, he returned to China determined to rebuild. Instead, he died in Hong Kong on August 9, 1851, and the Chinese Union withered away. Most support societies either disintegrated or were amalgamated with denominational associations.

In some ways, progress toward indigenization of the Protestant church in China was retarded by the Chinese Union affair. Though missionaries and their societies looked forward to eventual Chinese autonomy, most concluded that Chinese ministers would require a long period of tutelage before they would be ready for positions of authority. In other ways the work of the Chinese Union contributed to indigenization. A small core of union members became dedicated Christian workers, and given further instruction by such mission societies as Basel, Barmen, and LMS, they converted kinsmen in interior China and formed small Christian congregations. Both major centers of the Basel Hakka church in Guangdong originated with former Chinese Union members. Pioneer converts like Zhang Fuxing, Xu Fuguang, Jiang Jiaoren, Long Zhengao, and Wang Yushaen became progenitors of successive generations of Christian families who contributed pastors, Bible women, and religious workers to the Chinese churches. They also produced an unusual proportion of family members who became prominent in business, government, and education.

Gützlaff and mission societies such as CIM espoused a non-denominational and evangelical Protestantism that appealed to many Chinese Christians and became characteristic of several independent Chinese churches. As indigenization and ecumenism have gained popularity among Christians of varying persuasions and nationalities, there has evolved a delineation of the foreign missionary’s role more nearly in accord with that of Gützlaff than of most nineteenth-century missionaries.

Notes

1. These four cities plus Canton were later selected to become open treaty ports in the Treaty of Nanjing (1842).
2. See the publicity pamphlet in English and Dutch, China en dezelfs inwoners, en de Geschiedenis van de Kleine Mary Gützlaff (Rotterdam: Wijt & Zonen, 1850).

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Gützlaff wrote approximately fifty religious tracts in Chinese. His papers are scattered. Significant holdings are at the archives of the Basel Mission Society, Basel, Switzerland; Council for World Mission, London; Dutch Missionary Society, Oegstgeest, Netherlands; United Evangelical Mission, Wuppertal, Germany; Harvard-Yenching, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Jardine Matheson Papers, Cambridge University.

Works about Gützlaff


The Legacy of George Sherwood Eddy

Brian Stanley

George Sherwood Eddy (1871–1963) was one of the most influential Protestant mission leaders of the twentieth century. Although he died as recently as 1963, his memory has faded in comparison with that of John R. Mott and Robert E. Speer, his associates in the missionary and student movements. His lengthy pilgrimage through successive stages of missionary enthusiasm is in many respects typical of trends in the missionary movement as a whole, and the recent appearance of a biography of Eddy offers confirmation that he is a figure who deserves renewed attention.

Eddy grew up in the frontier town of Leavenworth, Kansas, and was proud to affirm that “not only the West but the wild West” was in his blood. His father, George A. Eddy, owned a pharmaceutical business and later made his fortune through restoring to profitability the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad. On his father’s death in 1894, Sherwood was left to enjoy a substantial private income. His parents were keen Congregationalists, but Christian belief for Sherwood became a personal reality only as a student at Yale, when he was taken to one of D. L. Moody’s Northfield student conferences. Fired by his newfound evangelical faith, Eddy, on leaving Yale, went to New York to work for the YMCA before entering Union Theological Seminary in 1892 to prepare for missionary service. During his two years at Union, Eddy took the pledge of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. He then worked for the movement as a traveling secretary before a final year of study at Princeton Theological Seminary. While at Princeton, Eddy and a friend, Henry Luce (father of the famous publisher), rose at five every morning to devote themselves for two hours to the discipline of the “Morning Watch.” As a Student Volunteer he vowed to give away all of his private income that was surplus to his personal needs, and later he waived his right to a salary from the YMCA. He also took a vow of celibacy, which he subsequently renounced in order to marry Maud Arden (daughter of A. H. Arden, a former Church Missionary Society missionary), whom he met in India. They married in November 1898.

Traveling Secretary for SCM

Eddy’s heart had originally been set on service in China, but Mott persuaded him to work instead with the YMCA in India. He combined his official title as college secretary of the YMCA in India with a further role as traveling secretary for the Student Volunteer Movement in India and Ceylon. His report letters to the YMCA describing his early years in India from September 1896 are saturated with the intense evangelical piety of the student movement. India was a “land of night” awaiting the glory of Christ’s coming kingdom and sunk in indescribable depths of idolatry, degradation, and sin. One letter, on “the scourges of India,” written in the aftermath of the Indian famine of 1896 and the ensuing bubonic plague epidemic, identified plague, cholera, leprosy, poverty, and famine as signs of divine judgment; they were “eruptions of sin” disfiguring the complexion of the Indian body politic and indicating a fatal moral disease in the nation’s blood.

It was an astonishingly callous letter that in years to come must have caused this prophet of the social gospel intense embarrassment. These early letters leave little doubt that his original theological position was an exclusivist one, even if Eddy himself was subsequently reluctant to admit it. His subsequent claim that before he left Princeton he had abandoned belief in the eternal punishment of the “heathen” is not easily squared with the language that permeates the report letters.

Eddy’s early eschatology combined a confidence that through the witness and prayers of the church, India would be won for God with an expectation of the visible personal return of Christ.
Eddy took up big-game hunting to release the emotional pressure created by the elusiveness of his human quarry.

elephant hunting nicely softened up student audiences on American campuses for the evangelistic punch line: “Fellows, the most thrilling hunting in the world is hunting men for Jesus Christ.”

Developing New Mission Principles

Out of the disconcertingly wide gap between Eddy’s expectations and Indian realities emerged two major and interrelated shifts in his mission principles. The first was a reorientation of effort from the attempt to convert the Hindu student elite directly, toward the renewal in holiness and evangelistic zeal of the Indian church. By 1902 Eddy had become convinced that the key to spiritual advance in India lay with the two million Christians of South India: “If these are moved India will be moved. If these are awakened India will be evangelized.” His hopes for the awakening of the church rested in particular on the young Vedanayagam Samuel Azariah, the rising star of the Indian church. By 1902 Eddy had become convinced that the key to spiritual advance in India lay with the two million Christians of South India: “If these are moved India will be moved. If these are awakened India will be evangelized.”

