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Africa and the Christian Mission

The one thread linking the essays in this issue is *Africa*. A continent that frequently elicits but ultimately defies generalizations, Africa is geographically immense, culturally complex, and religiously diverse. Most of its fifty-three discrete nation-states trace their boundaries to an 1884 conference in Berlin where European powers carved up virtually the entire continent among themselves. The simplicity of the resulting scheme obscured then, and acerbates now, more complex cultural, linguistic, and topographical realities on the ground. To those whose familiarity with the continent is derived primarily from the daily news, this polyglot continent—home to a staggering 2,100 mother tongues—is a byword for wrenching poverty, vampire heads of state, savage civil wars, and crushing pandemics. Despite decades of well-intended “development” efforts fueled by nearly \$700 billion in aid since the 1960s, standards of living for most Africans continue to decline. Thirty-three of the forty countries at the bottom of the World Bank’s 174-nation human development index are African.

As though all of this were not enough, the 2006 consensus report of the 120-plus-nation Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change—watered down to make its political, social, economic, and ethical implications more palatable to powerful countries such as the United States, China, and Saudi Arabia—concluded that the continent of Africa will bear the brunt of a looming apocalypse that will entail acute water shortages, drought, and catastrophic collapses of food production.

And yet, and yet . . . by self-confession Africa is today a pre-

dominantly *Christian* continent—whatever that means. Who just one hundred years ago could have anticipated that Christianity would become the majority faith on that continent? Even the most sanguine soothsayer would have been reluctant to venture such a prospect. In terms of sheer numbers, the growth of Christianity in Africa over the past fifty years is without historical parallel.

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of Missionary Research

The most recent "Statistical Overview of the world's 2.2 billion Christians and their activities," prepared by David Barrett, Todd Johnson, and Peter Crossing for the January 2009 issue of the *INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH*, estimates Christian numbers in Africa to exceed 447 million. According to figures provided three years ago by the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate at Georgetown University, between 1900 and 2000 the Catholic population in Africa increased by a phenomenal 6,708 percent, from 1.9 million to 130 million. Since 1960 Catholic membership has grown by 708 percent. Overall annual Christian population growth in Africa is estimated to be 2.4 percent.

A century ago there were four times as many African Muslims as there were Christians. Today Christians compose 46 percent of the total population, by most conservative estimates surpassing the continent's Muslims. Furthermore, while African countries currently host nearly 96,000 foreign missionaries, almost 19,000 African missionaries themselves serve abroad. Just how many African evangelists and missionaries are at work within their own countries is difficult to estimate. Suffice it to say that, by all appearances, evangelistic and church-related organizations might possibly be the continent's number one "growth industry."

By Barrett's estimates, there were some 247,000 Christian congregations across the entire continent in 1970. Twenty-five years later, that number had grown to almost 552,000 congregations in 11,500 denominations, the vast majority of which are unknown in the West, with ecclesiastical and theological roots lacking any historical connection with European Christendom and its various reformations. Many of these churches are thoroughly pre-Christendom and unabashedly pre-Enlightenment in their impulses, behavior, and orientations.

While most of the growth has come since the continent shed its colonial administrators in the 1960s, in his lead article in this issue Paul Kollman argues convincingly that the phenomenal expansion of Christianity in East Africa, whether Catholic or Protestant, can be traced to the earliest practices of evangelization—in his words, "a church being born." In West Africa, meanwhile, the birth of Christianity in one region was tended and recorded by "obstinate" pastor and historian Carl Christian Reindorf. While his baptismal name neatly obscures his Ghanaian identity, he was a remarkable leader and historian who, by openly challenging mission control, "gave Africans a voice and the ability to actively shape history." He was at the same time indispensable to the survival and progress of the mission, as Heinz Hauser-Renner so ably recounts in his masterful article. As was so often the case, European missionaries resented Reindorf's independent streak, misconstruing it as obstinacy. Three months before he died, at the age of eighty-three, they recommended that the Basel Mission suspend him from preaching and from the Holy Sacrament!

Each of the other essays in this issue—Timothy Yates's assessment of David Bosch's universal missiology; John Bowen's sensitive recounting of ongoing ministry among the Maasai after Vincent Donovan left Tanzania in 1973; the autobiography of Harold Kurtz, whose life was permanently affected by his immersion into Ethiopian life and work beginning in 1955; and the legacies of Franz Mayr and Vincent J. McCauley—is inextricably connected with the great continent of Africa. And each in its own way attests to the aptness of the title chosen for the September 2005 issue of *National Geographic*: "Africa: Whatever You Thought, Think Again."

—Jonathan J. Bonk

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Editor

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Associate Editor

Dwight P. Baker

Assistant Editor

Craig A. Noll

Managing Editor

Daniel J. Nicholas

Senior Contributing Editors

Gerald H. Anderson

Robert T. Coote

Circulation

W. Garrett Heath

IBMR@OMSC.org

(203) 624-6672, ext. 309

Advertising

Charles A. Roth Jr.

CA Roth Jr Inc.

86 Underwood Rd.

Falmouth, Maine 04105-1418

Mobile: (516) 729-3509

Fax: (914) 470-0483

carothjrinc@maine.rr.com

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OVERSEAS MINISTRIES STUDY CENTER, 490 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511, U.S.A.

(203) 624-6672 • Fax (203) 865-2857 • IBMR@OMSC.org • www.InternationalBulletin.org

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Remembering Evangelization: The Option for the Poor and Mission History

Paul V. Kollman

Contemporary missiology often embraces an option for the poor, emphasizing that Christian mission must prioritize bringing Christ's Good News to the marginalized.¹ Yet the option for the poor has a significant role to play more than just within constructive missiology, where it orients missionary practice. The option for the poor, I argue here, should also shape the work of historians who strive to understand evangelization and the way it has shaped the church, which would lead to reconfiguring the discipline of mission history. Connecting the option for the poor and mission history would help overcome long-standing tendencies in theological inquiry to marginalize both—tendencies that make the option for the poor *and* the missiological perspective distressingly optional for theologians and historians of Christianity.²

Missiology's dual orientation toward the Christian past and the Christian present of evangelization appeared very early in the discipline's evolution. Besides training potential missionaries, early practitioners of the new discipline, both Protestant and Catholic, gathered historical materials on the spread of Christianity, assembling archives and culling their gleanings to create narratives that depicted past efforts at Christian evangelization, both successful and unsuccessful. They drew upon archival collections maintained by (mainly Protestant) missionary societies and by (mainly Catholic) missionary religious congregations.³

Because missiology appeared as a distinct discipline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the positivist approach to history associated with Leopold Ranke determined historical practice, its earliest practitioners accepted Ranke's challenge to present comprehensive and objective accounts of the missionary past. This period, perhaps not coincidentally, was one in which European political domination extended over much of the globe. Today, when the achievements and limitations of this positivist approach to the past are accepted, and when the colonialist roots of many academic disciplines are also widely recognized, it is easy to see the limitations of early mission histories, despite their erudition.

Three such limits can be identified in early attempts to write mission history, each of which can be mitigated by bringing the option for the poor into the historical epistemology of mission. First, traditional mission history had a narrow approach to historical sources, deriving from its colonialist and positivist roots. Introducing the option for the poor into historical practice enables historians to interrogate these older sources in new ways and also expands the range of historical sources. Second, the option for the poor challenges normative narrative conventions that organized previous mission history. These conventions betrayed a narrow view of historical sources and especially a colonialist prism that

centered the historical gaze on the activity of (mostly European) missionaries. Third, the option for the poor undermines the traditional division between the disciplines of mission history and church history, a division that also reflects a colonialist mind-set. In the traditional division of academic labor in the study of the Christian past, church history examined some preconceived center of ecclesial life, and mission history focused on activities at what were perceived as the peripheries of Christianity.

These three reconfigurations mutually reinforce each other in a dialectical manner. Thus, for example, new sources create new narratives or formulas of emplotment, and new narratives direct attention at new sources. Similarly, an innovative narrative about Christian evangelization can undermine the distinction between mission history and church history, and when that distinction dissolves, innovative narrative perspectives appear. Meanwhile, once the earliest evangelization that formed a present church is connected to that church's history, new narratives and new sources appear. And so forth.

The application of the option for the poor to the historical study of Christian evangelization has analogues to broader trends in contemporary historical practice that seek to raise the veil covering aspects of the past previously underappreciated. These postpositivist historical approaches—for instance, the *Annales* school, the related so-called history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*), microhistory, subaltern history, feminist history, postcolonial history, and labor history—have been brought to bear on the study of the history of Christian missionary activity carried out by certain scholars across the disciplines. Here the goal is to bring these three characteristics of a contemporary approach to the history of Christian evangelization—new approaches to historical sources, the construction of different narratives, and a rethinking of the distinction between mission and church history—under the thematic umbrella of the option for the poor. In this article I seek to cast a historical and missiological perspective on what Gustavo Gutiérrez calls “the irruption of the poor” as this appears in the history of Christian evangelization.⁴

The rest of this article describes these reconfigurations and shows how they serve to overcome the limits of past mission history, drawing especially upon the story of the origins of the Roman Catholic Church in eastern Africa to show the fruitfulness of the option for the poor in a historical practice that tries to understand Christian evangelization.

Broadening Our Approach to Historical Sources

Early missiologists writing mission history relied almost entirely on official records kept by sponsoring missionary bodies, and they naturally read such sources from the point of view of those who produced them, seeing them as objective accounts of the past. This perspective limited the information available to historical understanding, taking for granted the forces that produced official missionary records and overlooking the experiences of those evangelized by missionaries, who were almost invariably poor—materially and, later in the colonial era, politically—in relation to those who came to evangelize them.

Allowing the option for the poor to drive historical analysis,



Paul V. Kollman, C.S.C., teaches in the Department of Theology at the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana. He has taught and carried out research in eastern Africa, has published *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa* (Orbis Books, 2005), and is currently preparing a book on the missionary evangelization of eastern Africa.

—pkollman@nd.edu

by contrast, unveils new vantages on the past in at least two different ways. First, old sources undergo different scrutiny, for the contemporary historian of Christian mission reads past written records not merely to record the words and deeds described in those official records, which usually concerned missionaries, but also to appreciate how the circumstances that lie behind such records privileged certain voices and blocked others. Such circumstances, when illuminated, tend to show the agency and creativity of those who received the missionary message and made it their own, often in ways unanticipated by the missionaries themselves. Second, the option for the poor as a feature of historical practice reveals new sources for understanding the past, so that a historian's resources can expand, reaching beyond the official collections of missionary bodies into sources that more fully capture how those subject to evangelization understood and reacted to evangelization.

Both of these approaches yield insight into the origins of the present Catholic Church in eastern Africa, and especially in understanding the evangelization of slaves, which stood at the center of missionary strategy there for nearly three decades.⁵ First, reading what James Scott calls the "official transcript" with an eye to uncovering African experiences of evangelization often reveals more than the missionaries themselves probably intended. Beyond and within those words one discerns what Scott calls a hidden transcript, containing the experiences and perspectives of those subject to evangelization, whose experiences have often gone unacknowledged in typical mission history.⁶

For example, missionary frustration with the former slaves who became their first converts arose among Catholic missionaries in eastern Africa, especially beginning in the early 1880s. Such frustration led the missionaries to castigate these former slave Christians, quite a contrast to earlier, rosier descriptions of those on whom they placed their hopes for the church of the future. I will say more below about what such frustration tells us about the Africans these missionaries sought to form into Christians. But the frustration certainly highlights the hopes

Enclosure stood at the center of missionary strategy for comprehensive formation of former slaves into Catholics.

the missionaries had for their charges, hopes that they did not always articulate clearly. Close attention to how they expressed their frustration, however, discloses the goals that drove their missionary strategy.⁷

Besides reading official records anew, recent historical studies of missionary activity also investigate historical sources hitherto unappreciated. Historians of missionary activity now also attend to oral histories and popular practices like the writing of songs in their attempts to uncover the missionary past. Such sources were rich avenues toward understanding the early evangelization of slaves in eastern Africa. Interviews with the descendants of those earliest Christians have uncovered more insights into their ancestors' experiences of evangelization, of the complex ways in which Christianity both empowered them and frustrated them.⁸ During an interview with two now elderly granddaughters of the first generation of Catholics, for example, I explored their

memories of their parents and grandparents.⁹ As they recalled their forebears, these two women bemoaned the loss of *utawa* at the mission in Bagamoyo, Tanzania. I knew that the Swahili word *utawa* referred to the experience of the cloister for those aspiring to join Catholic religious communities in contemporary eastern Africa, but these older women used the word to designate their own experiences of boarding school during their childhood at the mission. Their nostalgia about *utawa* suggested that enclosure or cloistering existed in missionary practices of education into the 1930s.

Their use of the word *utawa* redirected my own archival research. Reading past records with this in mind sharpened my appreciation of how enclosure shaped the missionary strategy with freed slaves, with roots in the missionaries' own experiences of enclosure in their French seminary formation and other training. Heightened attentiveness to enclosure in turn allowed the architectural structures of old missions to reveal practices of spatial enclosure practiced by the missionaries, practices received (and transformed or resisted) by those evangelized. Moreover, nineteenth-century missionary correspondence with European superiors and other writings revealed anxiety about enclosure to be an abiding feature of the religious life of the missionaries and their plans for the formation of the "mission children," who were envisaged as Catholics of the future. Enclosure stood at the center of the missionary strategy that pursued the comprehensive formation of former slaves into Catholics, even though official missionary writings from the period rarely mention it specifically.¹⁰

And there were other historical payoffs, for the reference to *utawa*, or enclosure, by two old African women helped connect missionary strategies focused on slaves in eastern Africa with other contemporaneous European social practices that sought enclosure for the formation or reformation of students, soldiers, and prisoners. Attention to such practices in Europe has been a major feature of recent social history, and there is much historical yield in connecting that social history with missionary practices.¹¹ The interview with the two older women allowed an understanding of nineteenth-century missionary goals, which in turn allowed a better appreciation of how Africans responded to the missionary strategy.

Transforming the Narratives of Mission History

The colonialist and positivist assumptions of early mission history meant that typical narratives in those historical accounts featured European missionaries functioning as heroes, braving formidable obstacles of disease, pagan (or Islamic or satanic) resistance, and natural barriers in the effort to bring light to those in darkness. This mode of storytelling, relying on the European missionary and his (and it was almost always a male) successes and failures as narrative features, contrived with the frequent need to raise funds to support missionary activity to generate narrative conventions in which the actions of missionaries assume center stage, even when their efforts failed.

Like a positivist approach to historical sources, this feature of early mission history also faces criticism in contemporary historiography, especially historiography shaped by a postcolonial mentality. Equally problematic from a theological point of view, this conventional perspective resulted in recurrent inattention to the development of local Christian identities and communities, an aspect of the story that either was cast as part of the missionaries' accomplishments or was simply ignored.

If the traditional sources for mission history are both supple-

mented with nontraditional sources of historical knowledge and read “against the grain,” we find new narrative conventions arising in the writing of mission history. Without forgetting the sometimes inspiring heroism of missionaries, taking seriously the option for the poor within historical practice in mission history means foregrounding the people who became Christian rather than those who brought the message. Missionaries’ assessments of their own successes or failures therefore undergo a decentering in favor of keener attention to the effects their actions had on local peoples, effects quite often beyond missionary ability to predict,

Christians in contemporary African Catholic parishes possess memories of these pioneers and their early experiences establishing the churches.

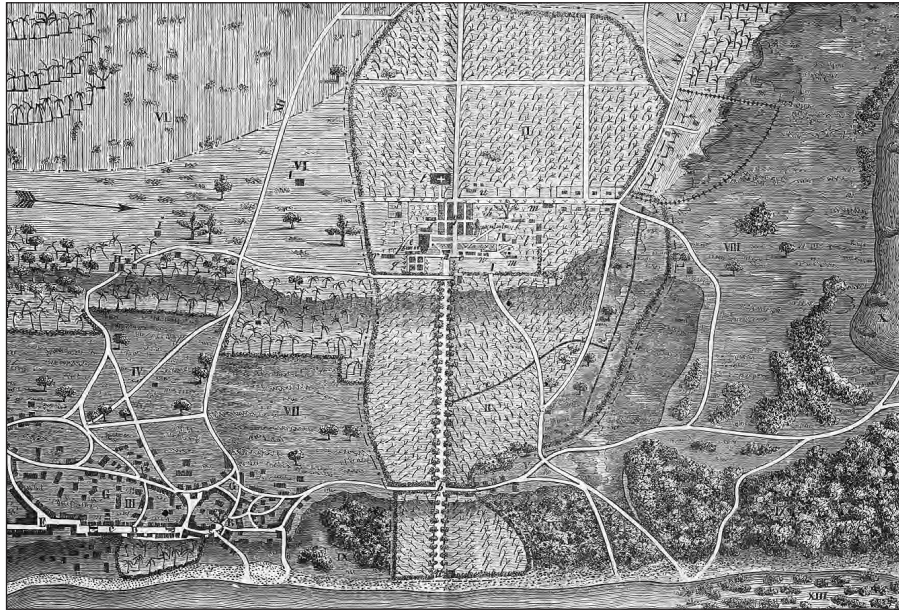
In Mhonda, Tanzania, site of the earliest Catholic parish founded away from the coast of eastern Africa, close attention to the parish’s own records and interviews with local Christians showed things not in the conventional archives, which foreground missionary efforts at establishing the mission, erecting the first buildings, and securing cordial relations with surrounding peoples. Local memories, without ignoring accomplishments

touted by the missionaries, emphasize as well the roles of the freed slaves who came from the coast to establish the mission, whose skills and sweat actually felled the timbers and raised the walls of the first buildings. In addition, these African Christians played invaluable roles in fostering cooperation with indigenous authorities, mitigating disputes that arose between local peoples and the mission, and reaching out to the surrounding peoples, whose eventual Christianization was the missionaries’ goal. Many of the names of those Christians appear as godparents and sponsors in the parish books that record baptisms and marriages. Some appear on the grave markers in the overgrown parish cemetery. More impressively, these names are still held dear by grandchildren and great-grandchildren of those pioneers, who continue to live in the area and cherish the Christian witness of their ancestors.¹²

As noted above, missionary documents reveal that not all the actions of these early African Christians pleased the missionaries. The first converts at times sorely disappointed those who had sought their formation into Catholic life. These former slaves grumbled about their

treatment, refused to work, and even fled the mission.¹³ Such acts led the missionaries to bemoan the African lack of character, the pervasive effects of slavery, the fruits of inadequate catechesis, or incomplete conversion. In retrospect, however, one can recognize the emergence of a distinctive Catholic identity unplanned by missionary strategies. These Africans did not always disavow their Catholic identity when they infuriated the missionaries, but they did contest the terms in which the missionaries sought to construct and contain that identity. The missionaries saw in African defiance only the failures of their strategy or the stubbornness of either slave origins or race-based incapacity, yet one can just as easily recognize traces of an emerging African-Christian identity that eluded missionary control, even if that very identity was inconceivable without missionary activity.

The earliest catechist at Mhonda, Hilarion, a former slave who came from Bagamoyo with his wife to help found the mission, quickly became an indispensable coworker with the missionaries. He organized caravans to the coast to get supplies, negotiated with local chieftains, and evangelized in the surrounding area. But he also began quickly to act independently of the mission while relying on its authority. He purchased slaves for his own small household, siphoned off the mission’s precious gunpowder for private sales, even pursued private retribution against local authorities who he deemed had dealt with him unfairly—in this last instance, leading the mission into what the missionaries called a war against enemies of the mission. Gradually Hilarion and the mission drew apart, his



An 1880 sketch demarcates the buildings, gardens, and boundaries of the Bagamoyo Mission. The site borders the Indian Ocean (bottom of picture). The town of Bagamoyo is a ten-minute walk south (to the left).

understand, or even perceive. While missionaries counted conversions or baptisms, and churches and schools built, other complex social processes also unfolded, bringing to life new identities as local people appropriated and absorbed missionary practices and discourses of evangelization. This does not mean ignoring the missionaries, whose actions need to be understood as fully as possible, but the larger historical subject includes—and indeed should prioritize, if the story is to be complete—the Christian identities that emerged as a result of that strategy.

Once again, historical research into Catholic origins in eastern Africa shows the value of such a shift in perspective. Certainly nineteenth-century Catholic missionaries in eastern Africa often showed courage and fortitude. More important, their French backgrounds shaped their strategy and thus deserve close historical attention, as the role of enclosure in that strategy shows. For their part, the former slaves not only embodied the missionaries’ hopes but also were the first substantial group of African Christians in eastern Africa. Even where their numbers remained small, they exercised a leadership role in early mission communities, for they settled in communities that the missionaries called the *noyau* (French for “nucleus”) of the hoped-for local Catholic churches. In addition, their actions—and sometimes their words—can be recovered. As recipients of missionary education, they wrote letters and reports we can still read, unlike most of the next generation of African Christians. Moreover, missionaries often named and described these early African Christians, since their evangelizing strategy depended upon them. Finally, local

own desires for independence and personal authority conflicting with missionary preference that he remain their agent. Sometime in the 1890s he became a Muslim, for German colonialism had created a chance for him to pursue his own interests better as a Muslim, the Germans having tired of the independent-minded mission residents with their French background. As a Muslim, however, he retained his ties to many of the Christians at the mission who remembered his service on their behalf, and especially his success as a teacher.¹⁴

Hilarion's evolution and the ongoing memories that contemporary African Christians possess of him show the incompleteness of the official missionary records, which record missionary disappointments with their onetime protégé. But the archives, read not just for missionary emotions but for the broader story, reveal not simply missionary failure but also complex Christian identities emerging from this attempt at evangelization. Much more was going on than activity carried out by European missionaries at missions in eastern Africa in the latter nineteenth century, though accounts of this story, as in so much conventional mission history, rarely attended to such complexity.

Uniting Mission History and Church History

Traditional mission history presupposes an approach to the broader history of Christianity in which mission history restricts itself to the way Christianity arrived at a place outside of Europe or North America, while church history properly speaking became the history of Christianity in Europe or some other place conceived as a center from evangelization emanated. Church history describes the life of Christianity at the places of sending, while mission history describes the efforts of those sent.

From a contemporary perspective, this operative distinction between church history and mission history appears problematic for a number of reasons. In the first place, it puts a theological overtone on the colonialist worldview, suggesting that the stories of Christians outside of Europe or North America represent something besides church history properly speaking. Mission history becomes peripheral to church history in the same way

The option for the poor challenges the separation of mission history from mainstream church history.

that colonies were considered peripheral to the metropole in imperial consciousness. Second, it overlooks the ways in which missionary activity itself helped to constitute Western Christianity and European identity. In particular, it gives insufficient attention to the way that part of Europe's sense of itself as a collective depended on decisive historical experiences in which mission played a key role, especially the encounter with the Americas in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, but also the European imperial project that climaxed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁵

The option for the poor, however, challenges the separation of what has been called mission history from mainstream church history. Instead, the history of Christian evangelization becomes a central facet of the church's history, according to which dynamic Christianity crossing one frontier after another no longer appears

at the margin of the Christian story. In addition, the story of the earliest evangelization carried out in a place becomes not merely one more episode in the spread or expansion of Christianity, as a traditional church history perspective would have it, but the earliest appearances of Christianity at a place where the church is fundamentally constituted. To take seriously the option for the poor in historical practice makes any story of the spread of Christianity essentially a dialectic of gesture and countergesture, as offer and response.

This approach to the history of Christian missionary activity, foregrounding evangelization as central rather than marginal to church history, reinforces trends arising from recent attempts to write the history of Christianity from a global perspective. As a number of such efforts have pointed out, Christianity became a primarily European religion only in the late medieval or early modern period.¹⁶ In the same period Europe's political and economic power in relation to the rest of the globe began to expand enormously, ushering in the continent's hegemonic capacities of the past four centuries. Such broad global processes have created a historical amnesia, obscuring the Christian past of places like Persia, India, and China, each of which had thriving Christian communities well before 1000 C.E. As Dale Irvin and Scott Sunquist write in the first volume of their ambitious attempt to present the history of Christianity from a self-consciously global perspective, "We offer our resources and insights as a small contribution to the project of remembering the global *past* of the world Christian movement."¹⁷

In another such attempt to address the needed revisions if we are to have a church history that attends to global realities, Justo González calls for a "changing topography" that would allow a more thorough historical retrieval of the Christian past. González argues that typical church history in the past had what he calls an orographic approach focused on the great peaks of imposing figures, monumental events, and influential ideas. As González notes, historians of Christianity now plunge more into the valleys of the past, into Christian lives and ideas that went unnoticed: for example, the experiences and sentiments of the poor, of women, and of those declared heretics.¹⁸ Such a post-orographic approach to the history of evangelization attends to recipients of the Gospel as well as those carrying it, directing historical attention at the constant missionary dialectic between encounter and appropriation, of the Gospel offered and received.

The story of the origins of Christianity in eastern Africa at first appears to argue against the need to connect the earliest (or primary) evangelization of an area with the history of Christianity properly speaking as it appears in that region. This is because the evangelization of slaves, the operative missionary approach during the first three decades or so in the period of evangelization that began the present-day church,¹⁹ was supposedly abandoned as European colonialism took hold in the region. In support of a historical perspective that would view slave evangelization as a false start and thus relatively unimportant to understanding Christianity in eastern Africa, many of the traditional historical accounts do in fact give short shrift to the earliest evangelization carried out by the French Holy Ghost missionaries, also known as the Spiritans, at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. Prominent in most accounts has been the explosion of both Protestant and Catholic Christianity in other places, such as Uganda.²⁰

In overlooking the earliest evangelization, however, such historical accounts miss crucial aspects of the story, for the growth of Christianity even in far-flung Uganda relied upon practices of evangelization first established at the coast of eastern Africa, practices hardly attended to in traditional accounts. Even when

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their dramatic effects are noted, the missionary practices that engendered the effects are rarely described except in the vaguest of terms. As the story of Hilarion described above suggests, and the references to enclosure as a prevalent practice also indicate, other sources and other narratives yield better insight into those practices and uncover African experiences of primary evangelization that show a church being born, not just missionary activity being carried out. Again, the reliance on official sources and traditional narrative patterns leads to a downplaying of the pragmatics of missionary evangelization and overlooks African responses to primary evangelization.

From this perspective, a missiological approach to church history that takes its lead from the option for the poor signifies a mode of historical practice that expects that Christ will manifest himself where he is unexpected, especially among those often overlooked, who take on Christian identity despite their apparent powerlessness and their lack of notability. The option for the poor applied to the history of Christian evangelization thus begins to allow a theological appropriation of the colonial roots of so many of the most vital Christian communities today. Christianity in the twenty-first century grows most in places where it appeared inextricably connected to European colonialism, a political and economic process with dubious moral underpinnings, as becomes clearer all the time. The option for the poor promises to allow a way of remembering that past that moves beyond both hand-wringing and historical forgetting, to embrace the irony of history appropriate to the paschal mystery itself, where shame and disgrace become salvific. Thus the evangelized poor, the onetime objects of the church's missionary activity, become the vital center of that mission.

Conclusion

Bringing the option for the poor to bear upon the traditional discipline of mission history therefore has the effect of undoing that traditional discipline, or at least questioning its separation from church history. We can welcome such a development for several reasons. First, mission represents not what the church does only at its growing edge, in the creation of Christian identities among those who were not Christians before. The church's essence consists in its mission. Thus mission history inadequately labels the history of Christian evangelization, overlooking the essential missionary nature of the church in its entirety. Second, the beginnings of Christian identity in a place usually are crucial for the life of the church in that place. Maintaining a separate discipline of mission history can overlook the connection between

the activity of missionaries and the formation of new Christian identities in a new Christian presence.

In contrast, embracing the option for the poor in historical practice means holding together both missionary evangelization and resulting Christianities, thus yielding a crucial dividend for the contemporary burgeoning world Christian movement. By nudging the historical gaze at places where the poor predominate among Christians, the option for the poor today orients historical attention toward places where Christianity is growing, among Christian communities in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. In so doing, the option for the poor, like the missiological perspective, presents new opportunities for church history itself, a discipline now embattled.²¹ This trend will only accelerate as Christian

The option for the poor promises to allow a way of remembering the past that moves beyond both hand-wringing and historical forgetting.

identity decreases in the northern Atlantic and grows in the global South, so that the tendencies within the organization of scholarship on the history of Christianity generate growing numbers of well-funded and well-trained students at elite universities, close to the past heart of Christianity but further and further from its growing edge.

The option for the poor in historical scholarship studying that past, to the contrary, directs attention at those margins, places where, for the first time in its history, Christianity's most explosive growth occurs among places away from the center of global political and economic power. Without the option for the poor in historical practice, we are less likely to understand and appreciate the history as well as the future of the church. If the option for the poor does guide us, however, then we will attend to the history of the vital Christian communities of the world, such as that in eastern Africa, not placing its earliest chapters in a separate discipline called mission history but understanding that church in all its complexity. The option for the poor will only reinforce our faith-filled stake in understanding the Christian past.

Notes

1. For example, in the concluding section of their magisterial overview of contemporary missiology, Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder identify a preference for the poor as foundational to the notion of prophetic dialogue, the model of mission that they see as capturing the main strengths of today's diverse theologies of mission. The option for the poor also appears prominently in mission documents produced by international bodies like the Vatican, the World Council of Churches, and, increasingly, the World Evangelical Fellowship and Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization. See Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2004).
2. A previous version of this article was delivered in 2004 at a conference entitled "Humanities and the Option for the Poor," held at the University of Salzburg, Austria. I thank Clemens Sedmak for permission to publish it here. The image on p. 61 appeared in *Les Missions Catholiques* 12 (1880): 343.
3. Early missiological works by Gustav Warneck and Joseph Schmidlin typify this tendency. Catholics also relied upon the vast records of Propaganda Fide in Rome. See Hans-Jürgen Findeis, "Missiology," in *Dictionary of Mission: Theology, History, Perspectives*, ed. Karl Müller, Theo Sundermeier, Stephen B. Bevans, and Richard H. Bliese (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1997), pp. 299–303.
4. Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Option for the Poor," in *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology*, ed. Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1993), p. 235.
5. Paul Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2005).
6. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1990).
7. Kollman, *Evangelization of Slaves*, pp. 1–9, 212–17.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 121–28, 173–92, 227–62.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7, 106.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 106–10.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 161–63.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 289–91. I stayed in Mhonda in June 2003. My thanks to the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts at the University of Notre Dame for a grant to cover this research trip. I also thank the pastor, the late Reverend Francis Malati, for allowing me to view the parish records, and to the following parish members who made themselves available for informal conversations: Emmanuel Teodori, Ferdinandi Nicolas Kabelwa, and John Anthony Kangati.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 132–36, 173–85, 228–30.
14. For a fuller discussion of Hilarion, see *ibid.*, pp. 256–60.
15. See Jonathan Z. Smith, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 262–74.
16. For an analysis of four recent works on this theme, see Paul Kollman, “After Church History? Writing the History of Christianity from a Global Perspective,” *Horizons* 31, no. 2 (2004): 322–42.
17. Dale Irvin and Scott Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, vol. 1 (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2001), p. xii (italics mine).
18. Justo González, *The Changing Shape of Church History* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2002), pp. 19–32.
19. Kollman, *Evangelization of Slaves*, pp. 266–67. The Portuguese had attempted small-scale evangelization in the sixteenth century, but with no lasting effect.
20. See, for example, Roland Oliver’s famous work *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green, 1952).
21. For a reflection on the state of the discipline of church history, see Hans Hillerbrand, “Presidential Address: Church History as Vocation and Moral Discipline,” *Church History* 70, no. 1 (2004): 1–18.

“Obstinate” Pastor and Pioneer Historian: The Impact of Basel Mission Ideology on the Thought of Carl Christian Reindorf

Heinz Hauser-Renner

In 1895, after twenty-five years of historical and ethnological research, Carl Christian Reindorf, a Ghanaian pastor of the Basel Mission, produced a massive and systematic work about the people of modern southern Ghana, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (1895).¹ Reindorf, “the first African to publish a full-length Western-style history of a region of Africa,”² was born in 1834 at Prampram/Gbugblā, Ghana, and he died in 1917 at Osu, Ghana.³ He was in the service of the Basel Mission as a catechist and teacher, and later as a pastor until his retirement in 1893; but he was also known as an herbalist, farmer, and medical officer as well as an intellectual and a pioneer historian. The intellectual history of the Gold Coast, like that of much of Africa, is yet to be thoroughly studied. The lack of attention given to the subject may be partly due to the paucity of sources. With his *History*, however, Carl Christian Reindorf has bequeathed a unique literary and historical record.⁴

In researching, writing, revising, and publishing his *History*, Reindorf drew on his own personal story, the current political situation, and social and religious changes among the people. A major source was the Basel Mission and its associated ideological background, which accounts for some of Reindorf’s ideas on history, African languages, progress, and the nation. In discussing European influence in general and the Basel Mission in particular, Reindorf selectively adopted ideas, for he had his own motives, agendas, and ideological objectives. Reindorf was unquestionably a child of his age, breathing the atmosphere of the nineteenth-century Gold Coast. Though conditioned by the ideas of his time, both European and African, his *History* clearly displays his intellectual independence.



Heinz Hauser-Renner, University of Zurich, is engaged in research related to Gã (Gold Coast) history and linguistics. He is currently preparing a new and thoroughly annotated edition of Carl Christian Reindorf’s *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (1895), including transcription and translation of Reindorf’s unpublished Gã manuscripts located in the Basel Mission Archives. —ganyobi@bluewin.ch

Reindorf’s Western Education

Reindorf’s Western education consisted of five years’ attendance at the Danish castle school at Fort Christiansborg (1842–47), close to Osu in the greater Accra area, and another six years’ training at the newly founded Basel Mission school at Osu (1847–55), minus a two-year break working as a trader for one of his uncles (1850–52). At the Danish castle school Reindorf was taught the catechism and arithmetic in Danish. Basel missionary Elias Schrenk later noted that the boys did not understand much Danish and therefore did not learn much, and he also observed that Christian principles were not strictly followed, as the children were even allowed to stay home for Gã religious ceremonies.⁵

At the Basel Mission school, Reindorf attended the catechist class under missionary Johannes Zimmermann in the early 1850s.⁶ Reportedly very few schoolbooks were available, and no curriculum existed at that time. Some six teenagers “lived together with a missionary and learned from him what he could and chose to teach them.”⁷ Under this arrangement Reindorf became strongly influenced by the ideas of Zimmermann, who became his revered mentor and to whom he later dedicated the revised *History* of 1912.⁸ Zimmermann intended to teach his students Hebrew, but Basel Mission headquarters in Switzerland rejected the proposal, considering it as “too pretentious, not convenient and too time-consuming.”⁹ Thus the subjects taught in Reindorf’s catechist class included knowledge of the Bible, world history, the languages Gã, Akan/Twi, and English, and practical training in preaching and teaching. Students were also informally trained in discipline, reporting, and record-keeping. During these years under Zimmermann, Reindorf came into contact with Western historical conceptions, including notably the form and function of history, source criticism, and the supremacy of chronology and rational logic in European historiography.

Reindorf himself worked as a teacher of history at the catechists and teachers’ seminary at Akropong (Akuapem) from November 1860 to April 1862. In late 1863 Reindorf was appointed teacher at the newly founded middle school at Osu. The course for students from the ages of fourteen to eighteen included subjects such as biblical exegesis, theology, history and geography,

English, and, for the senior classes, Greek.¹⁰ Reindorf worked as a teacher at Osu until 1872.

Reindorf as Basel Mission Employee

Reindorf's *History* is a fine intellectual achievement. It reveals the use of innovative methods and intellectual independence by an author who selectively adapted ideas from Western historiography and philosophy via his Basel Mission education and from his own reading of European books, as well as from local concepts of history and the philosophy of language. Reindorf wove all of these strands into something altogether new at the time.

The points to note here are "innovation," "independence," and "selective adaptation." As an employee of the Basel Mission, Reindorf was often described as *eigensinnig*, that is, "obstinate"

By his forceful example Reindorf carried others with him, especially the younger African generation.

or "self-willed," a clear indication of his individuality, self-confidence, and critical spirit, which refused to accede to rules with which he did not agree.¹¹ In the Basel Mission both Europeans and Africans were expected to submit unconditionally to the authority of their superiors. Colleagues and his superiors viewed Reindorf as a rule-breaker, yet he avoided dismissal from service as long as he was credited with useful accomplishments. He was, in fact, dismissed in 1862 but was soon called back; in 1867 he was persuaded to remain when dissatisfaction with his salary almost led him to quit the job. People like Reindorf posed a dilemma for the Basel Mission leadership: He openly challenged the mission's control, but he was at the same time recognized as essential for the survival and progress of the mission.¹² His connections and network at Osu proved crucial for the mission's relationship with the local authorities and with the common people.

By his forceful example Reindorf carried others with him, especially the younger African generation. In 1866 Christian Holm, a young Euro-African who was a notorious runaway, was readmitted to the Osu middle school because of Reindorf's intercession.¹³ In the early 1870s Peter M. Anteson (b. ca. 1853), a young and promising orphan from La who had just finished the Osu middle school, intended—for financial reasons—to look for employment as a clerk. Reindorf persuaded him to pursue his studies and enter the theological seminary at Akropong. He probably also supported him financially.¹⁴ In 1882 William A. Quartey (b. 1858) was determined to leave the Basel Mission and become a trader. Through Reindorf's influence, however, he remained in the service of the mission and eventually married one of Reindorf's daughters.¹⁵ The strength and persuasiveness of Reindorf's views, his nonconformist attitude (being "no friend of too many rules"),¹⁶ and his strong personal determination in the face of the constraints he endured as an employee of the Basel Mission bore creative fruit in his *History*.