Eddy realized that intensity of zeal and fervor in prayer were not enough: behind his new commitment to indigenous mission agency lay an embryonic appreciation of issues of culture, society, and politics. The second shift in his strategic vision was apparent as early as 1899. A month’s tour in Jaffna that year convinced Eddy that a high-caste Christian community was in fact a decidedly mixed blessing, for it made almost impossible any evangelistic advance among the lower castes. Azariah’s spiritual magnetism and power reinforced the point. Eddy accordingly resolved to learn Tamil to facilitate work with the rapidly expanding lower-caste Christian communities of South India. For two years from late 1900 he exploited his financial independence to grant himself virtual leave of absence from his YMCA work and devoted his energies to learning Tamil.

After this interlude Eddy resumed his YMCA duties. From 1911 these were performed on a wider stage as a result of his promotion to the position of traveling secretary for Asia. He never abandoned his Indian student ministry, for which he was peculiarly gifted. In China, which Eddy first visited in 1907 and to which he returned with Mott in 1913 and repeatedly thereafter, he remained fully committed to a top-down evangelistic strategy aimed at the students and scholar-officials. Particularly after the republican revolution of 1911–12, Eddy, like many other missionaries, interpreted the enthusiasm of these groups for Western ideas as an unprecedented opportunity for Christian evangelism. In India, by contrast, his strategic vision was no longer so clear. Eddy’s growing appreciation of the potential of work among outcastes was partial and gradual, and always qualified by a degree of racial skepticism about the capacity of uneducated Indians to manage their own affairs along Western democratic lines. His own Congregational tradition he believed to be unsuitable for the “depressed and ignorant people” of India, who were used to government by rajah and panchayat. On these grounds Eddy favored a constitutional form of episcopacy as the basis for negotiation toward church union in South India, of which he was an enthusiastic supporter.

Eddy’s first twenty years in Asia thus led him to reconceive his vision of the route whereby India would be won for Christ. Inevitably, there was also some moderation over the years of his originally extreme language about Hindus and their religious practices. By 1912 he was writing with greater sympathy of the search after religious truth indicated by the contemporary religious awakening in India, but it was still described as a search doomed to disappointment without missionary intervention: “Groping up the world’s dark altar stairs to God, they need helping hands stretched down to grasp theirs in the darkness.”

Eddy’s understanding of mission was still essentially one of a movement from West to East that consisted in an appeal to individual religious conversion. From 1916 onward, that understanding was transformed by his personal experience of the First World War.

New Emphasis out of Wartime Experience

In July 1916 Eddy sailed for Europe to work among Allied troops in Britain and France. Even before he neared the trenches, his personal and official correspondence began to sound what was for him a new note. A visit to Canterbury Cathedral in August 1916 led him to reflect on the tragic juxtaposition between the tombs of monks and saints and the regimental battle standards that adorned the nave above them. Holy men down the years had failed to Christianize the political, social, and industrial order, and Eddy realized “how blind” he too had been to the great questions of social Christianity. His encounters with the troops in the army camps evoked an ambiguous evaluation of human
nature. On the one hand, Eddy became convinced that the deadliest foes that confronted the Allied armies were not German troops but intemperance and impurity. Yet, on the other hand, he was driven by the evidence of human comradeship and bravery to a belief, "not in the total depravity, but to a belief in the total goodness of these men in their deepest aspirations and desires."22

In October Eddy returned to the United States for six months to raise funds for the YMCA. During this period, on February 17, 1917, his fourteen-year-old son, Arden, died of pneumonia. Eddy and, to a still greater extent, his wife were deeply affected by this loss, which was one of the origins of what subsequently became a fascination with the nature of human existence after death.23 Back in France, Eddy ministered in the base camps alongside figures such as D. S. Cairns, J. N. Farquhar, and A. G. Fraser. His evangelistic addresses to the troops followed a regular pattern. On the first night he would take the theme "The Greatest Battle of the War," namely, the moral battle against sin and temptation. His second night's talk was "The Real Issues of the War; or, What Are We Fighting For?" Eddy's answer was in terms of the building of a new world in which there would be no place for "German materialism" or, crucially, for the industrial oppression of Western society. On the third and final night of his series, his title was "Over the Top and After; or, Death and What Lies Beyond." Eddy later commented, "I knew nothing then about the subject of survival from a psychic standpoint, and I had no scientific evidence to offer the men, but heart-hungry before entering battle, they always crowded that third meeting."24

**Eddy the Pacifist**

In 1918 Eddy published a book defending the entry of the United States into the war.25 Within six years, however, he had moved to a committed pacifist position, as illustrated by his publication in 1924, jointly with his secretary, Kirby Page, of a book entitled *The Abolition of War.*26 Eddy had come to see militarism as but one expression of the systemic evil of the supposedly Christian West. Hitherto, by his own admission, he had "specialized in retail sins but knew little about the wholesale brand"; henceforth he was a champion of the social gospel.27 Throughout the 1920s Eddy urged the Student Volunteer Movement to respond to the growing pressure from the postwar generation of students for the movement to espouse social Christianity. At the SVM quadrennial convention at Des Moines in January 1920, the first to be held after the war, Eddy abandoned his prepared address on the inadequacy of the Gospel for all humankind and spoke instead about the sin, both social and personal, that characterized the heathenism of North America.28 At the Detroit convention at the close of 1927, Eddy famously repudiated the SVM Watchword as "a Paul Revere’s ride across the world." No one challenged him. One observer noted that, in the mind of the SVM leadership, the problem of missions had become the problem of world Christianization, a phrase that contained within it the full program of the social gospel.29 Reinhold Niebuhr’s address at the 1927 convention, with its indictment of Western civilization as unchristian, convinced Eddy that the young Detroit pastor should be brought to New York to a more influential post. He persuaded the president of Union Theological Seminary to appoint Niebuhr as associate professor of Christian ethics, and for two years Eddy was wholly responsible for paying Niebuhr’s salary.30

Although the First World War was primarily responsible for converting Eddy to social Christianity, his continuing YMCA work also played its part. While remaining as YMCA traveling secretary for Asia throughout the 1920s, he spent some months of every year fund-raising among the business community in the United States. Such work Eddy found challenging, indeed "as exciting as big-game hunting," but it also prompted critical reflection on the social system that made such wealth possible.31 Some within the missionary movement understandably feared that Eddy and his fellow social gospel enthusiasts were sawing off the branch on which the entire overseas mission enterprise sat. Sherwood’s own brother, Brewer, senior secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, expressed anxiety in 1925 about the impact of his brother’s pronouncements on his own mission’s funds, then already in a critical condition.32 Within the American YMCA, whose finances were heavily dependent on support from the business community, opposition to Eddy as a "Bolshevist" mounted, and in 1926 he survived an attempt to force him to resign only through the personal intervention of Mott.33 He remained in YMCA service until his retirement in 1931.