Influence of Basel Mission Ideology

Basel Mission ideology was rooted in the doctrines of the Protestant Reformation and the awakened Pietism of Württemberg. Bringing

these ideas and practices to the Gold Coast, the Basel missionaries—most of whom came from poor working-class farming and artisan backgrounds—emphasized the idea that the physical world was defined exclusively by its materiality. They condemned belief in the power of supposed spiritual forces to influence one's life, denouncing them as agents of Satan who prevented humans from knowing the true God.¹⁷ This outlook is clearly echoed in the following two passages from Reindorf's *History*:

The supreme power was formerly directly, and is now indirectly, lodged in the hands of a set of imposters known as foretelling priests . . . , who are rightly named by the Akras "*wongtsemei*" i.e. fathers of the fetish or originators of fetishism (lit. who gave birth to the "*wong*"). Women are also admitted to be members of this class.

It was God in heaven who mercifully defended our country. But our deluded people attributed the victory not only to their fetishes, but also to every cartilaginous, spinous, and testaceous creature in the sea, which they consider, to the present day, as warriors of their fetish Nai (the sea).¹⁸

Converts, upon embracing the Christian faith, were urged to demonstrate their inner conviction, to be reborn, and to lead a completely transformed life in the Christian cause. Reindorf later admitted that for him this process took a long time.¹⁹

The goal of the Basel missionaries was to develop self-supporting Christian farming and artisan communities grounded on the existing moral and patriarchal order of Gold Coast rural settlements. Reindorf's thoughts on the Gold Coast economy in the late nineteenth century reflect such an orientation.

But the better classes among us, the educated community, have refrained from agriculture, by which the riches of a country is developed. Is not agriculture the mother of civilization, the backbone of national wealth, and the type of the various branches of human industry which have subsequently sprung up in all the civilized world? If our people in being educated refrain from that particular work, is that civilization we aim at sound? Can we speak of civilization when the real riches and resources of such a wonderfully rich country are buried in the ground? When the grass of thousands of acres of our grass-lands is consumed by fire every year and not yet by cattle?

We have every facility to become monied men, respectable men, if we only give up the false notion of civilization which we aim at, and turn to our rich soil, and work with our own hands!²⁰

Johannes Zimmermann's Impact on Reindorf

As noted above, Johannes Zimmermann's tutoring seems to have had a particularly deep impact on Reindorf's thinking. In the absence of any fixed school curriculum, Zimmermann's students were probably very much focused on their teacher's particular ideas and convictions, which often did not agree with official Basel Mission policy. He has recently been described as a "strategic deviant" who was not prepared to submit unconditionally to the authority of his superiors and who, like Reindorf after him, avoided dismissal only because he was credited with useful accomplishments and was considered strategically essential for the mission's survival and its evangelizing progress.²¹ Zimmermann's attitude toward authority was paralleled by Reindorf's readiness to leave the service of the mission in 1862 over a dispute about slavery, and again in 1867 because of conflict over rules and regulations associated with mission employment.

Zimmermann strongly disagreed with the policy of racial separation as formulated by Basel Mission headquarters. He perceived the imposition of a European social order on African communities followed by refusal to treat Africans like Europeans as a glaring contradiction. In 1852 he married a black woman of Jamaican origin without the permission and against the regulations of his employers; he was reported to have said, "I would rather become a black in order to win over the blacks."²² Racial separation and unequal distribution of authority between the European missionaries and their African subordinate partners became issues of debate from the 1860s onward. Reindorf's resignation in 1862 from the mission's service was motivated in part by his frustration at being subordinated to European missionaries who were younger than he was, whom he himself had initiated into the practice of street preaching, and who were "his inferiors in character and intelligence."²³ In the 1880s, when racial division hardened and Europeans increasingly criticized intermarriage and social interaction between Africans and Europeans, Reindorf commented, "When the mulatto ladies were not properly educated in former years, they were easily sold by their parents to White men; nowadays they are sensible and prefer to have their own country men [rather] than those mockers."²⁴ The African intellectual elite reacted to the hardening European attitude by reemphasizing African values and developing a new consciousness of their own identity and history.

While some fellow European missionaries, Basel Mission headquarters, and most British officials viewed the African way of life as a reflection of the spiritual darkness into which the natives, as cursed "descendants of Ham," were plunged, Zimmermann expressed respect for African institutions and stressed the importance of preserving African social arrangements as far as they agreed with the Christian faith, insisting, according to Jon Miller, that it was a mistake

to introduce communities patterned too faithfully on the European experience if they were thereby also to include European vices but exclude the stronger features of the African communities that predated them. African communities in their unspoiled forms, by which he meant their pre-slave trade and precolonial state, were superior in many ways to contemporary European culture, he said, because they had not experienced the philosophical corruption of the Enlightenment, the corrosive radical ferment that came out of the French Revolution, or the socially destructive effects of the Industrial Revolution that was eroding the Lutheran agrarian ideal in Europe. In one of his quarterly reports to the Committee in 1852, Zimmermann wrote at length about the integrity of the traditional African families he had observed. Despite the cultural

decay that was all around them, he noted, many families preserved a clear and stable patriarchal [i.e., biblical] form, suggesting the presence of a strong Old Testament influence. This observation led him to join in the speculation that West Africans had ties to the ancient Christian communities in Ethiopia. Therefore, he reasoned, West Africans quite possibly represented a mixture of Semitic and Hamitic cultural and racial strains.²⁵

Zimmermann's ideas clearly reflected paradoxical, if not conflicting, appeals made both to the idea of the nation as being "civilized and Christian" and to a romanticist desire to preserve an "authentic" pre-existing African way of life. Zimmermann's social theories, his views on African institutions and culture, and the implicit threat to "freeze" the Africans' historical development were, however, largely congruent with ideas Reindorf later expressed in his *History*.



Basel Mission Archive

Gã Bible revision committee at work, Abokobi, Ghana, ca. 1903
Ludwig Richter, Jakob Wilhelm Werz, Christian Kölle,
Carl Christian Reindorf, and Daniel Saba (left to right)

In 1862 Zimmermann along with nearly half of the European missionaries on the Gold Coast challenged the authority of the Basel Mission headquarters, which had insisted that so-called domestic slavery within the Gold Coast Christian communities be eradicated immediately. In line with Reindorf and other African catechists, these missionaries considered domestic slavery to be a comparatively mild and patriarchal form of bondage that could not be compared with the horrors of the international transatlantic slave trade and American slavery, and they opted for its gradual replacement by wage labor.²⁶ The dispute led to Zimmermann's recall back to Basel in 1862 so that he could be resocialized

and retrained in the norms of the mission and recommitted to current European values, which were opposed to all versions of domestic slavery.²⁷

Ideas on African Languages and the "Nation"

Basel missionaries like Johannes Zimmermann and Johannes Gottlieb Christaller (1827–95) were deeply influenced by the sociohistorical theories of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), whose views on the life cycle of communities and on the equality of different cultures was opposed to the historical conception of the Enlightenment, which considered Western civilization as superior to other cultures and as the ideal and goal toward which other cultures did or should aspire.²⁸

One element of Herder's thought that was of profound significance for the Basel missionaries was the notion of *Volk*, namely, a people that shared features that distinguished them from others—a common history, a culture, and, most important, a common language. Translated into missionary practice, the result was that the Basel Mission fostered the creation of writ-

ten languages. Protestant tenets such as addressing the people in their mother tongue and providing them with access to the Bible in their own languages provided the explicit reasons for this activity, but at a deeper level lay a Herderian philosophy of language. Christaller, the Basel Mission's pioneer Akan/Twi linguist, was convinced that languages were expressions of the human "soul" and encapsulated the essence of being human. He therefore argued for honoring "human dignity in Africans and in

Reindorf defended himself against the claim that he preferred English to Gã.

their languages."²⁹ In an editorial note written in the late 1880s Christaller responded with the following words to complaints that more articles in the Basel Mission Akan/Twi periodical *Christian Messenger* should be written in English:

Some would like it [the *Christian Messenger*] better if its messages were delivered in English, because the natives of the Gold Coast, being English subjects, wanted to become Englishmen. . . . African nations will never become parts of the English nation. To prove this and draw the conclusions, we have neither time nor space now. We German missionaries do not wish to take from the Africans what is their own property, or to destroy it, but we wish to preserve and cultivate it and make it the vehicle of the best spiritual gifts and even of much useful knowledge for their earthly life and temporal concerns. I . . . beg all true patriots among our Gold Coast Christians to watch over the purity of their own vernacular language, their mother tongue, and to help to cultivate it to the benefit of their own nation.³⁰

Christaller clearly saw language as linked with nationhood and believed that there was a real danger that African languages would disappear with the advance of English. At the Basel Mission school, Zimmermann taught Reindorf to appreciate Gã, his own language, although Reindorf as a teenager clearly preferred to learn English, like everyone else, for career purposes. Later, Reindorf's Gã manuscripts of the *History* are ample evidence of his interest in contributing to a corpus of Gã literature as proposed by the Basel missionaries.³¹ In one of his letters to Christaller of August 1893, Reindorf defended himself against the claim that he preferred English to Gã: "If that is true, why [do] I try myself to find out old Ga words and use them in my work? 2 years and 1 1/2 year respectively that both my son in law and my son were absent to England, I never write them in English but in Ga? Ga is spoken in my family and my wife and children blame me for that. I write English letters when I must."³²

The creation of written languages involved the writing of a grammar, the production of word lists and dictionaries, and the coinage of Christian terminology and of expressions "for many notions and ideas not occurring in daily life, but brought in by the knowledge of foreign thoughts, observances, objects, and facts."³³ Rather than introducing loan words from European languages, the Basel missionaries preferred to create new lexical items by combining existing words or expanding the meanings of indigenous words.³⁴

The establishment of Gã and Akan/Twi as written languages went along with language standardization and the definition of particular regions as linguistic communities. Using the coastal Gã dialect of Osu and the Akropong/Akuapem dialect of Akan/Twi

as guides, Basel missionaries Zimmermann and Christaller respectively created written forms of the languages for translation, literary products, and instruction at schools. This accomplishment in turn fostered the development, or at least the reinvigoration, of ethnic identities where none had existed before or were considered of little significance. The deep-seated relationship between language, linguistic community, and nation is clearly expressed in the following passage written by Christaller in the 1890s: "The Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast must become a Christian nation . . . and a very effective help to this will be, that they become united by one common book language. If the Tshi people shall be received among the Christian civilized nations, their language also must be cultivated, developed, and refined, so that everything worthy to be known by educated men may be duly and fitly expressed in their own tongue."³⁵

Reflecting Herder's influence, Basel Mission policy and practice exhibited the strange paradox of trying to foster ethnic identities ("nations") by the production of linguistic communities, even while making appeals against ethnic nationalist thought. In the mid-1890s Christaller, finding Gã nationalistic sentiment present in Reindorf's *History* (he had written that the Gã "will be seen among the tribes as really a favoured people!"), commented in the margin of the Gã manuscript: "It makes no good impression when individual persons or tribes or nations seem to exalt themselves over others or praise their own preferences in every possible way. Those persons or nation [sic] that have received more than others have thereby incumbent on them the duty to do more for others."³⁶

History as the Key to Progress

In Basel Mission ideology as upheld by the missionaries, a common language was closely linked with a shared origin, and so the mission encouraged the collection of folk tales and oral narratives about the past, emphasizing the power of language to recapture the past. Christaller was convinced that by reconnecting to its common origin and history, an ethnic group could reinvigorate their *Volksgeist*, or shared ethnic national spirit.³⁷ In 1893 he wrote:

Civilization chiefly depends on the communication of new ideas and increase of knowledge borrowed from the great store of wisdom and learning accumulated in the literature of the leading civilized nations. . . . A nation is on the path of civilization, when it rises to recollect its own history, when it begins to compare its former and its present state, to disapprove and reject bad observances, and to rejoice in real improvements, to learn from the past, and to progress toward what is better. . . . Great historians are ornaments and benefactors to their nations, for History, as one said, is the best instructor. Any adult person of good sense will profit from reflecting on his former years or on the past in general. And so I hope that Tshi Christians also in future days will be glad to read about the conditions and transactions of the ancestors.³⁸

Here Christaller explicitly links literature, history, progress, and civilization. The Basel Mission's linguistic, ethnographic, and historical studies were thus devoted to turning the various ethnic communities into "nations."

Reindorf apparently adapted an idealist view of history as the key to progress. He fused it with his own understanding of history, which included the strong influence of Gã thought and values. This influence is evident in his *History*, where we see the idea of society comprising ancestors, living beings, and the yet unborn; a strong reverence for the past; and the hand of the

ancestors at work in both the present and the future. Christaller's thoughts expressed here on the link between progress, civilization, and history are clearly echoed in the following passage from Reindorf's preface to his 1895 *History*: "A history is the methodical narration of events in the order in which they successively occurred, exhibiting the origin and progress, the causes and effects, and the auxiliaries and tendencies of that which has occurred in connection with a nation. It is, as it were, the speculum and measure-tape of that nation, showing its true shape and stature. Hence a nation not possessing a history has no true representation of all the stages of its development, whether it is in a state of progress or in a state of retrogression."³⁹

Regarding the value of oral narratives, Reindorf was indebted to his European fellow missionaries Zimmermann, Christaller, Karl Aldinger (1834–82), Christian Kölle (1864–1936), and August Wilhelm Steinhauser (1829–57), who were deeply interested in African languages, culture, and even religion, quite contrary to their European contemporaries in the British colonial administration. They were arduous collectors of oral narratives, as can be seen in various unpublished documents in the Basel Mission archives. The respect with which they thought about the "African mind" is expressed in the following words by Christaller: "One thing among others is remarkable: the extent to which an illiterate people can preserve so many facts and names of persons of its past history, by no other means but the retentive memory and oral traditions, partly supported by certain popular songs referring to the facts. This feature in the life of illiterate people may also contribute to remove or abate the doubts concerning the reliability of other records of ancient and modern nations similarly circumstanced as the African peoples."⁴⁰

From the early 1850s, Reindorf and other students at the Basel Mission school were tapped for ethnographic studies and occasionally had to write essays about what they knew of the Gã religion, Gã festivals, or other aspects of their culture.⁴¹ These texts on history or cultural practices primarily served as linguistic data and language specimens for the production of grammars and dictionaries in the Akan/Twi and Gã languages, but they also furnished invaluable information that intellectually validated ethnic identities.

Conclusion

Carl Christian Reindorf's *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* has a special place in West African historiography. Drawing a colorful and lively picture of historical events, it was written from an African point of view; in it Reindorf gave Africans a voice and the ability to actively shape history, in marked contrast to the views of his European predecessors and contemporaries. He anticipated methodological approaches to history that became common in African historiography only from the 1950s, particu-

larly in drawing attention to various forms of verbal art (e.g., songs, proverbs, horn and drum signals) as resources for investigating the past, and in pursuing an interdisciplinary approach involving ethnology and linguistics. Reindorf's *History* is thus a significant source for studying the historiographical ideas of an African intellectual in the colonial situation. But Reindorf was not just an arduous collector of archival material; he was, in fact, an archival creator, for modern scholars have seen the *History* as presenting an unrivaled wealth and originality of oral narratives. In 1995 Thomas McCaskie commented that "the intellectual history of Basel Mission enterprise on the Gold Coast is as long in possibility as it is short of investigators."⁴² Reindorf's *History* is part of the history of Ghana—but also of the Basel Mission, of the city of Basel, and even of the history of Switzerland. Since many of the missionaries of the Basel Mission worked in the Gold Coast and left traces of their presence there, the results of their work—particularly as reflected in the *History*—should be appreciated and honored.

Reindorf brought together diverse historiographical elements to form something new and unique at the time that was neither a replica of the old nor a copying of the "new" European ideas. Terms such as "synthesis," "syncretism," or "adaptation" fail to account for the uniqueness of Reindorf's *History* and the work's range of innovative methodological approaches to the reconstruction of the past. Reindorf built a methodological bridge linking contemporary European scientific paradigms and African historical thinking. He refused to abandon whole ways of thinking about self and the world and the African way of life, and equally he only selectively appropriated European ideas and lifestyle according to his own priorities and concerns. The relationship between Reindorf and the Basel Mission definitely involved an unequal distribution of power, but there is strong indication that the "obstinate" Reindorf did not lose control over his own definitions of how best to re-view and interpret the past and how best to manage the present and to frame his visions of the future. His conflicts with his employers in the 1860s unquestionably demonstrated his ability to choose what to accept and what to reject of the values and forms imposed on African evangelical workers by the European missionaries.

Reindorf kept his nonconformist attitude into his old age. Although drumming had been prohibited by the British government because of political unrest, in early 1917 a party around him and fellow pastor Samuel Wuta Ofei brought a drum to the Basel Mission chapel at Osu on a Sunday morning to provoke and challenge their Osu political adversaries, which nearly caused a riot after the church service. That April Reindorf's European fellow missionaries recommended to the Basel Mission headquarters that he and Ofei be immediately suspended from preaching and from the Holy Sacrament.⁴³ Three months later, on July 1, 1917, Carl Christian Reindorf died at the age of eighty-three.

Notes

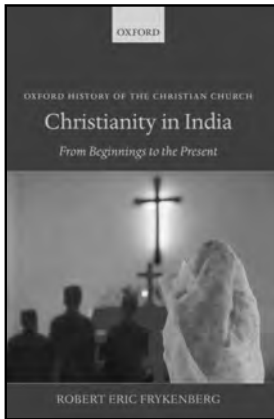
1. Carl Christian Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante, Based on Traditions and Historical Facts, Comprising a Period of More Than Three Centuries from About 1500 to 1860* (Basel: published by the author, 1895; 2nd ed. reprinted, Accra: Ghana Univ. Press; London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966; 3rd ed., Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2007).
2. Paul Jenkins, "Reindorf, Carl Christian," in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: Macmillan, 1998), p. 564.
3. Reindorf's father, Christian Hackenburg Reindorf (1806–65), was of Euro-African descent from Osu (Christiansborg), near Accra, and he worked as a trader. Reindorf's mother was Hannah Naa Anoa Ama

Ashong-Cudjoe, a Gã woman of Kinka (Dutch Accra). Reindorf's paternal genealogy goes back to Johann Frederick Reindorf (or Reindorph), a Danish merchant at Fort Christiansborg from 1750 to 1760.

4. This article and my forthcoming annotated edition of Reindorf's *History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, including his Gã manuscripts, were made possible by a grant from the Swiss National Fund, which supplied a two-year scholarship and financial support for research stays in Ghana (Accra) and the United Kingdom (London). The picture on p. 67, "Bible Society (Ga) in Abokobi," was taken by Max Otto Schultze in Abokobi, Gold Coast, ca. 1903; Basel Mission Archives (hereafter cited as BMA) QC-32.032.0005.