In the minds of most of its leading advocates, the social gospel was conceived as a supplement to, and not a substitute for, the Gospel of personal conversion. Eddy had abandoned belief in the Watchword but not in the missionary imperative itself. He took little notice of the Hocking report of 1932, *Re- thinking Missions*, which appeared to reduce the aim of missions to the promotion of cooperation between the great religions in a common quest for truth.34 He continued to conduct evangelistic campaigns in Asia until 1935, when a four-month campaign of twenty Chinese cities amassed a total of 2,476 decisions for Christ.35 He never regarded Chinese Communism with the same sympathy as he did Soviet Communism and, like many missionary leaders, pinned his hopes for the regeneration of China on Chiang Kai-shek, though becoming increasingly disillusioned with Chiang’s failure to promote agrarian reform.36 Influenced by Reinhold Niebuhr, Eddy eventually abandoned pacifism during the dark days of 1938. Haltingly, and in his own pragmatic fashion, he had come to share in some measure Niebuhr’s profoundly theological repudiation of the liberal Protestant hope that the kingdom of God would be inaugurated through the progress of Christian civilization; yet Eddy, despite his sustained support for Niebuhr, continued to think of himself as a liberal in theology.37 His autobiography made clear that Eddy now adhered to a form of universalism. Yet he still insisted on the necessity to proclaim to all humanity the message of the love of God in Christ, and he even claimed that "to my last breath I shall make the same fervent appeal for missionaries in this generation that I made to the last generation." Overseas missions, however, were now said to be "not enough": "the same love which the missionary takes to the uttermost parts of the earth must be the controlling power in the lives of men who profess Christianity at home."38

The stages of Sherwood Eddy’s religious pilgrimage were in many respects typical of trends in Anglo-American Protestant missions in the period from the 1890s to the 1940s. The broadening of his missionary message represented, not an abandonment of the call to conversion, but rather an extension of that call from individuals to societies, and from the Orient to the Occident. The social gospel of liberal Protestantism was the first major endeavor to formulate a missiology for Western culture. Yet, like many other mission leaders between the wars, Eddy never quite succeeded in squaring his insistence that Western industrial society needed redemption with his continuing commitment to the propagation of Western ideals of progress and liberty to the rest of the world.
At least in one respect, however, Eddy's pilgrimage was unrepresentative of trends in the missionary movement as a whole. As early as 1925, the concern with the afterlife instilled by the First World War and by the death of his fourteen-year-old son in particular began to bear fruit in a serious endeavor by both Sherwood and Maud Eddy to investigate the scientific basis of spiritualism, especially as related to claims to communicate with the dead. One avenue of investigation was to visit a medium in December 1925, although apparently this was a temporarily isolated episode.49 In 1937, however, their interest in psychic phenomena was revived through a series of contacts with spiritualists arranged by a Quaker, Edward Cope Wood of Philadelphia, a long-standing friend of both Eddy and John Mott.40 By 1938 Eddy was visiting mediums regularly and making psychic contact with Arden and other deceased members of the family. One of his last publications was You Will Survive After Death, a book expounding a spiritualist understanding of personal immortality. These beliefs were, however, bolted onto his existing theological framework, and he never became a member of a spiritualist church. Eddy's spiritualism supplies evidence of the inadequacy of the label "liberal" in his case. The intense and adventurous supernaturalism that had led him as a young evangelist to hunt for the souls of Hindus with such fervor had in his old age found an outlet in a hunt for souls beyond the grave. "For me," wrote Eddy at the conclusion of Eighty Adventurous Years, "this study of survival has been a great adventure."41

For all his enthusiasm for social Christianity, the question remains whether Sherwood Eddy ever learned to take with proper seriousness the physicality implicit in the Christian doctrines of creation, incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection. His legacy was a mixed one. Many of those Asian students who became Christians in the first thirty years of the twentieth century did so in response to Eddy's powerful presentation of the claims of Christ. But his version of the Christian message possessed greater moral intensity than theological depth, and those who were captivated by it were ill equipped to respond to the challenges that the postcolonial age posed for Christianity in Asia.

Notes
1. Research for this article was conducted under the auspices of the North Atlantic Missiology Project, funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts. The opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Pew Charitable Trusts. I am grateful to Martha L. Smalley and Joan Duffy of the Day Missions Library, Yale Divinity School, for their assistance in giving me access to the Eddy and Mott Papers.
4. Ibid., p. 27.
8. Ibid., p. 31.
9. Yale Divinity School Library, Special Collections, MS Group 32, G. S. Eddy Papers (hereafter EP), Box 3, Report Letters, especially no. 3 (March 1897).
11. Eddy, Eighty Adventurous Years, p. 79; Nutt, The Whole Gospel, p. 28; see EP, Box 3, Report Letters 14 (September 1898), 20 (December 1899) and 25 (September 1901).
12. EP, Box 3, Report Letters 4 (April 1897) and 7 (July 1897).
21. EP, Box 1, Eddy to his mother, August 19, 1916; and to his wife, August 21, 1916.
33. Ibid., pp. 192-98.
35. Eddy, Eighty Adventurous Years, p. 77.
37. Ibid., pp. 292-3, 334; see Fox, Reinhold Niebuhr, pp. 136-37, 140.
38. Eddy, Eighty Adventurous Years, pp. 80-81, 234-36.
40. Ibid., p. 7; YDS MS Group 45, Mott Papers, Box 25, Mott to Eddy, September 24, 1940, and Eddy to Mott, September 26, 1940.
41. Eddy, Eighty Adventurous Years, p. 224.

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Book Reviews

Practicing Truth: Confident Witness in Our Pluralistic World.


This collection of vigorous essays originates from a conference, organized by Eastern Mennonite Missions, that aimed at a recovery of confidence for Christian mission in the postmodern, pluralistic context. Rooted in the Anabaptist emphasis on living as well as speaking the Gospel, the authors argue convincingly that authentic Christian discipleship is what will make a difference in today’s world. Less straightforward is the recurring question of how to combine a tolerant, noncoercive social outlook with confidence in the absolute truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The book contests the postmodern denial of the possibility of access to absolute truth, while embracing the recognition of freedom of conscience, which has become axiomatic in democratic societies. Hence its central problematic is the question, How may we believe in the universality of the lordship of Christ without becoming socially oppressive? (Thomas Finger, p. 214).

It is not surprising to learn that most controversy at the conference revolved around Linford Stutzman’s contention that “cultural hegemony” is a legitimate goal and outcome of Christian mission. It is easy to be nonhemogenic as long as Christian faith is confined to a marginal minority like the New Testament church or the early Anabaptists. The problem comes when Christian mission is successful in winning so many converts that it enters the cultural mainstream. Then the questions of hegemony become acute, and while the book provides predictable critique of the Christendom model, it lacks convincing answers of its own. Nevertheless, in its clarity about the particularity at the heart of Christian faith, its resolute commitment to meeting “the other” with tolerance and respect, and its grasp of the kenotic character of the lordship of Christ, the book has much to contribute to “confident witness in our pluralistic world.”

—Kenneth R. Ross

Kenneth R. Ross is General Secretary of the Church of Scotland Board of World Mission. He was formerly Professor of Theology at the University of Malawi, where he taught from 1988 to 1998.

Walking with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development.


A book copublished by Orbis and World Vision should arouse curiosity, to say the least. It indicates the amazing scope of this work, which draws together Bible study, theology, and social science to present a well-rounded perspective on Christian transformational development.

Bryant Myers writes out of the experience of twenty-three years with World Vision International, where he now serves as vice president for international program strategy. As an ordained elder in the Presbyterian Church (USA), he has a sensitivity to the development programs of mainline churches as well as nondenominational development agencies such as World Vision. The titles of the chapters themselves are indicative of the wide range covered: “The Biblical Story,” “Poverty and the Poor,” “Perspectives on Development,” “Toward a Christian Understanding of Transformational Development,” “Development Practice: Principles and Practitioners,” “Development Practice: The Tool Kit,” and “Christian Witness and Transformational Development.” The basic purpose of the book as stated in its opening paragraph is to bring together three streams of thinking and experience: the best principles and practice of the international development community, the thinking and experience of Christian relief and development organizations, and the biblical grounding (both of the foregoing “need to be informed and shaped by a biblical framework for transformational development”). Thus the understanding of development is one “in which physical, social and spiritual development are seamlessly interrelated” (p. 1).

The breadth of sources called upon in presenting this theme is very impressive, from the perspective of both theology and social science. As far as international development programs are concerned, the book depends heavily on the India and Philippine experience, which leads the reader at times to wonder whether the conclusions drawn are equally applicable in other parts of “the world of the poor.”

Still, it is evident that the writer has lived with the Bible and the poor until he sees Scripture clearly from that perspective, and he presents a strong case that “witness” and “service” must be brought together in a holistic concept of development. This is not a quick-read book. Rather, it is a teaching tool for Christian development professionals. The frequent use of diagrams makes clearly visible the intent of the text and provides a good basis for teaching the material. The book would be a great study for prospective and practicing Christian development practitioners, preferably across the dividing lines of agencies such as World Vision, Catholic Relief Service, Church World Service, and others.

—James A. Cogswell

James A. Cogswell is a retired Presbyterian minister who served as associate general secretary for overseas ministries of the National Council of Churches from 1984 to 1988. He was a missionary to Japan from the Presbyterian Church U.S. (1948-61), as well as Asia secretary (1961-67) and director (1971-84) of the World Service and World Hunger Program of the PCUS.
Tom Sine, in what may be the best of his many books, describes a world that is increasingly driven by a secularist economic globalization (McWorld) that is in direct contradiction to kingdom values (Mustard Seed). This secularist world, he believes, is not caused by a conspiracy of the Right or of the Left but rather by the natural outworking of the Enlightenment and modernity. The secularist global vision anticipates that free enterprise and free trade will yield a rising economic tide that will elevate the state of millions of people who now live in poverty.

Sine does his best to acknowledge that McWorld is not all bad. Indeed he grants, albeit grudgingly, that the adoption of free enterprise has brought economic benefit to nations heretofore impeded by noncapitalist systems. Nonetheless, he seems to recover quickly from notions of progress to express great alarm that McWorld has largely enhanced the holdings of the rich while accelerating the misery of the poor. Moreover, he is concerned that the fundamental values of McWorld make it increasingly difficult for Christians to live out their faith amid a spiritually debilitating materialism.

Those curious about the future and the impact of change—which should be all of us—will find this book especially helpful on two accounts. First, Sine helps us to see the developments of the present and future as part of a system, as opposed to isolated events. Sine makes a convincing and sometimes frightening case that what we are witnessing is a part of a wave of systemic change. Second, he gives us specific illustrations of what Mustard Seed people are doing to counteract the impact of the prevailing culture.

Though Sine is committed to a balance between hope and despair, I confess that I felt more despair here than hope. Nevertheless, the explosion of the overseas church and the expansive growth of evangelical churches, particularly Pentecostal churches in America, lead me to see the future with a measure of hope not entirely present in this good book.

—David L. Rambo
Cultural Revolution combined with system. Chinese society is in the midst of fatally wounded Communism's value Communist past blunders such as the country that has lost its moral compass. Chinese society is in the midst of a profound crisis of meaning, and Chinese people of all ages are earnestly searching for answers in religion. But this religious revival, argues Madsen, may soon fade if it is not conductive to the development of a "civil society... that could mitigate the harshness of an unregulated market economy, protect citizens from the oppression of a tyrannical regime, and facilitate the establishment of responsible self-governance" (p. 10).

Madsen's study of Catholic revival in Hebei Province and its environs reveals an uncivil Chinese Catholic Church. The church is mostly focused on vertical relationships of authority and dependence and is still predominantly rooted in premodern institutions of Chinese rural life. Catholics are often more concerned about their personal salvation than the interests of others, and they aspire to live in self-contained communities. The book nonetheless ends on a note of hope. Madsen detects signs that the same profound transformation that, since the Second Vatican Council, led the Roman Catholic Church in many parts of the world, including Hong Kong and Taiwan, to become a vital participant in modern civil society, is beginning to affect the church in mainland China. An urban middle class made up of young clergy and well-educated laypersons is slowly emerging as a potentially positive, though critical, force in society and the foundation of a renewed Catholic Church.

This book is a required reading for anyone who wants to understand the social and political consequences of mainland China's Catholic revival and, by suggestion, of any form of religious revival in China or in other countries in transformation from state socialism.

—Jean-Paul Wiest

A Century of Catholic Endeavour:
Holy Ghost and Consolata Missions in Kenya.