5. Elias Schrenk (1831–1913) was a missionary in the Gold Coast from 1859 to 1872. See his “Carl Christian Reindorf Catechist” (Christiansborg, January 21, 1872), BMA D-1, 24, Afrika 1872.
6. Johannes Zimmermann (1825–76) worked as a missionary in the Gold Coast from 1850 to 1872. Son of a German farmer and a baker by profession, Zimmermann was twenty-four years old when he started his work at Osu after five years of training, including in general linguistics, at the Basel Mission Institute in Switzerland. He had a sincere interest in the life and culture of Africans, which increased even more after he was healed from a life-threatening dysentery by an African herbalist in April 1851 (Paul Steiner, *Ein Freund Afrikas. Lebensbild des Basler Missionars Johannes Zimmermann* [Basel: Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1917], pp. 74–75; Jon Miller, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control: Organizational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828–1917* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], pp. 142–47). Zimmermann was one of the few missionaries who had a relationship with a black woman. In June 1851, without the permission of the Basel Mission authorities, Zimmermann married Catherine Mulgrave (1825–91), who had been captured and enslaved for eight years in Angola. She later went to Jamaica and then traveled to the Gold Coast in 1843 with her first husband, George Peter Thompson, whom she divorced in 1849. Catherine Mulgrave was employed as a teacher at the Basel Mission girls’ school in Osu (Miller, *Missionary Zeal*, p. 145). Zimmermann was the mission’s most prominent Gã linguist and author of the first Bible translation in Gã and of the voluminous *Grammatical Sketch of the Akra- or Gã-Language, with Some Specimens of It from the Mouth of the Natives and a Vocabulary of the Same, with an Appendix on the Adãngme Dialect*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Basel Missionary Society, 1858).
7. Wilhelm Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission, 1815–1915. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der ungedruckten Quellen*, vol. 3 of *Die Geschichte der Basler Mission in Afrika* (Basel: Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1916), p. 95, my translation. A fixed curriculum for the catechist course evolved between 1853 and 1855 (*Missionsmagazin* [henceforth *MM*] 4 (1853): 37, in BMA).
8. Carl Christian Reindorf, “Shika-Ńshonaa le ke Ashante. Blemasaji ni ba ye afii 50 mli. Keje afi 1800 keeyashi 1854” (History of the Gold Coast and Asante of fifty years, 1800 to 1854) (Gold Coast: n.d. [1912]), title page (hereafter cited as “Gã MS History”), BMA D-20.26 (D.I.g.3).
9. Schlatter, *Geschichte*, p. 95, my translation.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
11. Schrenk to Basel, January 31, 1872, BMA D-1, 24, Christiansborg 50, reprinted in Peter Haenger, *Sklaverei und Sklavenemanzipation an der Goldküste: ein Beitrag zum Verständnis von sozialen Abhängigkeitsbeziehungen in Westafrika* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1997), p. 25. See also Heinrich Bohner, “Die Organisation der Heidenpredigt im Stationsgebiet. Referat, ausgearbeitet und vorgetragen in der Generalkonferenz der Baseler Missionare in Akropong, Westafrika, den 13. März 1883, von H. Bohner,” in *MM* 34 (1883): 315.
12. On the concept of “strategic deviants” in the Basel Mission context, see Jon Miller, *The Social Control of Religious Zeal: A Study of Organizational Contradictions* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 115, 207 n. 9.
13. Jahresbericht 52 (1867): 98, BMA.
14. “Ordination Peter M. Anteson, Odumase 6 Sept. 1885” (1885), p. 5, BMA D-5, 8/6, Ordination Book 1864–98.
15. “Ordination von William A. Quartey, Odumase, 19 February 1893” (1893), p. 3, BMA D-5, 8/6, Ordination Book, 1864–98. Quartey, born at Odumase (Krobo) in 1858, was the son of Basel Mission catechist, language studies assistant, and co-translator of the Gã Bible Thomas B. Kwatei. After his father unexpectedly left the family and mission work around 1864/65, when William Augustus was only six or seven years old, his family was taken into the home of the Zimmermanns.
16. “Biography of Carl Christian Reindorf as delivered at the ordination on 13th October 1872,” BMA D-1, 24, Afrika 1872, Christiansborg 95.
17. Sandra E. Greene, *Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A History of Meaning and Memory in Ghana* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2002), pp. 42–43, 69.
18. Reindorf, *History*, pp. 113, 217.
19. “Biography of Carl Christian Reindorf.”
20. Reindorf, *History*, pp. 272–73, 281.
21. Miller, *Social Control*, pp. 118–19.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
23. Bohner, “Die Organisation der Heidenpredigt,” *MM* (1883): 315.
24. Reindorf to Committee, January 16, 1889, BMA D-1, 48/62, cited in John Parker, “Mankraloi, Merchants and Mulattos—Carl Reindorf and the Politics of Race,” in *The Recovery of the West African Past—African Pastors and African History in the Nineteenth Century: C. C. Reindorf and Samuel Johnson*, ed. Paul Jenkins (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1998), p. 41.
25. Miller, *Missionary Zeal*, p. 144.
26. Haenger (1997), pp. 20–25; John Parker, *Making the Town: Gã State and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2000), pp. 69, 88–91.
27. Miller, *Social Control*, p. 137.
28. Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey, eds., *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), pp. 3–4; see also Greene, *Sacred Sites*, p. 31.
29. Johann G. Christaller, *Die Töne der Negersprachen und ihre Bezeichnung* (Basel: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1893), p. 6, my translation; see also Friedrich Agster, Winfried Maier-Revoredo, and Margarete Henninger, “. . . für Afrika bestimmt”: Zum 100. Todestag des Missionars und Sprachforschers Johann Gottlieb Christaller (Winnenden, Ger.: Evangelische Gesamtkirchengemeinde und Stadt Winnenden, 1995), p. 39.
30. *Christian Messenger for Basel German Mission Church on the Gold Coast, W. Africa* (a bimonthly paper) 2, no. 12 (December 1888): 198.
31. Reindorf, “Gã MS History,” p. ii; Reindorf to J. P. Werner, London (Osu), December 30, 1891, BMA D-20.27, 8; see Thomas Bearth, “J. G. Christaller: A Holistic View of Language and Culture—and C. C. Reindorf’s *History*,” in *Recovery of the West African Past*, ed. Jenkins, p. 92.
32. Reindorf to Christaller (Hebron), August 26, 1893, BMA D-27.7 (1).
33. *Christian Reporter for the Natives of the Gold Coast Speaking the Tshi or Asante Language* (a bimonthly paper in Tshi) 1, nos. 5 and 6 (September and November 1893) (henceforth *Christian Reporter*): 52.
34. Christaller, “Gedanken über Sprachenlernen der Missionare und Umbildung heidnischer Landessprachen in christliche” (n.d.), BMA D-10.5, 17–18.
35. *Christian Reporter*, p. 52.
36. Reindorf, *History*, p. 24; Carl Christian Reindorf, “Shika-Ńshonaa le ke Ashante. Blemasane ni anyie blemasaji ni agba ke naabu titri ke saji ni anjma hu no anjma le, Ni ji saji ni eba jen miinshe afii ohai ete mli: keje afi 1500 le no keyashi afi 1856 le” (History of the Gold Coast and Asante . . . 1500 to 1856) (Gold Coast: n.d. [1891]), p. 37, BMA D-20.27 (D.I.g.3a).
37. Birgit Meyer, “Translating the Devil: An African Appropriation of Pietist Protestantism; The Case of the Peki Ewe in Southeastern Ghana, 1847–1992” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 4–5.
38. *Christian Reporter*, pp. 51–52.
39. Reindorf, *History*, p. iii.
40. *Ibid.*, p. xi. See also Christian Kölle, two volumes on the Gã religion, BMA D-10.2, 10; Kölle, “Ga Rätsel,” BMA D-10.1, 6; August Wilhelm Steinhauser, “Akra Religion. Abokobi,” October 1855, BMA D-10.4, 4.
41. See, for example, “Essays About Accra Gods” (n.d.), BMA D-10.4, 6; “Essays About Homowo” (n.d.), BMA D-10.4, 7. See also Christaller, “Gedanken über Sprachenlernen der Missionare.”
42. Thomas McCaskie, “Asante and Ga: The History of a Relationship,” in *Recovery of the West African Past*, ed. Jenkins, p. 144.
43. “Complaint by ‘Political Recorders,’ Rev. Messrs. G. Zürcher, Fr. Andres, H. Dewald, J. Wertz, A. Jehle” (April 26, 1817), pp. 2–3, Korrespondenz Präses Goldküste 1914–17, BMA D-3.2.

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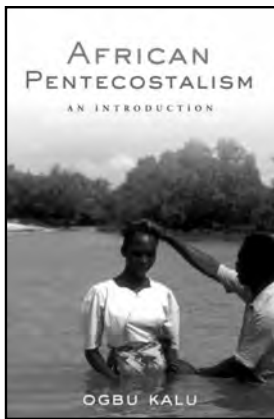


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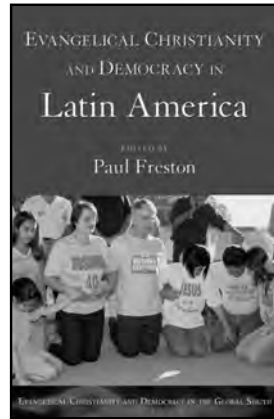
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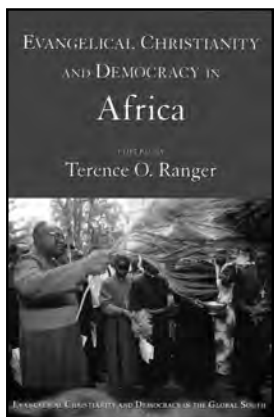


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David Bosch: South African Context, Universal Missiology— Ecclesiology in the Emerging Missionary Paradigm

Timothy Yates

I begin this article about David Bosch (1929–92) with a personal reminiscence. My first experience of a meeting of the International Association for Mission Studies (IAMS) was in Harare in 1985, at a time when Zimbabwe seemed to have thrown off the colonial yoke and was moving toward a fully integrated society, while South Africa was still experiencing apartheid. David Bosch and others had driven up from Pretoria to participate in the conference. I read a paper on Anglican Evangelical missiology that concentrated on the writings of Max Warren and Stephen Neill. Bosch showed great interest, with a certain theological anxiety at some of Max Warren's ideas on the cosmic Christ, but it was a good session with much participation. I discovered later that Bosch was suffering from a severe toothache. He nevertheless arranged to meet me later to talk missiology, a conversation that went on for two hours of highly stimulating discussion, even while he held his jaw in much pain. This incident illustrates the man and his commitment to truth through dialogue and to wholehearted engagement, irrespective of extreme personal discomfort.

Bosch the Afrikaner

Like all of us, David Bosch was a child of his own time and place. He was born into an Afrikaner farming family and baptized into membership of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC).¹ Churchgoing was a serious matter for the family, involving traveling long distances on Saturdays and considerable efforts on Sundays. It is important to remember that he remained a member of the DRC for his whole life, despite latterly being effectively deprived of any preaching ministry within it. The DRC was the main repository of Afrikaans culture and tradition, forged in the nineteenth century into an identity over against the British and by such historical turning points as the Battle of Blood River of 1838, when 400 Boers formed a *laager*, or circle of ox wagons, against 10,000 Zulus; and by the Great Trek, whereby many Boers left the Cape to form the Transvaal across the Orange River and so escape British dominance. The DRC was Calvinist in its theology, anti-British in outlook, and racist in viewing blacks as inferior. During the nineteenth century, when Dutch Reformed clergy from Holland were scarce, the DRC in the Cape reinforced their numbers with Reformed clergy from Scotland, among them Andrew Murray. He was representative of a pietist, evangelical strand of Scottish church life, an injection of something of a rather different spirituality to the DRC that brought greater missionary awareness to the church. Much of the missionary life and vitality of the DRC can be traced to this source; in time, David Bosch himself imbibed this influence.²



Timothy Yates is a docent in the science of missions of the University of Uppsala, Sweden, and Canon Emeritus of Derby Cathedral, England. He is the author of *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994) and *The Expansion of Christianity* (Lion-Hunter/InterVarsity Press, 2004). —timothyates2@hotmail.co.uk

The war between the Boers and the British of 1899–1902, in which the British employed scorched-earth tactics against the Boer farmers and interned their families in concentration camps and during which 25,000 women and children died, hardened Afrikaner attitudes and gave added determination in the twentieth century to resist attempts to Anglicize their *volk*. In Bosch's early days, the DRC could be described as the Nationalist Party at prayer. The party, led by D. F. Malan and later by Hendrik Verwoerd, achieved political power in South Africa in the 1940s. In 1948 it enacted three pieces of legislation that enshrined apartheid as a political system: the Race Classification Act, the Group Areas Act, and the Mixed Marriages Act. The so-called homelands were set up eleven years later, in 1959, under the Bantu Self-Government Act.

As far back as 1829 the DRC had refused to discriminate against black Africans in services of Holy Communion. Gradually, however, approaches to differing ethnic groups, which were essentially practically based, were accorded theological justification. One unfortunate constituent of this discrimination was the German Lutheran teaching of Gustav Warneck of what might be called ethnic missiology.³ What might be a fruitful approach to tribal mission in the hands of such people as Bruno Gutmann and Christian Keysser could also be employed by others to reinforce a fatal ethnic separation, in which black Africans could be treated as a separate ethnic *volk* rather than integrated into a racially diverse church fellowship. This potential does much to explain Bosch's later criticisms both of Warneck and of Donald McGavran for his "homogeneous unit principle."

Bosch and Apartheid

Bosch's personal career during these years of increasing dominance by the National Party included doctoral study under Oscar Cullmann in Basel in the 1950s. Bosch described to Kevin Livingston in an interview how, despite sharing the general Afrikaner rejoicing at the triumph of the National Party in 1948 ("a dream come true"), his attitude toward black Africans had begun to change as he organized services for farm workers as one intending to become a DRC minister: "Previously I only thought of them as pagans and at best semi-savages . . . from then on I accepted Blacks fully as human beings."⁴ It was a major discovery to find black Anglicans, Methodists, and African Independent Christians in the local black community. While studying in Basel, with the help of a fellow Afrikaner also in Europe for study, he found himself breaking with the whole ideology of apartheid.⁵ In 1957 he returned to South Africa to work as a missionary among the Xhosa people (1957–67), during which time his mastery of the language became legendary in the way that Lesslie Newbigin's was of Tamil in India. His period as missionary in the Transkei caused him to knit together his missiology and *praxis*. Frans Verstraelen, a penetrating critic of Bosch's theology, has written of this period that it showed "convincingly . . . his integrity as a human being . . . a Christian and as a missiologist."⁶ It was the time also when he gained experience of ecumenical life through the Transkei Council of Churches, where DRC members, Methodists, Roman Catholics, and others showed him the value of unity in action.

His time in the Transkei confirmed his shift in attitudes toward both Africans and the white paternalism then prevalent. One illustration of this was his observation of an African mechanic. While Bosch was standing over him, the man was incapable of mending his car, but later, left to himself, proved perfectly competent.⁷ Bosch had not, like Beyers Naudé, been a member of the Afrikaner Broederbond and, confronted by events like the Sharpeville shooting of civilians by the police in 1960, did not experience the depth of rejection of a Beyers Naudé in his repudiation—set out in a famous sermon of 1962—of the Broederbond and DRC attitudes.⁸ Nevertheless, after a short period teaching in a small seminary in the Transkei (1967–72), Bosch accepted a chair at the University of South Africa (UNISA) in Pretoria with much trepidation, knowing that to do so was to distance himself further from DRC theologians who looked on the faculty with suspicion; because of its large number of external students, the university had retained a mixed-race constituency.

As the 1970s advanced, Bosch's critical stance toward apartheid became stronger. In 1979 he chaired the South African Christian Leadership Assembly, an important conference attended by 5,000 Christians over ten days with black Africans present, for which permission by the government was uncertain up to the start of proceedings. He stood out against violence as a method of achieving political change, believing that the stand he took had been the way of Jesus and that for the church to adopt violence was to adopt the ways of the world and ultimately to make itself redundant as a witness.⁹ In the 1980s he was a leading figure in the *Open Brief* (Open Letter) of 1982, signed by a large number of sympathetic ministers, that sought a change of heart among the leaders of the DRC, and in 1983 he contributed to a book of essays edited by John de Gruchy and Charles Villa Vicencio. The overall title was *Apartheid Is a Heresy*, and Bosch's piece was entitled "Nothing but a Heresy." For him, the issue was that identity in terms of race was being preferred to the common identity given to all people in the church, basically the same protest that Karl Barth and others had raised in the Barmen Declaration against acquiescence by the "German Christians" to Nazi pressure to "aryanize" the church and to expel Jewish Christians from the ministry. So to elevate race was to act heretically.

This background of personal struggle from a position of shared Afrikaner attitudes on racial issues in his early years to costly opposition after his return from Europe in 1957, especially in the UNISA years after 1972, is important as a background as Bosch's theology is assessed. In John Mackay's distinction between the "balcony" and the "road," between the detached observer with his or her love of universals and ideas and the active participant, Bosch is undoubtedly (as Livingston called him) "a missiologist of the road," one of whose early writings on the relevance of Paul to missionary theory and practice was entitled *A Spirituality of the Road* (1979). He preferred to remain

in "prophetic solidarity" with the DRC, even when effectively banned in the 1970s from its pulpits, rather than repudiate his fellow Afrikaner Christians; but equally, given the opportunity to leave South Africa altogether for a chair at Princeton Theological Seminary, he refused to retreat to what could have been for him an academic balcony.

Critique of Bosch's Thought

Before narrowing this treatment to the theme of ecclesiology, we must face some of the criticisms of Bosch's corpus. Frans Verstraelen wrote a penetrating critique in the composite work

Mission in Bold Humility.¹⁰ It must be conceded that Bosch's theology stands in the classical tradition of ideas "from above" and so contrasts sharply with the liberation theologians' concentration on praxis and concrete contextualization. Bosch himself conceded this point and was unapologetic about it,¹¹ but he recognized that *praxis* had its place with *theoria*, and in the interests of a human and theological holism he added a third aspect, *poiesis*, the need for a satisfying theological and missiological approach to provide beauty and worship. The same criticism was made in essence (and with special pointedness) when John de Gruchy and M. L. Daneel regretted the absence of Bosch's own missionary experience in the book *Witness to the World* (1980),¹² a work about which Orlando Costas also noted the absence of Third World theology.¹³

Pentecostalism is indeed generally absent, as Willem Saayman noted,¹⁴ and there is little reference to the contribution of women to mission, as discerned by Dana

Robert.¹⁵ Kirsteen Kim has suggested that Bosch's approach to the Holy Spirit is more modern than postmodern: Bosch showed himself aware that the Orthodox view of the procession of the Spirit enabled them to view other religious traditions more positively, but it remains uncertain whether he would have followed this approach. It is more likely that he would have seen the Spirit tied more closely to the person of Christ, as in the Western tradition.¹⁶ Nearer to our central theme, W. Nicol accused Bosch of a Docetic ecclesiology: his exposure to the kind of *Heilsgeschichte* views of a theologian like Oscar Cullmann, where salvation is contained within the church and sacred history is detached from the general historical continuum, allied to his espousal of the church as an "alternative community," a tendency that owed much to J. H. Yoder and Mennonite/Anabaptist views of the church, could on this view lead to a church withdrawn from the world. Even his frequent use of the term "the Church" could be seen as a retreat into universals from the more messy business of dealing with actual ecclesial entities like the DRC. Against this criticism must be set Bosch's actual record of "prophetic solidarity" as outlined above.¹⁷



David Bosch with newly printed *Transforming Mission*

Bosch on the Church vis-à-vis Mission

What, then, of Bosch's approach to ecclesiology and mission? First and foremost he held that the church was essential to Christian mission.¹⁸ He turned to well-known authorities in Karl Barth, the documents of Vatican II, L. A. Hoedemaker, and Emil Brunner¹⁹ to distinguish his position sharply from, for example, that of J. C. Hoekendijk, who bypassed the church for the world as central for mission.²⁰ In contrast, the section of Bosch's guide to mission theology is headed "The Indispensability of the Church."²¹ In fairness to Hoekendijk, after the legitimate ecclesiocentric stress of Tambaram 1938, theology had felt the influence of the *Heilsgeschichte* school, in which critics felt that God's work had been confined to salvation through the church. Against such a ghettoizing tendency, Hoekendijk represented a violent reaction. In his writing, the church became marginalized,²² while the true *missio Dei* took place in the world, as expressed

in the phrase "the world sets the agenda." This tendency was marked at Uppsala 1968. Bosch, rightly in my view, while never identifying the church with the kingdom of God, saw it as the divinely given agent of mission, with the kind of interdependency between agency and mission that Brunner described when he famously noted, "The church lives by mission as a fire lives by burning."