This is a compelling book. The author taught at Notre Dame University and the Catholic University of Eastern Africa. He is at present secretary to the archbishop of Nairobi, Kenya. Originally a doctoral dissertation, this revision is eminently readable yet sacrifices none of its scholarship.

The Nairobi Archdiocese recently celebrated its centenary, and this is the story of those one hundred years. Essentially, it recounts the evangelization of the Kikuyu by the Holy Ghost and Consolata Missions. It also depicts, with considerable sensitivity, the relations of the Catholic Church with Kikuyu authorities, with Protestant missions, and with British colonialism.

The Holy Ghost Fathers, originally French but later Irish, were first to arrive. Scarcely three years later, the newly founded Italian Consolata missionary society entered the same area and was given independent mission status. This was a recipe for internal Catholic dissension that was resolved only in the 1930s. The British were suspicious of Italian
missionaries as "enemy aliens" during the Second World War and even as former enemy aliens afterward. The fact that they proved themselves invaluable in so many fields of social service saved them from being expelled altogether.

Although the Kikuyu did not at first distinguish between missionaries and colonialists, relations with the Kikuyu improved when Catholics stood aloof from the controversy over female circumcision. As nationalism gathered momentum, Catholic schools remained popular. A Holy Ghost Father even attended the Mau Mau leader, Dedan Kimathi, on the eve of his execution. Yet Catholics were also vociferous in denouncing the inhumanities of the Mau Mau conflict. In the aftermath of Mau Mau, Catholicism offered the Kikuyu a means of rehabilitation that prompted a massive numerical growth.

Njoroge traces the emergence of Kenyan Catholic leaders but is more interested in educational development. He follows this theme from 1928 up to the present, offering a critique of the education system after the government took over church schools. This book is an important contribution to the history of Catholic missions in Africa. —Aylward Shorter, M.Afr.

Aylward Shorter is a member of the Society of Missionaries of Africa and is currently Principal of Tangaza College, Nairobi.

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Li Li’s history of Sophie Lanneau and her Wei Ling Girl’s Academy in Suzhou is a book worth reading. He reaches a level of empathy that idealizes neither Lanneau nor her experiences. Lanneau arrived in China ill prepared for a culture and its customs she regarded as queer, and she could not understand how the Chinese might view Christian rituals and beliefs as equally queer. Within this milieu, Lanneau was lost, and she questioned her calling. During her 1924 furlough, however, Lanneau experienced an epiphany while attending graduate school at the University of Chicago. Imbued with a newfound understanding of the role and purpose of education, Lanneau returned to China believing that the nation’s salvation lay in Western-style education, not necessarily in evangelism. Indeed, Wei Ling Academy improved as an educational institution after it registered with the government and became a secularized, Chinese private school.

Despite Wei Ling’s increasing educational successes, Lanneau never placed her role as educator above her role as missionary. Thus when difficulties arose—such as with the question of school registration, the Japanese invasion, and the Communist revolution—she always embraced the missionary side of the missionary/educator dichotomy.

In essence, Sophie Lanneau represents in a microcosm the experience of most Chinese educators in China. Following the Qing Dynasty’s collapse, the Chinese adopted Western-style education as a means for modernizing the country, but this adoption did not necessarily mean the acceptance of Christianity.

The one failing of this work is that the theoretical framework is relegated to the epilogue. Thus we get little discussion of the social gospel—the intellectual heart of Lanneau’s advanced education—or the

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Faith on the Frontier: A Life of J. H. Oldham.


A footnote on p. 393 of Ecumenical Foundations, the still-indispensable account of the International Missionary Council (IMC), records Richey Hogg’s conviction in 1952 that “an Oldham biography is much needed. It would unfold the story of an amazingly productive and influential life.” In fact Oldham’s long life, 1874–1969, embraces at least five different areas, each of major significance. He came to his adult faith while a student at Oxford in the early days of the Student Christian Movement (SCM) and briefly served the YMCA in Lahore, Northwest India, becoming a close friend of S. K. Datta, from whom he learned much about the difficulties of relationship between British and Indians. Subsequent work in Edinburgh led to John Mott’s picking him as organizing secretary for the World Mission Conference in Edinburgh (1910), where he was appointed as the first secretary of the IMC, and so editor of the International Review of Missions from 1912 to 1928.

Already in 1919 he became deeply involved in the question of race relations and land rights in British East Africa and was one of the key people in helping to secure the rights of Africans in face of the claims of the white settlers. This period produced his still masterly book Christianity and the Race Problems (1924). In the 1930s he was drawn into the costly confrontation of the Life and Work movement with the totalitarianism that was sweeping over so much of Europe and Asia. He again found himself organizing a key international conference, at Oxford, entitled “Church, Community and State” (1937) and also writing a key preparatory essay “The Church and Its Function in Society.” This work led directly to his lasting preoccupation with “marshalling the best minds in the laity,” not least through his editing the weekly Christian News-Letter throughout the Second World War and his last great book, Life Is Commitment (1953).

Keith Clements, the present general secretary of the Conference of European Churches, has magnificently set out this long and fruitful life, not least by frequent quotation from Oldham’s many letters to his family and friends. I have no doubt Richey Hogg is at last delighting in it. It deserves many readers—and disciples.

—Martin Conway

Martin Conway, President of the Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham and Treasurer of the International Association for Mission Studies from 1988–1997, himself a follower on Oldham’s path through the SCM into service in both the British and World Council of Churches, is now living in Oxford, England.
To Stake a Claim: Mission and the Western Crisis of Knowledge.


What bearing does modernity have on Christian belief and the church’s mission? This collection of essays, the result of an engaged discussion over several years, responds to this question with considerable depth, caution, and optimism. It is presented by Andrew Kirk, director of the Centre for Missiology and World Christianity at the University of Birmingham, England, and Kevin Vanhoozer, research professor of theology at the Divinity School of Trinity International University, Deerfield, Illinois. A list of the other contributors, all of whose essays are pointed and substantial, will indicate the extensive scope of the corporate reflection: Philip Clayton, Bert Hoedemaker, Lars Johansson, Nancy Murphy, and Andy F. Sanders.

The book has two parts: the first is a fifty-page map of the epistemological question of knowledge and truth as it is represented in Anglo-American, French, and German philosophical writings. Across the pluralism of traditions, schools, and types of mediation, one finds a broad consensus on the reality of a modern intellectual culture that includes such themes as the cultural linguistic character of all knowing, the historicity of reason, the givenness of pluralism, the perspectival and incomplete character of every tradition, the modesty with which all comprehensive truth claims may be proffered, and the demand that all such claims be cognizant of the other. Where does this setting leave the proclamation of Christian truth for all of humankind?

The second part of the book consists of eight essays that attend to the question, take the challenge seriously, and answer it differently, all doing so in constructive ways that lead to a critical renewal of the Christian mission.

In his brief epilogue, Kirk incisively lists the themes that must engage Christian theology and mission in a postmodern context: theological method and the justification of beliefs, the question of the character of Christian truth, the relation of belief and action, and intercultural communication. The book’s dialogue with current philosophy demonstrates that consideration of these issues is a premise for a credible Christian mission.

Roger Haight, S.J.

Popular Catholicism in a World Church: Seven Case Studies in Inculturation.


In 1995 the Center for Mission Research and Study at Maryknoll was established, and a three-year project was started. Different authors investigated the faces of popular Catholicism in seven different locations: Chile, Peru, St. Lucia, Ghana, Tanzania, southern India and Hong Kong (pp. 1–246). Part 2 contains theological

**BIOPGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS**

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The worldwide impact of Christianity is a direct result of people who have played key roles in the missionary enterprise. This unique reference work documents the global history of Christian missions with biographical articles on the most outstanding missionarjes from the past 2,000 years.

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"Here is a veritable treasure trove of missions history... Every library in the English-speaking world with a credible claim to offering general facilities for historical research ought to have this volume... It has set a new standard."

— *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*
reflections on these studies by Kosuke Koyama, Ivone Gebara, Lamin Sanneh, and Michael Amaladoss (pp. 247–301). This study was funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts and by the Maryknnoll Fathers and Brothers. The editors were Thomas Banat, a sociologist with many years of experience in Brazil, and Jean-Paul Wiest, a historian who works in China.

Popular religion is no longer considered as a kind of deviation. Robert Schreiter writes in his foreword, “It can be seen as an authentic way of living out the message of the Gospel. To be sure, these ways are open to exaggeration and heterodoxy; but history shows that official forms of Christianity have not been immune from such charges either” (p. vii). After having read the seven research contributions of this volume, Amaladoss, a Jesuit missiologist from India, who wrote the concluding chapter of the book, honored what the bishops of Latin America gathered in Puebla once called “the Catholic wisdom of the common people,” a wisdom that affirms human dignity, establishes community, shows people how to integrate nature and work, and allows for celebration even in the midst of hardship. Addressing the modern, Westernized church, Amaladoss observes that it needs to take stock again of the power of symbol and sacrament, that it should reconsider its approaches to the world of the spirits and to the communion of the ancestors. Moreover, he urges the church to value diversity as a part of true catholicity and to understand the conversion to which Jesus called people as a conversion from mammon to the reign of God (pp. 272–301).

The great variety of popular forms of Catholicism presented in this book obliges us to ask the question whether the theory of inculturation should not be replaced by a theology of symbiosis and integration. This study is indispensable reading for both Catholic and Protestant students of missiology. —Arnulf Camps, O.F.M.

Arnulf Camps, O.F.M., is Professor Emeritus of Missiology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen in the Netherlands. From 1957 till 1961 he taught missiology and Islamology at the Regional Seminary of Christ the King, Karachi, Pakistan.

The Poisonwood Bible.


Perceptions of Christian missionaries are often shaped more by writers of fiction than by historians. The Poisonwood Bible is a recent example. This “missionary” novel has been praised by reviewers, and it was on the New York Times Best Seller list for weeks, and then continued to appear on the New York Times Paperback Best Seller list. This is Kingsolver’s fourth novel, and by far her most celebrated.

The story begins in 1959 when Nathan Price, a Georgia Freewill Baptist evangelist, along with his wife, Orleanna, and their four daughters (the oldest sixteen and the youngest five) journey to Africa under the auspices of the Southern Baptist Mission League. Their destination is a remote village in the Congo, a colony that was on the verge of political and social chaos. It is hard to imagine anyone as ill suited as Nathan for such an assignment. He of course saves no one. He cannot even save himself, for like the Congo, he slides steadily, inescapably, and irreversibly toward disaster.

Most readers will be captivated by the story. Few, I fear, will see the incongruities. What mission board or society would send or even allow a family like the Prices to go to the Congo in the late 1950s? Nathan was a physical and emotional casualty of World War II. He was not the kind of person who could live and work cross-culturally. Three of his four daughters were teenagers, and one was physically impaired though mentally brilliant.

Repeatedly he drives away the people he came to help. The people meanwhile are longsuffering. They truly care for the family and they tolerate Nathan. Some try to help him, but he is unteachable. He refuses counsel from anyone, whether African or European. His gift is the ability to alienate. Finally in a pique, he dismisses his translator—the one person he desperately needs—as untrustworthy. Now he depends on no one and concludes every worship service with the declaration, “Tata Jesus is bangala!” He assumes he is saying, “Brothers and sisters, Jesus is precious!” But his mispronunciation of a vowel results in his words being understood as “Jesus is poisonwood!”—a reference to a native tree that, when touched by human skin, produces a painful rash, blisters, and eruptions.

Kingsolver artfully relates the story through the eyes of Orleanna Price and the four daughters. The reader, however, is left to wonder how the narrative would have been different and enriched had she included Nathan’s perspective. Alas, he is left with no redeeming quality.

The nagging question for me throughout the book was whether readers will recognize the anomalies in this story. Will they see Nathan as a caricature, a parody? And will they recognize the absurdity of portraying a Southern Baptist evangelist like Nathan Price as a devotee of the Apocrypha? These are, I believe, substantive flaws in an otherwise exquisitely written, engaging book.

—Alan Neely

The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel.


This book is compulsory reading for all who want to enter the debate on Pentecostalism from the inside and from the outside. The collection of essays is edited by three professors at Vanguard University, Costa Mesa, California. Most of the contributors are Pentecostal scholars. An exception is Edward L. Cleary, O.P., who contributes an excellent analysis of Pentecostals in Latin America. There are also three non-Pentecostal respondents: José Miguez Bonino, who regrets that the new, critical, and forward-looking theological work among Pentecostals is mainly ignored, “a sad comment on the awareness of so-called ‘scholarship’” (p. 116); Vinizam Samuel from the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, who reports on Pentecostal theology of religion; and Harvey Cox, who exhorts Pentecostals not to give in to the religion

Alan Neely is the Henry Winters Luce Professor of Ecumenics and Mission Emeritus, Princeton Theological Seminary. Before going to Princeton, he was a Southern Baptist missionary in Colombia, 1963–76, and professor of missiology at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina, 1976–88.
of the market culture (p. 390).