As Bosch set his face against any marginalization of the church in mission, so he opposed ethnic approaches (*Volkskirche*) as advocated by Warneck and worked out by Gutmann and Keysser. Bosch's *Sitz im Leben* is important here. What might be legitimate attempts to incorporate ethnic and cultural aspects of people like the Chagga (Gutmann) and the Kate (Keysser) in the manner sketched out by Warneck, was used by Afrikaner theologians to bolster a separate ethnic approach to black Africans which denied the catholicity of a mixed-race congregation and became for Bosch "totally incompatible" with the community of Jesus.

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Announcing

The Dongsoon Im and Mija Im Korean Christianity Program of the UCLA Center for Korean Studies will hold a conference April 17–18, 2009, at UCLA with the theme "Issues of the History of Christianity in Korea-U.S. and Korea-Canada Relations." Papers will be given on topics such as nationalism and transnationalism, colonialism and postcolonialism, theological influence, social movements, youth culture, cultural exchanges, education, medicine, literature and journalism, and immigration. For conference information, visit www.h-net.org/announce/show.cgi?ID=166045.

The Andrew F. Walls Centre for the Study of African and Asian Christianity, Liverpool Hope University, Liverpool, U.K., will host a conference June 19–21, 2009, on the topic "The Transatlantic Dimensions of African and Asian Christianity." Presenters will examine a series of topics, including transatlantic relations before Christopher Columbus, commerce and slave trading, colonialism, Christian missionary activities, and African and Asian contributions to the thought and lifestyles of peoples living in Euro-American countries. Contact Daniel Jeyaraj, jeyarad@hope.ac.uk, an *IBMR* contributing editor, for more information.

The U.S. Catholic Mission Association (www.uscatholicmission.org) will hold its 2009 annual conference October 23–25 in New Orleans. "Behold I Create a New Heaven and a New Earth: Seeing Mission with New Eyes" will be the theme, and Anthony Gittins, C.S.Sp., professor of mission and culture at Catholic Theological Union, Chicago, will be the keynote speaker. A dialogue session will focus on the subject "Mission in the New Economic Reality: Resourcing the New Perspectives in Mission," and another will call attention to how "pressing needs like Hurricane Katrina become formative experience for tomorrow's missionaries."

The Faculty of Theology at the University of Göttingen and the Missionseminar Hermannsburg (Mission Seminary Hermannsburg), in Germany, are cooperating to launch a Master of Arts in Intercultural Theology program, beginning in October 2009. The program, which plans to enroll a maximum of 20 students per year, will reflect on the intercultural character of Christianity and on the interaction of Christianity

with other faiths and worldviews. For more information, visit www.missionsseminar.de.

An evening seminar, "Christian Missions in Global History," will be offered several times each term at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. While focusing on diverse subjects and regions, organizers will draw in scholars from other disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, and theology. For information, contact Rosemary Seton, rosemary@seton.demon.co.uk.

Personalia

Appointed. Timothy C. Tennent, 49, missiologist, author, and seminary professor, as eighth president of Asbury Theological Seminary, on February 17, 2009. Tennent comes to Asbury from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts, where he has been professor of world missions and Indian studies since 1998. Also, since 1989 he has taught annually at the Luther W. New, Jr., Theological College, Dehra Dun, India. Prior to his years at Gordon-Conwell, he taught missions at Toccoa Falls College, Toccoa Falls, Georgia. Ordained in the United Methodist Church, Tennent is the author of *Building Christianity on Indian Foundations* (2000); *Christianity at the Religious Roundtable: Evangelicalism in Conversation with Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam* (2002); and *Theology in the Context of World Christianity: How the Global Church Is Influencing the Way We Think About and Discuss Theology* (2007). Tennent is also author of a missiology textbook entitled *Invitation to World Missions: A Missiology for the Twenty-first Century* (forthcoming, 2010). Asbury Seminary, in Wilmore, Kentucky, is home to the E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism. Tennent replaces Ellsworth Kalas.

Appointed. Ruth Padilla DeBorst, general secretary, Latin American Theological Fellowship, **Fraternidad Teológica Latinoamericana**. The eldest daughter of theologian and missiologist René Padilla, DeBorst has been director of Ediciones Certeza Unida, the Spanish-language publishing house linked to the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students. She was chosen for her new post by thirty delegates attending the LATF general assembly in October 2008 in La Paz, Bolivia, which followed the fellowship's consultation

The Reformed Heidelberg Catechism asserted that the church is at all times and in all places the one people of God gathered from the whole human race by Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit and the Word (answer 54). Ethnicity, discerned by Warneck in the *panta ta ethnē* (all the peoples) of Matthew 28:18–20, was a cultural and ethnic but not a theological category.²³ For Bosch, the same fatal tendency to elevate ethnicity at the expense of catholicity was present in Donald McGavran's writings. In Bosch's view, McGavran's obsession with numbers of converts obscured the greater need for catholicity. Again, one must enter a caution. The so-called "homogeneous unit principle" of McGavran, as I have argued elsewhere,²⁴ was aimed at initial evangelistic practice. McGavran held that people of a specific race or social class were reached best in their own contexts, a case proved again and again in my view. But that statement in no way justifies postconversion segregation, when the principle of catholicity will assert itself in the convert, a point which McGavran did not dispute. For Bosch,

however, sensitive to the consequences of an essentially pragmatic decision by the DRC in the 1820s to treat Africans separately, any subsequent attempt to justify segregation theologically on grounds of ethnicity was to be firmly resisted.

Marks of the Future Church

If Hoekendijk was to be confronted with the indispensability of the church in mission; Warneck, with the need for catholicity as overcoming ethnicity; and McGavran, with catholicity overcoming homogeneity, what marks of the church did Bosch wish to emphasize as crucial for its future witness? Once more, the context of the South African struggle can be discerned in what follows. First, *justice* must be an essential preoccupation. In the posthumously published monograph *Believing in the Future*, Bosch wrote of justice as "what Christians are for" in a world where one-fifth of the entire world population lives in absolute

on the topic "Indigenous Spiritualities, Interculturality, and Integral Mission." LATAF began in 1969 as the Latin American Congress of Evangelization. For details, visit www.fratela.org/noticias_detalle.php?id=87.

Died. Gary Blair McGee, 63, Assemblies of God educator, missiologist, author, and historian, December 10, 2008, in Springfield, Missouri, of cancer. The author of seven books, he is known for *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History and Theology of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions Since 1959* (2 vols.; 1986), *People of the Spirit: The Assemblies of God* (2004), and *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (coeditor; 1988). An *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* contributing editor, McGee completed his last book, *Miracles, Missions, and American Pentecostalism* (forthcoming), just before his death. McGee was distinguished professor of church history and Pentecostal studies at Assemblies of God Theological Seminary, Springfield, Missouri, where he had taught since 1984. He taught previously at Central Bible College, Springfield, Missouri, and at College of the Open Bible, Greenville, South Carolina. For more information, visit www.agts.edu/mcgee.html.

Died. Ogbu U. Kalu, 66, professor of world Christianity and mission, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, on January 7, 2009, in Chicago, of complications from pneumonia. He was director of McCormick's Chicago Center for Global Ministries. Kalu came to McCormick in 2001 from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, where he had been professor of church history for more than 25 years. Kalu was a member of the Society for Pentecostal Studies. He wrote or edited 16 books, including *Power, Poverty, and Prayer: The Challenges of Poverty and Pluralism in African Christianity, 1960–1996* (2006). In October 2008 Kalu was honored at the annual meeting for the Association of Third World Studies as one of two winners of the Toyin Falola Africa Book Award for the best book on Africa published during 2007–8, for his *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (2008).

Died. Johannes Althausen, 79, German Lutheran church leader in mission and theological education in the former German Democratic Republic, November 15, 2008, in Berlin. Director of theological training for the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg, he formerly served as secretary for

ecumenical affairs of that church, as director of the Ecumenical Institute in Berlin, and as secretary of the Berlin Mission Society. His article "What Comes After Mission Agencies? A Reflection on Four Decades in the History of the Berlin Mission" was published in the *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* in July 1978.

Died. Millard Fuller, 74, founder of Habitat for Humanity International, Americus, Georgia, on February 3, 2009, near Americus, Georgia, following a brief illness. At age 29 Fuller left a lucrative business career to serve the poor, practicing what he later called "the theology of the hammer." Since then Habitat volunteers and residents investing "sweat equity" have constructed at least 300,000 homes for more than a million people in some 100 countries. Fuller, author of nine books about his life and work, including *The Excitement Is Building* (1990), written with his wife, Linda Fuller, said that his inspiration came from Bible verses, including Exodus 22:25, a commandment that forbids charging interest to the poor. In 1996 U.S. president Bill Clinton awarded Fuller the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor. In 2005 Fuller started the Fuller Center for Housing, which is active in 25 countries.

Died. Avery Cardinal Dulles, S.J., 90, professor of religion and society at Fordham University since 1988, author, lecturer, and the first American who was not a bishop to be named a Roman Catholic cardinal, on December 12, 2008, in New York. After study at Harvard College and in Europe, the former Presbyterian agnostic, the son of a former U.S. secretary of state, undertook an academic and priestly career that spanned five decades and also included professorships at the Jesuit School of Theology at Woodstock College (now Woodstock Theological Center at Georgetown University) and at Catholic University of America. Dulles also served on the papacy's International Theological Commission. He was author of 24 books, including *Church and Society: The Laurence J. McGinley Lectures, 1988–2007* (2008), *A History of Apologetics* (2005), and *The Assurance of Things Hoped For: A Theology of Christian Faith* (1997).

poverty.²⁵ Christians must not divorce earthly justice and spiritual righteousness. They are closely related, if not identical.²⁶

Second, *unity* must preoccupy the church. Bosch's experience of practical ecumenism in the Transkei Council of Churches had shown the importance of unity in witness and action at the practical level, but this was a deeply held theological conviction also. Disunity is not "just a vexation but a sin. Unity is not an optional extra . . . we should never tire of striving towards that day when Christians in every place may gather to share the One Bread and the One Cup."²⁷ He had sought unity in the different branches of the Reformed family in the *Ope Brief* of 1982 and in addresses of that year and in 1986 associated with unity.²⁸

Third, the church must be a *reconciling community*. Although there was little in *Transforming Mission* on reconciliation, the emphasis on the church bringing both judgment and reconciliation was important to him,²⁹ and we may believe that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and Archbishop Desmond Tutu's herculean efforts would have found a strong supporter in David Bosch.

Fourth, Bosch wanted to underscore that the church was *essentially* missionary. He endorsed Barth's view of the church as gathered, built up, and sent out, as he also did his view of the interaction of the church and mission as mutually life-giving. Bosch produced a catena of quotations in *Transforming Mission* from *Ad gentes*, Hoedemaker, Josef Glazik, Barth, and others to make the point with Friedrich Schleiermacher that "the inverse of the thesis 'the church is essentially missionary' is 'mission is essentially ecclesial.'"³⁰

Next, Bosch wanted to emphasize the fully representative nature of the *local*: "the church-in-mission is primarily the local church everywhere in the world."³¹ There is no conflict here, he held, with the church universal, for the church universal finds its truest expression in local churches. With J. H. Oldham, he knew that the local is real, and he endorsed Lesslie Newbigin's dictum that the only hermeneutic of the Gospel is a congregation of men and women who believe it and live by it. For witness to be credible, it must flow from a local worshipping community, and in the future church it will be the laity and their witness that will carry greater credibility than the "guild of pastors."³²

Finally, the church must have *worship* at the center of its life, and it must be an *eschatological* community. Bosch found Protestant ecumenical theology with its stress on involvement in the world reflected in the theology of Vatican II, "so that it sometimes seems as if the Church as a worshipping community has faded away."³³ Mission is "moored in the Church's worship, to its gathering around the Word and the Sacraments."³⁴ The church can give only what it has received from God.³⁵ People not only need truth and justice (*theoria, praxis*), "they also need beauty, the rich resources of symbol, piety, worship, love, awe and mystery," what he calls the dimension of *poiesis*.³⁶ Bosch gives an important place also to the church's intercession. The eschatological element will mean that the church is not simply tied to human programs but, in a world devoid of hope, will provide that vital constituent.³⁷

Bosch and the Present and Future Church

In his final essay on missiology, Bosch recognized that new forms of church expression were emerging. It would be in ecclesial forums like the German Kirchentag—which, Bosch noted, 140,000 young people had attended in Munich in 1984—that some of the pressing issues of the world church were more likely to be considered than in the average Sunday morning congregation.³⁸ Ecclesiology provided the essential antidote to a world of post-Enlightenment

individualism, which had spawned the voluntarist missionary societies as its missionary expression. Interdependence and the corporate were the counter to what he called "the monomaniac rejection of the empirical church" by Hoekendijk and similar thinkers; "without the church there can be no evangelism or mission" remained his view.³⁹

David Bosch assumed the traditional marks of the church as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic. We have to ask: how far had his own version of these characteristics, as outlined above, provided for the future? The twenty-first century challenges the church at certain discernible points: globalization would seem to imply that a world body will need to shape its responses to such global issues as consumerism, exploitation of natural resources, and threats to the planet itself with more than local and fragmented efforts. While we may wholeheartedly endorse his heavy emphasis on the local church, his lesser stress on the necessity for catholicity to be also expressed in larger units and networks will become of great importance. In terms of local congregations, I have written elsewhere that "indigenous forms of Christianity which bear comparison to [Pentecostal groups] with their emphasis on healing, prophecy and exuberant worship with speaking with tongues, have sprung up as independent, nondenominational expressions of local Christianity,"⁴⁰ referring in particular to Latin American and African Initiated local churches. In the twenty-first century a major challenge to a body like the World Council of Churches (WCC) is to connect with local expressions of Christianity and somehow offer them input and influence as the great issues are debated conciliarly, the alternative being a highly fragmented witness that risks being dissipated and ineffective. It is an issue that the Roman Catholic Church has had to address in regard to the Base Ecclesial Communities in Latin America.

Issues of ecology, alluded to above, were noticed by Kirsteen Kim as being absent from the Bosch corpus, but they made a late appearance in *Believing in the Future*. The twenty-first-century church, in line with Bosch's stress on justice, needs to hold world governments and their leadership to fairness in relation to the planet and the world economy. The contribution of Ulrich Duchrow to the IAMS conference at Buenos Aires in 1996 brought home the missiological nature of the economic challenges for the future.⁴¹ The stewardship of the planet, which the WCC has taught us to refer to as the "integrity of creation," means that nations the size of the United States and China, with their potential worldwide impact on climate change and the environment, will need the constant witness of the church on behalf of the well-being of the human race, a witness likely to be fully effective only if it is in some sense united. Despite the twenty-first century's dislike of the large, the institutional, and the overarching in narrative, the church is committed to all three and cannot in responsibility deny them. A further inescapable issue of justice remains over the place accorded to women in human societies after a century that could be called their century, in terms of progress toward achieving equality in many realms of human endeavor. Once more, the twenty-first-century church has a role to play, while also wrestling internally with its own questions on the issue.

Conclusion

David Bosch was a missiologist of great integrity, one who managed to integrate in himself (as Andrew Walls has written) "the three public domains" of academia, the church, and wider society, "dimensions of the same reality" involving "the integration of intellectual rigour, particularly in the life of the church,

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and practical demonstration in the life of the world."⁴² As Walls wrote, the attempt brought him "great discomfort," but this was disregarded. I have deliberately omitted from this treatment his long struggle with different understandings of the Gospel as expressed by "ecumenicals" and "evangelicals," which he stated was the context for his widely read book *Witness to the World* (1980). Here as so often his overriding concern was for the truth of the Gospel, expressed as much in social action for the neighbor as in the proclamation of divine grace in Jesus Christ, with no priority to either. It was this same integrity that made him feel an evangelical at the WCC Commission on World Mission and

Evangelism conference at Melbourne, and an ecumenical at the Lausanne conference at Pattaya, both held in 1980. Concern for the full truth of the universal Gospel would not permit him to let go of essential alternative insights. So we have a missiologist who was also a missionary, an ecumenical leader who was also an evangelical, a lifelong member of the DRC in critical solidarity with his Afrikaans roots who never repudiated his fellow Afrikaner Christians. In these and many other respects he may be judged to have been a faithful witness to us of many nations other than South Africa, indebted as we are to this "missiologist of the road."

Notes

1. J. Kevin Livingston, "The Legacy of David J. Bosch," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 23 (1999): 26–27. In what follows I am greatly indebted to Livingston's doctoral dissertation of 1989 for the University of Aberdeen, "A Missiology of the Road: The Theology of Mission and Evangelism in the Writings of David Bosch," 2 vols. See also his essay "David Bosch: An Interpretation of Some Main Themes in His Missiological Thought," in *Mission in Creative Tension: A Dialogue with David Bosch*, ed. J. N. J. Kritzing and W. A. Saayman (Pretoria: Southern African Missiological Society, 1990), pp. 2–16.
2. Livingston, "Missiology of the Road," 1:110–11.
3. For G. Warneck, C. Keysser, and B. Gutmann, see T. E. Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 34–56.
4. Livingston, "Legacy of David J. Bosch," p. 26.
5. Livingston, "Missiology of the Road," 1:58.
6. Frans J. Verstraelen, "Africa in David Bosch's Missiology: Survey and Appraisal," in *Mission in Bold Humility: David Bosch's Work Considered*, ed. Willem Saayman and Klippiess Kritzing (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1996), p. 10.
7. Livingston, "Missiology of the Road," 1:59 n. 25.
8. International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, *The Trial of Beyers Naudé: Christian Witness and the Rule of Law* (London: Search Press, 1975).
9. Livingston, "David Bosch," pp. 14–15, quoting Bosch, *Theologia Evangelica*, "The Church in South Africa" 9 (July–September 1976): 2–3. Bosch distanced himself from the Kairos Document of 1986 on the same grounds.
10. Verstraelen, "Africa in David Bosch's Missiology," pp. 8–39.
11. David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991), pp. 425, 431.
12. Livingston, "Missiology of the Road," 1:167 n.; see also p. 95.
13. Orlando E. Costas, review of *Witness to the World*, by David Bosch, *International Review of Mission* 70, no. 278 (1981): 82–86, especially at p. 83.
14. Willem Saayman, "A South African Perspective on *Transforming Mission*," in *Mission in Bold Humility*, ed. Saayman and Kritzing, p. 51.
15. Dana L. Robert, "American Women and the Dutch Reformed Missionary Movement, 1874–1904," in *Mission in Bold Humility*, ed. Saayman and Kritzing, p. 94.
16. Kirsteen Kim, "Postmodern Mission: A Paradigm Shift in David Bosch's Theology of Mission?" *International Review of Mission* 89, no. 353 (2000): 172–79.
17. W. Nicol, "The Cross and the Hammer: Comparing Bosch and Nolan on the Role of the Church in Social Change," in *Mission in Creative Tension*, ed. Kritzing and Saayman, 93–98; on "church," see Verstraelen, "Africa in David Bosch's Missiology," pp. 26–27.
18. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 416; see also p. 386.
19. David J. Bosch, *Believing in the Future: Toward a Missiology of Western Culture* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1995), pp. 31–32.
20. David J. Bosch, *Witness to the World: The Christian Mission in Theological Perspective* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1980), pp. 176–77; for Johannes Christian Hoekendijk, see Hoekendijk's *Church Inside Out*, ed. L. A. Hoedemaker and Pieter Tijmes (London: SCM Press, 1967); and Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 53–56.
21. Bosch, Guide 1, MSR 201, "Theology of Mission" (UNISA, 1975), p. 155.
22. For Hoekendijk, ecclesiology is "not more than a single paragraph in Christology" (Bosch, *Witness to the World*, pp. 176–77).
23. Bosch in *Missionalia* 5, no. 2 (1977): 34; see P. J. Robinson, "Mission as Ethics, Ethics as Mission," in *Mission in Creative Tension*, ed. Kritzing and Saayman, pp. 164–65.
24. Bosch, *Witness to the World*, pp. 208–9; Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 216–18.
25. Bosch, *Believing in the Future*, pp. 34, 37.
26. David J. Bosch, "The Scope of Mission" (CMS Annual Sermon, 1982), pp. 11–12; available through the archives of Crowther Centre for Mission Education, CMS, Oxford, England.
27. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 467.
28. Livingston, "David Bosch," pp. 15–16.
29. Livingston, "Missiology of the Road," 1:71.
30. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 372; Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), 4.1:725–26; *Ad gentes*, sec. 9.
31. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 378.
32. Bosch, *Believing in the Future*, p. 59.
33. Bosch, *Witness to the World*, p. 185.
34. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 385.
35. Bosch, Guide 1, MSR 201, pp. 155–56.
36. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 431; for intercession, see Guide 1, MSR 201, p. 157.
37. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 387, 499; D. J. Bosch, "The Church in South Africa—Tomorrow," *Pro Veritate* 14, no. 4 (1975): 4–6, and no. 5 (1975): 11–13, abstracted in *Missionalia* 3, no. 3 (1975): 177.
38. Bosch, *Believing in the Future*, pp. 45, 64 n. 10.
39. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 416–17.
40. Yates, *The Expansion of Christianity*, p. 181.
41. Ulrich Duchrow, "God or Mammon? Economies in Conflict," *Mission Studies* 13 (1996): 32–67.
42. Andrew F. Walls, "Missiologist of the Road: David Jacobus Bosch (1929–1992)," in *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2002), p. 274. Walls's article, a very valuable assessment, originally appeared in *Occasional Newsletter* (of the British and Irish Association for Mission Studies), no. 2, March 1994, pp. 1–5. After Bosch's death on April 15, 1992, the *International Review of Mission* printed a short obituary in 81, no. 323 (July 1992): 362. See also the appreciation by William Saayman and Klippiess Kritzing, Bosch's academic colleagues at UNISA, "David Bosch, the South African," in *Mission in Bold Humility*, ed. Saayman and Kritzing, pp. 1–7.

“What Happened Next?” Vincent Donovan, Thirty-five Years On

John P. Bowen

Vincent Donovan left Tanzania thirty-six years ago, in 1973. I suspect that most readers of his best-selling *Christianity Rediscovered* (Orbis 1978) get to the end of the book and ask, “What happened next?” Donovan was a Roman Catholic priest and a member of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit, also known as the Spiritans, who spent fifteen years as a missionary among the Maasai in northern Tanzania and wrote about his experiences in *Christianity Rediscovered*, which by 2002 had undergone twenty printings in its Orbis edition and in 2003 was celebrated in a special twenty-fifth anniversary edition.¹

Donovan’s Ministry

Christianity Rediscovered describes a particularly creative attempt to enculturate the Gospel into a local culture—in this case, that of the Maasai. Although readers of the book usually assume that Donovan was a pioneer in this emphasis, in many ways he was simply a faithful (though highly creative and eloquent) son of the Spiritan order. Girard Kohler, an associate of Donovan’s, points out that the practice of inculturation for which Donovan is famous was actually embedded in the DNA of the Spiritans by François Libermann (1802–52), who took over the leadership of the order in 1848. Libermann advised his missionaries, “Put off Europe, its customs, its spirit. . . . Become Negroes to the Negroes, in order to form them as they should be, not in the fashion of Europe, but allow them to keep what is peculiar to them.”²

Donovan’s thinking and praxis were encouraged by his discovery of the writings of Anglican missiologist Roland Allen, particularly in Allen’s book *Missionary Methods: St. Paul’s or Ours?* (World Dominion Press, 1930; Eerdmans, 2001), given to Donovan by a Lutheran missionary friend. Allen adds to the basic principles of inculturation the argument that missions become ineffective when they become bogged down in the institutional accoutrements of mission such as mission stations, hospitals, and schools and become centripetal—what he calls “the choke law.” Allen’s challenge was to recall missionaries to their primary calling: to be centrifugal, going out, as did the apostle Paul, simply to evangelize, to found churches, to appoint leaders, and then to move on. Donovan tried to implement these ideals in his own work.

Vincent Donovan practiced what the Spiritans call “first evangelization” (pp. 24–25) and as a result planted numerous indigenous Maasai churches.³ Once he had planted the churches, he left (following the spirit of Roland Allen) in order not to “contaminate” them with Western assumptions and practices. To the frustration of readers, the book ends when Donovan leaves Tanzania for the last time. He had hoped to return, but his order had other plans for him. He died in 2000 without ever going back. No systematic follow-up of his work has ever been done, though



John P. Bowen, Associate Professor of Evangelism at Wycliffe College, University of Toronto, is the author of *Evangelism for “Normal” People* (Augsburg Fortress, 2002) and *The Spirituality of Narnia* (Regent College Publishing, 2007). He is editing *The Letters of Vincent Donovan for Orbis Books*.

—john.bowen@utoronto.ca

it receives brief mention as a classic example of inculturation in many works known to missiologists, including David Bosch’s *Transforming Mission* (1991), Elizabeth Isichei’s *History of Christianity in Africa* (1995), George Sumner’s *The First and the Last* (2004), Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder’s *Constants in Context* (2004), the Church of England’s report, *Mission-Shaped Church* (2004), and Brian McLaren’s *Generous Orthodoxy* (2004).

Father Ned’s Ministry

I have used *Christianity Rediscovered* many times in teaching cross-cultural evangelism. I decided a few years ago, after repeated student questions, to see what I could find out about the present status of Donovan’s work. As a result, in the summer of 2006 I went with a graduate student, Erin Biggs, and Sam Waweru, an African driver, to spend a day and a half visiting three American Spiritan missionaries who knew and were influenced by Donovan and who are still working among the Maasai in Tanzania—Ned Marchessault, Joe Herzstein, and Pat Patten. The one who worked most closely with Donovan was Father Ned (who preferred simply “Ned”), now in his seventies, who labored alongside Donovan and then took over the work when Donovan left. This article is based on conversations with him and reflects his answer to the question, What happened next? His answer emerged for us not only from the interview but also from our experience of spending a day with him.

Ned, who is still involved in parish ministry among the Maasai, acts as parish priest for a huge area and visits a number of outstations from his base in Endulen. Having worked for many years in the kind of first evangelization Donovan writes about, Ned has now handed over that work to lay catechists whom he has trained, and he simply visits the villages and celebrates Mass.

We arrived at his home in the evening and, over supper, began our conversation. As we finished for the night, Ned asked if we would like to go with him the following morning to a Maasai village where he was to celebrate Mass. We eagerly said yes.

When we arrived at Ned’s house the next day, he got out a suitcase of the things he needed for the Mass. It included a cow-skin stole, decorated by Maasai women with cowrie shells, much loved of the Maasai, though their significance is unclear. (Some of those who disapprove of Ned’s approach to inculturation refer to him as the cowrie-shell priest.) He also showed us the wafers for communion, commenting that he only used them as a concession to church tradition.

The church, about an hour’s drive away, was a small wooden structure built by the Maasai themselves of small tree branches. Within a few minutes of our arrival, twenty or thirty villagers gathered, mainly women and children.

Although I am not a Catholic and neither is Erin, and neither of us understands a word of Maasai, to anyone from a liturgical tradition the shape of the service was very familiar: the Ministry of the Word, the Prayers of the People, the Creed, the Confession and Absolution, the Passing of the Peace, and then the Ministry of the Table. The sermon was given by a young Maasai catechist, dressed in his red blanket. Even without understanding his words, we were struck by his passion, his attentiveness to the text (which Ned told us was John 6), and his engagement with the congregation.

Throughout the service, Ned held in his hand a bunch of grass, symbol of peace and reconciliation (p. 94). Then, during the Prayers, people with special concerns came forward. As he prayed for them, Ned sprinkled them with grass dipped in milk, a symbol of life, from a gourd decorated with cowrie shells. At the Peace, people shook hands—except for the young people, who bowed their heads in order to be blessed by their elders. The singing was haunting, quite different from other Christian singing I have heard in East Africa. As we left the service, Erin said to Ned, “That was wonderful!” He just grinned and said, “Another day, another dollar.”

Changes After Donovan’s Time

Ned’s answer to the question “What happened next?” is basically that things did not unfold as Donovan had hoped, though the underlying principles continued to be honored. There were problems on both the Catholic side and the Maasai side.

On the Catholic side, while the ideal would have been to ordain local leaders as priests to their community (p. 88), within Catholic tradition that was not a straightforward option. As Ned put it, the vision got “bogged down in the structures of organized religion. I mean, what are you going to do about the Eucharist—just have anybody preside?” There were unofficial but short-lived experiments with lay leadership of Eucharist-like services. Ned said, “In places where we could only visit at long intervals because of the great number of outstations and the distances involved, we constructed a service that would not need the presence of a priest. This involved cards with stick figures that people could follow for a service of prayer, scripture readings, and eating together.”

This was a step in the direction of so-called village priests, the natural spiritual leaders of the community who would be “ordained” for that community (pp. 108, 114–15). But here too there was a cultural problem. Would their own people acknowl-

On the whole the Maasai have not pursued an approach to ministry in the tradition of Donovan.

edge the authority of these priests? In a society that values status, people “didn’t want these guys in the village with little or no education [in positions of influence]. The hierarchical aspect of the organization of the church is very important to Africans.”

One way to proceed down the path of radical indigenization would have been for the Maasai churches to become independent, but nobody on the outside would accept village priests or lay presidency, “so you’re putting yourself in the position of starting your own church.” The problems of such an approach made it too daunting to pursue: “The difficulty with that is, then you’ve got to figure out everything, and then you wouldn’t have any more time to do anything else. We talked about stuff like that in the late ‘60s and early ‘70s, but I don’t think that’s a solution.”

Hierarchical Obstacles

Nevertheless, the frustration continues to this day. When I commented to Ned that the catechist we heard preach seemed like

a wonderful potential priest, he replied, “If it was up to me, I would ordain him tomorrow.” More often than not, however, the extensive training requirements are beyond the reach of the Maasai, and the requirement of celibacy is difficult.

In spite of these obstacles, some Maasai have been trained and ordained in the conventional manner; but on the whole they have not pursued an approach to ministry in the tradition of Donovan and the Spiritans. Furthermore, priests often were not sent to serve in the area from which they had come but were assigned by the diocese, as in Europe and North America, and they were not necessarily interested in inculturation. As Donovan said, “Ironically, the first Masai priest [came] from an entirely different section of Masailand” (p. 138).

According to Ned, the present Catholic hierarchy in Tanzania, though entirely African, is not enamored of the kind of indigenization practiced by Donovan. As a result, there exists today the poignant paradox of Western missionaries encouraging inculturation and an African hierarchy rejecting it. One could say that the diocese stresses the constants while the missionaries stress the context.

Cultural Obstacles

The difficulty has been exacerbated by the culture of the Maasai themselves, and this is the second half of the problem with implementing Donovan’s ideology. His intention, following Allen, was that each nation and tribe should discover its own way of being church: “the missionary’s job is to preach, not the church, but Christ. If he preaches Christ . . . the church may well appear, but it might not be the church he had in mind” (pp. 62–64). Ned’s discovery, however, was that “Africans in general and Maasai in particular want to know how it should be done. Especially when it comes to religion, because [what matters is] pleasing God or doing what God wants. They want to do church the way God wants it done and be done with it. I mean, let’s not play games with anything as important as our relationship with God!” Ironically, the missionary’s desire to do things in the tradition of the local culture is turned on its head when the local culture dictates that things should be done in the tradition of the missionary.

So how do things stand today? One answer is that people like Ned are themselves exercising missional creativity. His conduct of the Mass provides one model for maintaining fidelity to European tradition (desired by both the Maasai and the national church leaders), while at the same time incorporating local elements into the liturgy (even though it does not go as far as this generation of Spiritans had originally hoped) and thus honoring some of the significant symbols of Maasai culture. The constants are modified, but not radically changed, by the context.

Evangelization and Pastoral Care

Is the process of first evangelization that Donovan pioneered still continuing? The answer is that it is; indeed, it has never stopped since its inception in the 1960s. (One measure is that Pat Patten told us that after ten years of ministry he himself was visiting seventy-two Christian villages.) At first, Ned preferred to do this work himself. “My first two years in Endulen, I did evangelization in the Maasai villages in this general area, within a twenty mile radius. Then I had the first baptisms of Maasai villages in the Endulen area and these places became Christian communities. After this I moved to the Ngorongoro crater area, evangelized in various villages and again established centers. Finally, I moved

to Nainokanoka on the other side of the crater and did the same thing, evangelizing and eventually establishing Christian communities in that area.”

The process is almost identical to that described by Donovan. According to Ned, “When I go directly to work with Maasai villages as villages, I teach the whole group together, elders, women, and the whole family, and then make a real effort to have those traditional leaders continue as leaders in the church.”

Over time, however, Ned moved more into a role of training catechists to do it. “Now that I am in my seventies, I am slowing down.” He presently has eight catechists, all paid—something Donovan was against (pp. 82–83) but that has become necessary. These days, once a village decides to accept baptism, it becomes an outstation of the mission, and Ned adds it to the list of villages he visits to celebrate Mass.

Although *Christianity Rediscovered* gives the impression that Donovan, following Allen’s guidelines, saw a clear distinction between evangelization (the work of the missionary) and pastoral care (the work of the priest or pastor, pp. 24–25, 30), in fact



Vincent Donovan baptizing Maasai at a creek in 1967

there are hints in the book that the distinction was not easy to maintain in practice: “It became for me a personal temptation, to settle down with these beautiful, new, exciting Christians, instead of moving on, as I had to. . . . Of course, I could not abandon the new Christians, because they had no priests to lead them in their new life. . . . As it was, I would have to take care of them in some way” (p. 75).

Eugene Hillman, in his essay in the 2003 edition, writes of the pull pastoral needs exerted: “We, his friends . . . teased him, because we were witnesses to his persistent pastoral empathy and compassion. He would graciously modify his best laid plans to keep free of pastoral entanglements whenever people presented themselves to him with needs” (p. 162).

Ned confirms that it proved impossible to draw a clear line between evangelization and pastoral care: one led into the other. After he had done initial evangelization, he stayed in relationship with those communities, not only to lead Eucharist but also to teach: “I had my first baptisms and made places where we go for teaching. . . . After [a further] two years [in a new area] I had my first baptisms and established again a centre, and then I moved to Nynukanoka and did the same thing—evangelizing and then eventually creating centres. Then I came back here and tried to keep contact with all of them—go back, do liturgy, [and] especially to have good catechists in all the different areas.”

Individual vs. Community Response

One of the revelations Donovan experienced in his work was that the expectation that individuals would respond to the Gospel one by one was a Western cultural assumption. The Maasai taught him the importance of thinking communally and not just individually, of believing that a community could respond to the Gospel as a whole (pp. 64–70). We asked whether that emphasis had continued. “Well,” said Ned, “that’s roughly still the case, but still one or another family in a village, or even more than one family [will decide differently from the majority].” We then asked whether that caused difficulty for them in continuing to relate to the rest of the community. Ned replied, “I don’t think so. I think that’s the way it should be. I mean, it shows at least some people are making a choice, and that’s pretty hopeful. But the decision of the elders probably would influence most people.”

Even in Donovan’s own experience, communities did not always respond as a whole. In the book, for example, he describes one village that decided to refuse the Gospel (pp. 80–82). Western readers can hardly help but wonder whether there were not a few individuals within the community who wanted to respond to the Gospel but who were overruled by the leaders’ decision. In an unpublished letter (January 1971) describing the same village (a Sonjo village named Ebwe), however, Donovan tells of how a smaller community within that same village did come to accept baptism later.⁴ Even during Donovan’s time, therefore, it was obviously not clear-cut to say that a whole community would accept or reject Christian faith.

A New Role for Education

Although those who knew Donovan still continue today with the patterns of evangelization he pioneered, in some respects the ministry has changed direction. One of these is the area of education and health. Donovan, following Allen, felt that it was not the job of missions to get involved in forms of ministry other than evangelization, because the “choke law” would come into effect and the work of primary evangelization would stop (p. 75). When he first arrived in Loliondo, however, he was enthusiastically involved with completing the building of a hospital at nearby Wasso (unpublished letters, September–October 1966). Then in 1973, the same year that Donovan finally left Tanzania, a hospital was built at Digodigo in the Sonjo community where he had been working. Thus, while his ideal strategy might not have included such institutions, in practice they were part of the overall ministry to the area.

These days, education has become more important, particularly in Ned’s work. His rationale is simple and pragmatic: “Without education, the Maasai people are going to cease to exist as a people. We need a voice in the decision-making process about everything. And if you reject education, well, you’re rejecting their survival.”

With financial support of up to \$14,000 per year from friends in the United States (mainly retired Spiritan missionaries), Ned has sponsored many Maasai young people to train for various professions so they can help their own people: “We have a girl who just graduated from law school and two boys who are lawyers now. Four of our girls have completed Teacher Training College and two more are in training. Two girls are in medical school and another is about to begin medical studies.”

We asked whether Ned has the common experience that, once young people finish their training, they do not return home. This has not happened so far; they do actually come back and serve

in Maasailand: "All the girls have come back, every single one. And I've educated now over a hundred, well over a hundred. There might be a few of the boys who haven't come back, but the vast majority of the boys have come back."

What would Donovan have thought about such a development? Ned was unwilling to speculate. His attitude is that Donovan "gave the basic philosophy, and then we reimplemented it as we saw we should." This seems as good a summary as any of Donovan's legacy.