The book opens with the following statement by Douglas Petersen: "Pentecostal scholars have demonstrated through their writings that they are capable of looking critically at their own movement. Unlike some of their fundamentalist colleagues who feared various forms of criticism, Pentecostal academics have been open to apply the most recent advances in scholarship within their faith tradition" (p. 3).

Areas addressed include biblical criticism (Wonsuk Ma), ecumenism (Frank Macchia, Cecil M. Robeck, and others), "liberal theology" (David Daniels), feminism (Janet Everts Power), and the Toronto Blessing (Margaret Poloma). Even in the United States and in Europe, ethnic churches, including black, Hispanic, Korean, and Caribbean congregations, take the lead in ecumenical cooperation (E. A. Wilson). Jungia Ma and Ivan M. Satyavrata contribute a wealth of precise and astonishing information on Asian Pentecostalism.

How does one deal with such a bewildering pluralism theologically (note Grant McClung's global overview)? "Who gets to define what Pentecostal experiences are?" (Ronald Bueno, p. 268). Common religious experience does not necessarily produce a common theology. "Language and culture cannot be treated as neutral" (Jean Daniel Pluss, p. 179). Japie LaPoorta and Gerald Sheppard answer by using the medium of narrative theology and testimony, to which they attribute academic dignity.

—Walter J. Hollenweger

Walter J. Hollenweger, a Swiss theologian, was secretary for Evangelism with the WCC (1965–71) and professor of mission at the University of Birmingham (1971–89). His latest book is Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide (Hendrickson, 1997).


It is providential that Pentecostals and Roman Catholics are talking about issues related to the mission of the church, since the two traditions constitute two of the largest bodies of Christians in the world today. Despite the affinity that many Pentecostals have felt toward the Catholic charismatic renewal in North America, relationships between Catholics and Pentecostals have been generally sour if not hostile in Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere.

Although not as well known as the Catholic/Lutheran and Catholic/Anglican dialogues, the formal conversations between the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity and some classical Pentecostal denominations and leaders began in 1972 under the leadership of Kilian McDonnell, O.S.B., of St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota, and the late international Pentecostal leader David J. du Plessis. This dialogue is unique in that it is the only one that the Roman Catholic Church conducts with a movement. Hence, the objective is not unity but good will and better understanding, the dismantling of stereotypes. Given the tensions between both parties in many areas of the world, it was timely that the fourth phase (1990–97) should address issues related to mission: evangelization,

2000–2001 Senior Mission Scholars

OMSC welcomes into residence for the fall 2000 semester Senior Mission Scholars Anne Marie Kool and Diana Witts. Dr. Kool, a graduate of the University of Utrecht, Netherlands, is Director, Protestant Institute for Mission Studies, Budapest, Hungary. She is a member of the board and executive committee of the Eastern European Schools of Theology, a member of the Theological Commission of the World Evangelical Fellowship, and a contributing editor of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research. Canon Diana Witts, a former missionary in East Africa with the Church Mission Society (CMS) and later regional secretary for West Africa, is the recently retired general secretary of the CMS. In 1994 the Archbishop of Canterbury awarded her the Cross of St. Augustine in recognition of her work with the Episcopal Church of Sudan.

In the spring semester of 2001 OMSC's Senior Mission Scholars will be Sebastian Karotemprel and Terrence L. Tiessen. The Rev. Dr. Karotemprel, a member of the Salesians of Don Bosco, is Professor of Missiology, Pontifical Urban University, Rome. He is also president of Sacred Heart Theological College, Shillong, India, where he serves as Visiting Professor. From 1987 to 1998 he was executive secretary of the Federation of the Asian Bishops’ Conference Commission for Evangelization. He is the editor of Following Christ in Mission: A Foundational Course in Missiology (1998). Dr. Tiessen is Professor of Theology, Providence Seminary, Winnipeg, Manitoba. A former missionary in the Philippines, he received his Ph.D. from Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University. From 1976 to 1979 and from 1981 to 1984 he was a member of the Area Council of SEND International. He is the author of Irenaeus on the Salvation of the Unevangelized (1993), published in the monograph series of the American Theological Library Association. In addition to providing leadership in OMSC's Study Program, the Senior Mission Scholars are available to OMSC residents for counsel regarding their own mission research interests.

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The Coming of the Rain. The Life of Dr. Joe Church: A Personal Account of Revival in Rwanda.

His name was John Edward Church, but everyone knew him as Dr. Joe. Born in 1899, he entered missionary training, qualified as a doctor in 1926, and in 1927 sailed for East Africa with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Rwanda Mission. Decima, his fiancée, followed in 1930. Joe and Deci lived and worked in southern Uganda or Rwanda until 1964. They were close to retiring age then and found that the postindependence troubles made work difficult, so they came back to England.

Katharine Makower has given us a fascinating and informative book that forms an excellent second volume to Joe’s own autobiographical study, Quest for the Highest (1981). He and Deci were both medical doctors and never gave up their medical work. Additionally, Joe was from the beginning centrally involved in the movement that became known worldwide as the East African Revival. Working closely with Ugandan and Rwandan Christians, he traveled widely, taking the revival message to missionaries, African Christians, and others.

The story is told simply but with enthusiasm, and the glimpses of church family life are especially welcome. This revival, which began within the CMS Rwanda Mission (now Mid-Africa Ministry, CMS), may well have been the salvation of many mission-founded churches in the postindependence troubles. Though more information on places and peoples would have been welcome, there is enough for a newcomer to follow events. The black-and-white illustrations (by Caroline Church) and photographs add further insights. Not the last word, but a step on the way.
—Jocelyn Murray

Jocelyn Murray, a New Zealander, worked under the CMS in Kenya from 1954 to 1967 and later completed a Ph.D. in African history at UCLA. She now lives and works in London.

Families of Faith: An Introduction to World Religions for Christians.

The distinguishing feature of this introduction is that it combines four approaches to world religions in a single text. Ordinarily one has to read four different books—one each on the theology of religions, history of religion, dialogue, and theology—in order to address questions of religious demographics, belief systems of non-Christian religions, and suggestions on how we are to think theologically about other religions. Martinson introduces us to all these questions in one volume.

The first approach, the theology-of-religions approach, is dealt with in the first section by devoting four chapters to a demographic description, a classification of the world’s religions, and an explanation...
of how religions are the same and how they differ, which should lead to a compare-and-contrast methodology when one studies them.