Donovan's Long-Term Impact

Ned reflected on Donovan's long-term impact. "Vince—like most people who are very charismatic, in the sense of people who make an impact on other people, who can kind of grab you and carry you on a mission—he talked beautifully and strongly about things. . . . He gave that initial talk to us in Arusha, he had us all fired up—and it still carries me to this day. It's still the source of the impetus for the kind of work that we do."

Vincent Donovan was a visionary, and *Christianity Rediscovered* describes not only what actually happened but what he believed should have happened. (William Burrows of Orbis Books suggested to me that there is a distinction to be made between the Donovan of history and the Donovan of faith.) Since he left, his friends and colleagues have taken his ideals and, over several

decades of faithful service, have worked at grounding his ideals in the realities of life in Maasailand. It is impossible to say how he would have adapted to the problems they have encountered—the difficulties of ordaining Maasai leaders, the need for ongoing pastoral care, an unsympathetic church hierarchy, the encroaching destruction of the Maasai way of life, and the need for education and medical care. Maybe he could not have made the transition from pioneering to maintenance, from vision to reality: it seems not to have been his gift. Spiritans like Ned, however, were not the visionaries but the implementers of the vision. In the body of Christ, both are necessary.

What will happen next? After this generation of Spiritans leaves or dies, the future of the church among the Maasai of Tanzania is really in the hands of the Tanzanians. What they do with Donovan's legacy will be up to them. It will be a sad irony if the local decision is to follow traditional Western models of church. Ned's own conviction, on the basis of current experience, is that Donovan's vision will die out. New priests may come in, almost certainly Africans and possibly Maasai in some cases, but it is unlikely that they will share the vision for inculturation. The Donovan era will have been a noble experiment, brilliant and courageous, offering the church around the world many lessons for the hard work of inculturation, but now in need of a new generation to adopt the vision.⁵

Notes

1. Vincent J. Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1978; 25th anniv. ed., 2003).
2. Letter, quoted by Marc R. Spindler in "Liebermann, François Marie Paul," in *The Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), p. 399.
3. Page references in the text are to the 2003 edition of *Christianity Rediscovered*.
4. This development draws the sting of Elizabeth Isichei's criticism that by this action Donovan "not only took it upon himself to deny people the right to change their minds, but also deprived the next generation of the right to choose at all" (*A History of Christianity in Africa* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1995], p. 261).
5. This article is an extract from my concluding essay for *The Letters of Vincent Donovan* (Orbis Books, forthcoming).

Bill Burrows Retires from Orbis Books

William R. Burrows—"Bill" to the many who know him—has had his last day as managing editor of Orbis Books, retiring on February 27, 2009. His editorial presence will be sorely missed not only by his publishing confreres but also by scores of authors and multiplied thousands of readers around the world. In the words of a close colleague, "In his twenty years at Orbis Books, Bill Burrows has edited an extraordinary list of award-winning books in the areas of interreligious dialogue, missiology, and world Christianity. But more than a list of titles, Bill's books—and the authors he has nurtured—constitute a veritable community marked by intelligent, ecumenical, and faithful dialogue about the most crucial challenges facing the church in the twenty-first century. It has been Bill's own intelligence, creativity, and passion for truth that have convoked this community. His work has left an indelible mark on the church, the academy, and all who share his concern for the saving message of the Gospel. We will be forever in his debt" (Robert Ellsberg, publisher, Orbis Books).

Between the spring of 1989 when Burrows joined Orbis and the fall of 2009 when his last six books are scheduled for publication, he will have edited 334 books—fully 30 percent of total output by the publisher during that time. Readers of this journal will not be surprised to learn that 174 of these were

directly related to world mission and interreligious themes, while the rest ranged across the gamut of theology, ecology, and history.

Dale Irvin, president of New York Theological Seminary, observed that "if there is something of a renaissance taking place in mission studies in world Christianity (and I think there is), it is due in at least a small part to the work of Bill Burrows." Gerald Anderson, director emeritus of the Overseas Ministries Study Center, speaks for readers, contributors, and editors of this journal when he says, "How fortunate we are to have had someone of his remarkable background and talent editing our books in missiology and world Christianity. Bill has made an enormous contribution to education and scholarship in mission studies. And he does it all with grace, humor, and compassion."

We are pleased to announce that, as Burrows embarks on his big retirement project, which is researching and writing about one hundred years of interaction (1896–1996) between the peoples of northeast Papua New Guinea and Divine Word Missionaries, he has agreed to join the distinguished roster of *IBMR* contributing editors.

—The Editors



My Pilgrimage in Mission

Harold Kurtz

The Old Testament prophet Amos described himself as a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees. One day the Lord tapped Amos on the shoulder and said, “Go, prophesy to my people.” When they asked Amos what right he had to speak the Lord’s words, he admitted, “I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet” (Amos 7:14–15). But his message still rings from pulpits today: “Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream” (5:24). I have long identified with Amos, packing his bags and walking out over a dry countryside, neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but committed to speaking the words of God.

Early Life in Oregon

My father was one of the last homesteaders in the United States, on a small piece of sagebrush land in the high deserts of eastern Oregon, land that was marked to receive water for irrigation. When I was a boy, our community was too small for a church. We had only a Sunday school, organized by the laypeople of the American Sunday School Union. From those men and women—farmers, small businessmen, and mothers of growing families—I heard of Jesus and memorized verses from the Bible. It was in a Vacation Bible School that I made my decision to follow Jesus. I often bless those laypeople, who were touched by Jesus and followed his teachings, touching me in turn.

While I was still in high school, the Presbyterians established a mission church in our community. One Sunday a visiting missionary from India opened my eyes to the broader kingdom, which was my first real awareness that Jesus had come to change the world. By then, the world around me was changing. The chaos of World War II had begun, and my older brothers, one by one, had gone off to fight. Soon, with visions of God’s mission still new in my heart, I too joined the Air Force and was sent off to fly in Europe. War changed me. I came home horrified by what I had seen, heard, and experienced, certain that there had to be a better way for the world’s people to live together. As I searched for answers, the only hope I could see for the future was in the Way—the way of Jesus. I enrolled in Monmouth College, a Presbyterian school in Illinois, to continue my search and complete my college education. In those college years, my mind was focused on the physical world—I majored in chemistry and minored in physics and math. Unscheduled in that academic world was an encounter with a farm girl, Polly, from Iowa. We fell madly in love, a love that has sustained us “through many dangers, toils and snares,” and were married my senior year. In the midst of all of this, my faith was being deepened by contact with Christian students and faculty. I finally made the decision to enter the ministry, though I was a most unlikely seminary student.



Harold Kurtz, now Senior Associate for the Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship (www.pff.net), served for twenty-two years as a Presbyterian Church (USA) missionary in Ethiopia. When a Marxist regime forced him out, he was asked to organize the Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship to focus exclusively on church planting among unreached peoples and served as the director (1982–2000). —haroldk@pff.net

For me, seminary was a deeply spiritual experience. I found words and theology to express the stirrings that had changed my heart years before in those rural Sunday school classes. In a country that often labels itself Christian, people hear and respond to God through words. I, like Amos, had felt a touch, a call. Only in seminary did I learn the church’s words, which we call theology.

Oregon Pastorate

When I finished seminary, it appeared that I was going to slip easily into my role in the kingdom. I was called to serve a congregation in need of revitalization in Portland, Oregon. As I served this church for three years, I watched a congregation come alive, helped young people come to know Jesus and grow in their faith, and put my love of storytelling and songs to use in youth conferences.

At one of those youth camps, the head of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board was the main speaker. I interacted with his three sons more than I did with him, but our meeting led to a most startling letter. He wrote that a missionary had died suddenly in Ethiopia. “I observed you and Polly in your relationships with people, and I believe you would be good missionaries,” he wrote.

Amos must have felt shocked, perhaps even aghast, when God tapped him on the shoulder. So it was when mission sought me. That letter shattered our world. At the time, I had three small girls (Carolyn three, Jane one, and Joy a new baby of three months), a fairly predictable life, and a wife, who started crying the minute she read the letter. For weeks, I later said, we did not have to salt our scrambled eggs. There was nothing I could do, for when the subject came up she burst into tears with the thought of taking those girls to a strange country and an unknown life. I had been taught that husbands and wives should discuss all major decisions. But how can you have a discussion when one side bursts into tears and cannot talk? One rainy afternoon, however, in cloudy springtime Portland, as Polly stepped outside to hang diapers on the line, the sun suddenly broke through. God seemed to say to her, “If I can make the sun shine on you on a rainy day in Portland, I can make the sun shine on you and your girls in Ethiopia.” She came back into the house and announced that she was ready to go!

First Tour in Ethiopia: Preparation

So we went to Africa. We arrived in Addis Ababa in 1955 with our young daughters (the oldest still only four). We were earnest and eager—and woefully unprepared. I was an unlikely missionary. I knew little of what the role would call for and even less of Ethiopia. We began by learning to boil our drinking water, to bargain in the market for food, and to wash diapers by hand. We thought we were doing well with the challenges. Next we settled in to learn the complex language of Amharic, one of more than eighty languages in Ethiopia and the only African language with an indigenous written alphabet that is still in use today.

Learning Hebrew and Greek almost cost me seminary, and to my chagrin, Amharic was no easier. As often as I could, I laid aside the struggle with problems of Amharic syntax and helped

maintain toilets, washing machines, and vehicles for the mission community.

Then, just a few months into that year of new beginnings, a son was born to us. He was a fussy baby, and we struggled to keep up with our language lessons, comfort his frequent crying, and care for our three girls. It was a major shock for us when at four months, Kenny died in his sleep. The mission community rallied around to comfort us. Our Ethiopian neighbors also came in what we came to know was their customary way in times of crisis. They filed into our small living room and simply sat with us. They brought pots of coffee and bowls of parched barley. They said to us, "We know what it is like to lose a child, for we have lost many of ours. When a loss comes, it is most difficult to start the day, so we help." They arrived with their parched barley and coffee early in the mornings before we moved from our bedroom. It is their custom to do this until they sense the healing of the heart. Slowly they nurtured us into healing as they sat with us in the silence of sorrow.

The Presbyterian Church had taught me the journey of the mind, and for that I am grateful. Now in the throes of a more fundamental human journey, we bonded with a culture that had been foreign to us. Through the death of our son, Kenny, and the ministry of Ethiopians in that time of sorrow, I began a new understanding of the journey of the heart.

Everyone knew that I was struggling in language school; no one wanted to see me fail. In the end, with the grace and humor that camaraderie brings, the other missionaries and my Ethiopian tutors overlooked enough mistakes for me to pass.

Ethiopian Ministry—but No Church

We were assigned to serve with a missionary nurse and teacher in the most remote mission station the Presbyterians were operating, where Polly's and my farm backgrounds would be a valuable asset. The mission compound, at the edge of the village of Maji, sat 8,500 feet high in the mountains of southwest Ethiopia. Every week an Ethiopian Airlines flight landed on an airstrip on the savanna below. I spent much time during those missionary years

Through the eyes of the New Testament, I was a Western-world "circumcision party" missionary.

repairing the Jeep and wrestling it up and down the 5,000-foot drop between Maji and the airstrip, a thirty-two-mile trip that took four hours or more each way, depending on the weather.

I was committed to planting churches in Maji and among the surrounding tribes. But I did not know how to communicate the Gospel cross-culturally or truly to respect the culture of the people I had gone to minister among. I did know that I had come to be part of an African community and that I did not want to be locked away on a mission compound. I wanted to know and expand contact with the many tribes who lived in that quadrant of Ethiopia, divided from each other by rugged terrain. I often left Polly and the girls at home in Maji for weeks at a time, exploring for population centers. My means of transportation was foot and pack mule, for the old Italian-built road barely touched that vast

region. I established bush schools in strategic villages and then packed in books, pencils, and notebooks. When an Ethiopian practical nurse came to Maji, he and I traveled with mule loads of medicines and held mobile clinics.

One unexpected by-product of my time on the paths of southwestern Ethiopia was the richness of the relationships that developed with local people: villagers, chiefs, muleteers, teachers, and nurses. Another surprise was that I picked up vocabulary and grammar by ear from my Ethiopian travel companions. On the road, and resting from travel around campfires at night, not hearing English for days at a time, I finally learned Amharic. This is the African way of learning languages, and it suited me well.

Using my growing knowledge of Amharic, I shared my understanding of God and the Good News of Jesus. I began to hear responses that startled me. One day, after I had done my best to communicate the heart of the Gospel—that God loves us and in love came to us in Jesus to reconcile and redeem us and establish his kingdom on earth—an old man stood up, looked closely at me, and as though he were speaking for all of Africa said, "This is what we have always hoped God was like."

Gradually I learned that all of those people groups already believed in the Creator God and were eager to learn more. I was eager to teach them. But I did not know how to shape that hopeful old man and the many others into communities of faithful people who did not have to leave their mother cultures to follow Jesus.

The only functioning church throughout that time was the "compound church" in Maji on the mission station. We sang the grand old hymns of the Western church, translated into Amharic and accompanied by a pump organ. I did not know that through the lens of the New Testament I was a Western-world "circumcision party" missionary, like the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem who insisted that Greek Christians follow the Jewish law.

Some people came to church in Maji every Sunday, but they never seemed to grow in the faith. Some expressed interest but then drifted away. Some invited me to preach in their villages, where people gathered to listen and seemed excited. Then nothing happened. I did not know how to nurture them as followers of Jesus, with songs they could sing and worship styles familiar to them. Some people even confessed faith in Jesus but then fell away.

By the end of ten years in Maji, I was discouraged and questioning my call. I had earned the right to be heard through my service to the community. I had helped people through education and medicine. I had improved their lives through such efforts as installing a hydro-powered flour mill so women no longer had to spend back-breaking hours grinding grain by hand between rocks. But I knew God's mission involved more. Where was a church that would embody for its tribe all the promises of God's kingdom? My pilgrimage in mission had been a failure.

Furlough Under Donald McGavran

Preparing for furlough, I asked our denomination to let me to study under Donald McGavran in the school he was operating in Oregon for missionaries. En route to the United States, I learned that the school had moved and become the School of World Mission of Fuller Theological Seminary, in Pasadena, California. Nothing could stop me—I dragged the family with me to Pasadena and settled into studying missiology under McGavran and anthropology under Alan Tippett.

From those two men, I heard a litany of the mistakes missionaries had made down through the ages. I had committed them

all and more. I am usually an optimistic man, but soon I was as close to depression as I have ever been. I went into McGavran's office during Christmas break and sat down across the desk from him. I told him that I had decided to quit the course and resign from the mission field. "I know how to pastor a church in the United States," I said. "I have done it. I know I did a good job, and I can do it again. But from what you have been teaching, I realize I have wasted ten years of my life as a missionary."

McGavran looked at me in silence. It was a long pause. Then he leaned over his desk and said, "Harold, I wasted *thirty* years of my life before I realized the things I am teaching you. I want you to stay with us. You have time left."

I did stay on and completed the academic subjects, but I refused to write a thesis and go on for the Ph.D. that McGavran wanted me to complete. I had already wasted too much of my life. I was anxious to repair my mistakes.

Second Tour in Ethiopia—and Church Growth!

I arrived back in Ethiopia with Polly and our family—grown with the births of Cathryn, Christopher, who was soon known as "the crown prince," and Janice, often referred to as "the Gold of Maji," to six children—to a mission that had also realized it was failing its vision. After a series of meetings, the other missionaries asked me to leave our beloved Maji and oversee the whole Ethiopian program. They asked me to oversee putting in place and building on the principles I had learned so as to revamp the mission around indigenous church-growth principles, especially in the new stations we were setting up among peoples who had never heard the Good News of Jesus, like many among whom I had traveled and walked and already pioneered a work. In the mountains of southwestern Ethiopia, those tribes were illiterate, remote, and accessible only by mule. Now, with the help of Mission Aviation Fellowship, we chose sites for landing strips, and a renewed mission pilgrimage began for me.

The next ten years were thrilling years of dreaming dreams and seeing visions. We dreamed of believers following Jesus but remaining rooted and grounded in their mother cultures. Alan Tippett came to spend a summer traveling to our remote new stations and helping the missionaries understand the cultures of the people and how to relate the Gospel effectively to them (see his *Peoples of Southwest Ethiopia* [South Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1970]). McGavran taught us at mission meetings. I reclaimed my roots as a pilot and flew for six years to encourage and mentor our new missionaries, work with local government officials and tribal leaders, and partner with our sister church, the Ethiopian Evangelical Church—Bethel, primarily rooted in Western Ethiopia. That church had come into existence during the Italian times, and we continued to partner with it along with reaching out to more remote tribal peoples.

Two foundational policies guided us in this new work. First, we entered into a close partnership in mission with Ethiopians from our sister church in order to dilute the corrosive influence of

rich, white, culturally remote missionaries delivering the Gospel message. We set up cross-cultural teams with a missionary couple at each station to manage the evangelism effort and oversee the development of the work. The missionary couples also mentored the young Ethiopian Christians, from diverse Ethiopian tribes and tongues, who came in as local missionaries to teach, preach, and run clinics, training them in indigenous principles.

Second, we set ourselves on a radical course for Presbyterians, who are centered in their heads and seem to believe the kingdom grows from the printed page. We committed ourselves to establishing an indigenous preliterate church. We planned to use the oral skills of the people, encourage traditional singing, and mentor traditional tribal elders and leaders without our Western prejudice toward education. We would rely on the Holy Spirit to "bring them into all truth," as Jesus promised the Spirit would.

The Lord gave us only ten years of working with this exciting new method, so much more like Paul's than like the methods of our own Protestant mission predecessors. But those ten years turned out to be seminal years, when the Gospel seed was planted among many people groups and when concepts of indigenization were implanted within our sister church.

In 1974 a military committee ended the reign of Emperor

Haile Selassie and established an increasingly brutal Communist regime. Missionaries were forced out of Ethiopia by violence, and church persecution began. I turned remaining personnel over to our sister church in 1977 and returned to the United States.

New Career as Mission Mobilizer

With fifteen years left before retirement and somewhat shell-shocked from four years of violence and tension, I settled into a pastorate, thinking my mission life had ended. Then Ralph Winter of the U.S. Center for World Mission, "father" of the unreached-peoples movement and a fellow Presbyterian

missionary pastor, tapped me on the shoulder one day at a meeting. "Harold," he said, "you are wasting your time being a normal pastor. You have been uniquely involved in a successful unreached-people church planting mission enterprise. I want you to become director of a new organization I have established." I accepted his offer, and my pilgrimage in mission turned another corner. With the approval of the local church I was pastoring, I moonlighted a new career as missiologist and mission mobilizer both in the United States and around the world. Upon retirement in 1989 I was free to devote full time to mobilizing congregations in unreached-peoples evangelism and to develop projects in many countries in partnership with sister churches to witness among unreached peoples.

Drawing on our ancient Christian heritage of Roman Catholic orders, the Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship (PFF) was approved as a Validated Mission Support Group of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). It operates under the umbrella of the PCUSA for accountability and oversight, but it remains independent and sharply focused. We raise extra-commitment money and foster the vision for and programming of evangelism among unreached-people



Harold Kurtz addressing a missiology study group in Turkey, 2007

groups around the world. Through PFF, Gospel proclamation to the ends of the earth has reentered the PCUSA. The former director of the Worldwide Ministries Division said to me a couple of years ago, "Harold, I have been wanting to tell you that there are not many people of whom it can be said that they changed the direction of a denomination. You are one of the few. You have changed the missional direction of the PCUSA."