The second approach, the history-of-religions approach, is used in the second part by dealing in turn with Buddhism, Islam, Confucianism, Daoism, and Hinduism.

The third approach is dialogic. The special case Martinson uses to explicate this issue is Judaism, an appropriate choice because of our history. Judaism is indeed a special case of non-Christian religion.

The fourth approach is theological. Martinson devotes separate chapters to four of the major theological issues raised in light of Christian contact with other religions: theology proper (who is God?), evangelism and dialogue, soteriology, and ethics.

This approach makes this book especially useful in a church Sunday school setting or in a study group of Christians or for individuals who have general questions about what the growth of the world's religions in our culture's neighborhoods means for everyday living.

Martinson manages to combine a survey approach to possible answers to the questions he raises, with a clear statement of his position (usually) without sounding doctrinaire.

—Terry C. Muck

Terry C. Muck, former professor of Religion, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin, Texas, has been appointed Professor of Missiology and World Religions at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky.

Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries.


Readers interested in antebellum U.S. Protestant missions will appreciate Amanda Porterfield's fresh treatment of the topic in this book, which is much broader in scope than indicated by its title. Author of Female Piety in Puritan New England (1992), Porterfield moves beyond New England in this book to illuminate the impact of U.S. missionaries—not all with direct connections to Mount Holyoke—on the cultures of indigenous peoples in nineteenth-century Persia, India, and southeastern Africa.

Although American missionaries often believed their work was apolitical, Porterfield argues that their activities had unintended social consequences in cultures fraught with fragile and tumultuous political environments—a state of affairs often caused by the disruptions of Western imperialism. Porterfield asserts that missionary activity was often "self referential" (p. 48), as New England missionaries were anxious about their own salvation and thus were preoccupied with emulating the Puritan ideal of a converted life.

A portion of the book examines the life of New England educator Mary Lyon (1797–1849) and the religious culture of Lyon's Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, which gave rise to strong missionary impulses among its graduates. Stressing the importance of Puritan ideals of self-sacrifice in legitimizing antebellum women's education and missions, Porterfield levels a rather reductionistic critique of feminist scholarship, claiming that feminists have been limited from making similar analyses because of what Porterfield calls "the feminist distaste for self-denial" (p. 26). However, Porterfield's

Robert Eric Frykenberg, Professor Emeritus of History and South Asian Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and currently directing a Pew Research Advancement Program on Christianity in India, is under contract to write the Oxford History of Christianity in India. He is also, with Brian Stanley, coeditor of the Curzon/Eerdmans series Studies in the History of Christian Missions.


What a Great Idea!
Live and Study at OMSC, fall 2000

Martha Lund Smalley Sept. 11–15, 2000
How to Develop Church and Mission Archives. Yale Divinity School Research Services Librarian helps missionaries and church leaders identify, organize, and preserve essential records, with introduction to computer and internet skills. Eight sessions. $95

David Pollock & Janet Blomberg Sept. 18–22
Nurturing and Educating Transcultural Kids. Specialists in MK counseling and education help you help your children meet the challenges of third-culture kids. Cosponsored by Wycliffe Bible Translators. Eight sessions. $95

Donald Jacobs & Douglas McConnell Sept. 25–29
Servant Leadership for Today’s Mission. Directors of the Mennonite Leadership Foundation and Pioneers team up at OMSC to apply foundational principles in light of the internationalization of the Christian mission. Cosponsored by Christ for the City International. Eight sessions. $95

Gerald H. Anderson Oct. 3–6
Christian Mission in the New Millennium. The newly retired director of OMSC explores major issues facing the missionary community, including holistic witness, uniqueness of Jesus Christ, and the place of interreligious dialogue. Cosponsored by Latin America Mission, LCMS World Mission, Mennonite Board of Missions, and Mennonite Central Committee. Four morning sessions. $75

Anne Marie Kool Oct. 9–13
Mission in Central and Eastern Europe: A Biblical Model for the Twenty-first Century. OMSC’s Senior Mission Scholar and Director of the Protestant Institute for Mission Studies, Budapest, focuses on mission history and prospects in Hungary and its neighbors. Cosponsored by Maryknoll Mission Institute and RCA Mission Services. Eight sessions. $95

Andrew F. Walls Oct. 23–27
Christian Missions: Agents of Social Transformation. Prof. Walls, Edinburgh University, demonstrates the impact of missions on the social and moral fabric of modern societies. Cosponsored by American Baptist International Ministries. Eight sessions. $95

Jean-Paul Wiest Oct. 30–Nov. 3
Doing Oral History: Helping Christians Tell Their Own Story. The director of the Maryknoll history project teaches skills and techniques for documenting church and mission history. Eight sessions. $95

“EMEU” Conference Nov. 2–4
Spiritual Riches of Middle Eastern Christianity. Annual conference of Evangelicals for Middle East Understanding, First Presbyterian Church, Evanston, Ill. Cosponsored by OMSC. $60. Further information: www.EMEU.org; email: sklavin@northpark.edu, or call 773–244–5786.

Peter Kuzmic Nov. 6–10
Mission in the Ethnic and Religious Mosaic of Eastern Europe. Dr. Kuzmic, Evangelical Seminary, Osijek, Croatia, helps Protestant missionaries bring authenticity and sensitivity to their evangelical witness. Cosponsored by Eastern Mennonite Missions, and InterVarsity Missions/Urban 2000. Eight sessions. $95

Diana K. Witts Nov. 14–17
“As the Father Has Sent Me.” A biblical study by OMSC’s Senior Mission Scholar and newly retired general secretary of the Church Mission Society targets practical issues in mission. Four sessions. $75

Scott Moreau Nov. 27–Dec. 1
Advancing Mission on the Information Superhighway. Wheaton College’s professor of missions shows how to get the most out of the worldwide web for mission research. Cosponsored by the Billy Graham Center and Mission Aviation Fellowship. Eight sessions. $95

J. Dudley Woodberry Dec. 4–8
Islam and Christianity in Dynamic Encounter. Fuller School of World Mission’s professor of Islamic Studies lays the groundwork for constructive Christian witness in Muslim communities. Cosponsored by Christian Reformed World Missions, OC International, and Southern Baptist Woman’s Missionary Union. Eight sessions. $95

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Moscow: Association for Spiritual Renewal (e-mail: allt@asr.ru), 1999. Pp. 132. Paperback. No price given.

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