As I began to challenge U.S. churches to share the Gospel with people groups that have not heard, the Communist regime in Ethiopia was killing many of our Ethiopian friends and church leaders. Many more were thrown in prison and tortured for their faith. But when I could return, fourteen years after we left, I found our sister church growing explosively, using concepts from those ten crucial years. The Gospel had sprung out of control, fueled by persecution, upheaval, and a charismatic revival.

Over these last two decades, I have traveled back into those remote areas of Ethiopia to join hands with our sister church in helping with the harvest. Arriving at the end of the road, looking over hills and valleys where I traveled by mule and where

No tribe has to commit cultural suicide in order to develop its own faithful communities of the followers of Jesus.

people still have to walk, I felt as though I had driven back into the Book of Acts. I heard stories of the charismatic communities of faith transforming their whole tribes, even while they are still in the minority. Groups of believers burst into being with miracles of healing or dreams and visions. Thousands come together to follow Jesus, not guided by pastors but led by laypeople with little or no formal training. Those communities remind me of my childhood and the powerful witness of laypeople that changed my life.

Hundreds of churches and thousands of Christians now worship in an indigenous manner, singing their own songs and sharing the message of Jesus along the natural bridges of tribe, clan, and family. No tribe has to commit cultural suicide in order to develop its own faithful communities of the followers of Jesus. The evangelical denomination that unites Lutheran and Presbyterian mission work in Ethiopia now has a membership of almost four and a half million people!

Out of the crucible of life in Ethiopia that loosened up the blinders of my Western-world Christendom "circumcision party" mentality, I entered into a period of my life of not only mobilizing U.S. congregations in methods of indigenous church planting

among unreached peoples but also of teaching what I had learned to sister churches. I had come to realize that God's future kingdom on this earth will be established primarily by Two-Thirds World evangelists. This has become the operating mandate of the Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship. We see our primary calling to be partnering with, supporting, and mentoring sister church leaders and evangelists. I have traveled extensively and taught the lessons I have learned about missiology and anthropology, coupled with a biblical understanding that Jesus came to fulfill and not destroy the cultures and languages of the world. For me, this is summed up in that most radical, and largely ignored, chapter of the New Testament when God spoke to Peter in a vision in Acts 10. Peter understood the core message and said, "I now realize how true it is that God does not show favoritism but accepts men from every nation who fear him and do what is right" (Acts 10:34-35 NIV). I have taught church leaders and mentored evangelists in many countries, including untouchables in India; Europe's untouchables, the Gypsies or Roma; Aleut peoples in Siberia; and those many tribes and tongues in Ethiopia. I have been privileged to see some amazing people movements to Jesus.

Retirement

Now, in 2008 at the age of 84, I am retired again and serve as senior associate of the Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship. In this final leg of my missionary journey when my travels are restrained by the health problems of my wife, three priorities govern my schedule. When and where I can, I use the credibility of my gray hair to teach and mentor Two-Thirds World evangelists in biblical indigenization—turning the Good News of the Kingdom loose in the mother culture of their people and the people to whom they go. I also teach lessons in "Perspectives on the World Christian Movement" classes, the world's most frequently taught mission course. I challenge students in these interdenominational classes to peel off the biblical and cultural blinders that have held them captive to the Western church's circumcision party. Lastly, I am trying to discipline myself to do what I have never had time for or felt that it was my calling and gift to do: to sit down and write something of what I have seen and heard and learned. God has taught me lessons that need to be passed on to those who have ears to hear. The working title for a proposed book I am engaged in writing is "Cross-cultural Mission Matters, But It Matters How We Do That Mission."

Amos was neither a prophet nor a prophet's son. As I follow in his footsteps, I have been surprised at the eager response people make to my stories of indigenous and spontaneous church growth. I often recall the words of Amos (9:13), where the Lord promises a rich harvest time "when the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him who sows the seed; the mountains shall drip sweet wine, and all the hills shall flow with it."

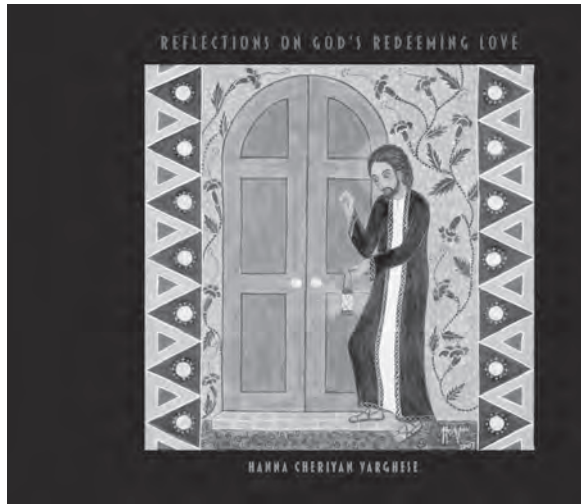
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The *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, an online database, is an effort to make widely available the biographies of the African Christian leaders, evangelists, and lay workers chiefly responsible for the unprecedented growth of the Christian movement on that continent. To read their stories, visit www.DACB.org.

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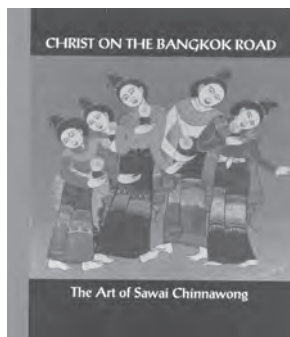


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The Legacy of Franz Mayr

Clemens U. Gütl

On March 6, 1865, Franz Mayr was born to Georg and Maria Mayr, farmers in the tiny village of Obernussdorf in the mountainous Austrian Tyrol. Mayr suffered from kyphoscoliosis, a disorder of the spine characterized by progressive deformities consisting of lateral and posterior curvatures and resulting in a shortening of height, stiff chest wall, and restricted lung capacity. He was therefore not able to help his parents and siblings, Anna, Maria, and Simon, with the demanding labor on the farm. This condition may explain why he was sent to the neighboring town of Lienz and reared by foster parents, the shoemaker Franz Harb and his wife, Anna, who was Mayr's aunt. We know little else about Mayr's childhood. He may have gone to the primary school in Lienz.¹

From 1876 to 1884 he attended the Vinzentinum, a private grammar school for boys in the town of Brixen (from 1919, Bressanone, Italy) in South Tyrol, which was the seat of the bishop of the Diocese of Brixen. This school was founded by the conservative prince-bishop Vinzenz Gasser in 1872 to prepare boys to study Catholic theology; Gasser also wanted to increase the number of priests in the Diocese of Brixen. In addition to religious education, the Vinzentinum offered courses in geography, mathematics, shorthand, German, Latin, ancient Greek, Italian, French, Syrian, Hebrew, natural history, art history, literature, calligraphy, and other subjects. Even theater performances took place, and both vocal and instrumental music played an important role in the Vinzentinum boys' education. Mayr's school efforts, however, were only average.²

He nevertheless started to study Catholic theology in the autumn of 1884 at the seminary in Brixen after successfully passing his school exit exams. Soon after his ordination into the secular priesthood on May 6, 1888, he felt a call to become a missionary and work among the Zulu people in the former British colony of Natal (in present-day South Africa). At that time he worked as an assistant priest (*Kooperator*) in two small villages in Tyrol (Hopfgarten and Kals am Grossglockner). Mayr does not elaborate extensively on his desire to go to Africa, but in one of his letters he mentions wanting to become a missionary because of the surplus of priests in his home diocese, a result of Gasser's ambitions and a situation that is quite the reverse of today's. Mayr also might have read and been influenced by a mission newsletter published by the Austrian monk Franz Pfanner, who belonged to the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance, commonly known as Trappists. Pfanner was the founder and first abbot of the Trappist monastery Mariannahill near Pinetown in the Natal Vicariate.

In the spring of 1852, almost forty years before Mayr's arrival, Bishop Jean-François Allard founded the Natal Vicariate. Allard belonged to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a French-speaking congregation, which sent the first Catholic missionaries to Natal.



Clemens U. Gütl is Curator for African sound recordings at the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, and Lecturer in African History at the University of Vienna. He is the author of books and articles dealing with the history of missions in Africa. —clemens.guetl@univie.ac.at

The German-speaking Trappists, along with Pfanner, followed thirty years later and established Mariannahill and many more mission stations all over the colony.³

Missionary Work in Natal

Upon his arrival in Natal in May 1890, Mayr lived eight months with the Trappists at St. Michael's Mission, an outstation of Mariannahill Monastery, before he left for the capital of the colony, Pietermaritzburg, where in January 1891 he offered his services to Bishop Charles Constant Jolivet.⁴

In the 1850s Jolivet's predecessor, Bishop Allard, had established his headquarters in Pietermaritzburg and had founded the first Catholic church, named St. Mary's Church, which was meant to be used only by white settlers; it is still located between Loop Street and Longmarket Street. A shortage of priests and finances left Allard and his successors at a great disadvantage and hindered the Catholic conversion of the Zulu people in and around Pietermaritzburg. The few Oblate priests there were put in charge of large territories and served only the white population and some of the immigrants from India who were living in town. Complying with the dictates of the time, the Oblates built St. Andrew's Church to serve the Indians.⁵

In 1886 the Zulu population of Natal numbered 361,766. The majority lived in the rural areas, mainly in so-called native locations, which were set aside for them by the white colonial government. At that time, Pietermaritzburg had only 4,086 Zulu residents, who lived either in or around the capital.⁶ In 1892–93 various cities of Natal introduced compulsory registration for blacks in order to better control them. Since Zulus were often temporarily employed by whites as domestic servants, a missionary had little or no access to the Zulu family unit, only to individuals seeking employment in town. Zulus usually worked long hours and were subject to a nine o'clock curfew. A missionary who hoped to reach the Zulus therefore had to provide a meeting place, such as a hall or a chapel, that would attract Zulus on Sundays, their day off; furthermore, the missionary would also have to speak the language well. The success of a missionary hinged as much on the Zulu children as on the adults, because if a missionary could reach the children by teaching them religion and other subjects, he would also gain access to the children's parents. Finally, a missionary needed deep faith and devotion, because he sometimes acted contrary to public opinion and would get into trouble with colonial authorities. All of these qualities were evident in Father Franz Mayr, who was put in charge of the first Catholic Zulu Mission in Pietermaritzburg.

Bishop Jolivet recognized Mayr's proficiency in both English and Zulu (called isiZulu in Zulu), the local language of the Natal Africans, and immediately entrusted him with founding and running the Zulu Mission in town. Mayr was allowed to work as an independent secular priest and never joined the Oblates. The bishop indeed allowed Mayr a considerable amount of freedom in his work.

By order of Bishop Jolivet, who called him "a good little man" or "my little hunchback," Mayr gathered together a group of Zulus and built a church. This "native church" was situated on Erf 10, Burger Street, near St. Mary's Church. Mayr also ran an elementary school for children during the week and gave

catechetical instructions to adults and children after mass on Sundays.

On January 15, 1893, Jolivet blessed the simple building, and at the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus he named it the Holy Name Church. The influence of the church's mission is revealed by the baptismal record, which shows how quickly and at what rate conversions began among the Zulu people. The first baptism to take place in that church was that of 30-year-old Peter Makaye, on February 19, 1893. Two years earlier, however, on January 2, 1891, the Zulu Maria Mendaba, who was around 58 years old, had been baptized in St. Mary's Church. Her husband, Lorenz Makwikwi (ca. 70), and their children, Dominicus Uhlali Makwikwi (ca. 24) and Monica Nomandali Makwikwi (ca. 19), were baptized later on August 14, 1892—almost a year before the separate church for the Zulus was blessed.⁷

"A good number of Zulus frequent our school and chapel," Bishop Jolivet reported in 1894. Therefore, inspired by the success of the Catholic St. Francis Xavier Mission near the harbor of Durban, Jolivet and Mayr

began to plan a village for African Catholics on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. Soon a site for Maryvale ("Valley of Mary," sometimes written as Marievale or Marienthal in German) was bought in the vicinity of the present Ohrtmann Road, where Mayr built Holy Family Church. Today the Catholic church known as St. Joan of Arc stands there. Mayr soon settled African families in the village, and an extra hundred acres (forty hectares) of arable land was leased for their use. As in the case of the St. Francis Xavier Mission, each African family was forced to build a dwelling in European style and had to cultivate crops on its individual plot of land.⁸

The official opening of Maryvale Mission by Bishop Jolivet occurred on January 27, 1895, and is reported in the March 1895 edition of the *South African Catholic Magazine*. This occasion marked a milestone in the development and expansion of the Zulu Mission in and around Pietermaritzburg. The allowance to expand the Zulu Mission to Maryvale certainly stemmed from Bishop Jolivet's confidence in Mayr's ability to successfully evangelize the Zulus.⁹

Another article, published four years later, gives the reader a glimpse of how Maryvale had grown since its inception. The article, which was originally published in French, describes a visit by Bishop Jolivet to Maryvale on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of his priestly ordination:

Maryvale, a pleasant village situated along the Dorp Spruit River, is two or three miles from Pietermaritzburg. The land belongs to the mission, and on it the missionary has built small attractive houses where Zulus have begun to taste the goodness of the civilization of the cross and the charity of Christ. Arranged in three or four rows, these houses have verandas covered by the shade of green and flower-bearing plants. There is a main street leading to the

church, where the missionary preaches and says Holy Mass twice and where Sr. Marie-Lucie teaches arithmetic, English, and sewing to these blacks. The tower of the chapel has a nice bell, which rings in the valley like the sound of the Divine Voice to remind the Zulus of their true and unique Master, to whom their hearts should respond. On May 16 the bell rang with vigor in the valley of Mary, and three bishops, one in miter, and twelve other priests came to the village, to this church and this mission. They rang three bells of a complete carillon to announce properly the arrival of these visitors and were singing joyfully and gladly in honor of the event. All were waiting in the church, which was prepared nicely for this feast; the children were in the middle, with the men and

the women on either side. As soon as the monsignor reached his chair, Fr. Mayr played the reed organ, and the choir began to sing joyfully in Latin, Zulu, and English.¹⁰

The first baptism to be recorded in Holy Family Church, which took place on November 2, 1895, was that of Laurentia Makoba, born on October 21, 1895, the daughter of Philemon Makoba and Maria Engel.¹¹

Developing Maryvale required

substantial funds from European patrons. In order to raise money, Franz Mayr visited Europe and solicited funds from the Austrian countess Maria Theresia Ledóchowska and the Sodality of St. Peter Claver, a religious organization known for supporting Catholic missions in Africa. Most of the funds went toward buying land and constructing a school chapel, as well as other buildings. In the spring of 1904 Mayr even traveled to Canada in search of funding and to recruit missionary sisters for Natal.¹²

Oblate priests eventually took over Maryvale, while Mayr continued his work at the Holy Name Chapel in the city of Pietermaritzburg and ministered in the town prison, where as early as the 1890s he had been invited to become a chaplain to those on death row. Mayr walked alongside prisoners as they went to the gallows, converting them to Christianity before they died and baptizing them, sometimes the day before their hanging.

Mayr was in Natal until 1909, during which time he founded several mission stations throughout the colony and assisted other priests in their work in places such as Oakford and Umsinsi.

Work in Southern Rhodesia and Swaziland

In 1909 Mayr was asked by the Missionaries of Mariannahill, as the Trappists were known from that time, to reopen a mission field in Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe). St. Triashill, which was Mayr's most successful mission station in the area, was situated in Manyikaland, near the border of the former colony of Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique). He studied the language of the Manyika people and was soon able to preach the Gospel in their vernacular, called *chiManyika*.

In 1912 Mayr left Africa for Europe to offer his services as an English and Zulu teacher to young Mariannahill missionaries



General Archives of the Missionary Sisters of St. Peter Claver, Rome

Zulu Catholics in Pietermaritzburg, ca. 1900; Franz Mayr, first row, left of center

planning to travel to Africa. Just a few months later he decided to return to Africa to help the Tyrolean Servites of Mary in Swaziland.

Mayr and the Tyrolean Servites in 1913 started the first Catholic mission in the tiny African monarchy of Swaziland. Mayr's help was much appreciated by the Servite superior, Father Arimath Maria Gratl. Surely motivated by these successes, Mayr immediately set out to establish St. Joseph's Mission near Bremersdorp, which was the capital of Swaziland. St. Joseph's, the last mission he founded, is the place of his burial.

On October 15, 1914, a Thursday morning, Mayr set out alone in his mule cart. About twelve kilometers beyond Bremersdorp, he stopped at a store to purchase a coat. As he left, a young Swazi named Mfanyana Mdluli followed him, robbed him of his money, and then stabbed him to death. The native queen regent, Labotsibeni, at once dispatched an underling to investigate, who, after searching, found Mayr's body. There were seventeen wounds on his left arm and left leg and another wound, probably the fatal one, in his neck. Mayr was forty-nine years old.¹³

Mayr's Various Collections

When I started my research a few years ago into the life of this Tyrolean missionary, he was all but forgotten. What I found were mostly unpublished sources scattered across Europe and South Africa. My search for information led me from Austria to Italy, Great Britain, and South Africa. Several hundred of the documents I found were recently made available in my book *Adieu ihr lieben Schwarzen* (Farewell, Dear Blacks), together with Mayr's published articles, historical photographs, and maps, as well as my own commentary. The book offers many interesting

Mayr's recordings are some of the earliest Zulu sound documents.

insights into Mayr's life, including information about his interest in languages, especially African ones, and in music and photography, and about his passion for collecting ethnological artifacts, minerals, plants, animals, and even locust eggs.

Mayr sent several of his collections to scientific institutions such as the Natural History Collection (Naturhistorisches Kabinett) of the Vinzentinum, his former school, and to his sponsors, friends, and relatives in Europe. Only in the last few years have scholars started to pay attention to these rather significant collections.

The Herbarium of the University of Natal holds Mayr's hundred-year-old ethnobotanical collection of medicinal plants, which he meticulously cataloged in both Latin and Zulu. Scientists of the Department of Botany now work with this collection, which is one of the oldest in southern Africa.

While in Southern Rhodesia (1909–12), Mayr collected tools, traditional clothes, and weapons from the Manyika people. He sent many of the ethnological items to Countess Ledóchowska for use in her traveling exhibitions, but he sent the better part of his collections to the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg. William Dewey of the University of Iowa called Mayr's Manyika collection "the best [I have] ever seen worldwide. Mayr clearly went to great efforts to select a detailed range of items."¹⁴

Publications by Franz Mayr

Apart from his missionary work, Mayr also found time to write several books, such as *Zulu Simplified*, first published in 1899. This was a grammar subtitled *A New, Practical, and Easy Method of Learning the Zulu Language*, in its sixth edition renamed *An English-Zulu Exercise Book, with Key for Colonists and Natives*. In 1899 at the behest of the school inspector of Natal he also published *Beginnings of English Grammar and Geography*,¹⁵ plus a songbook written in English.¹⁶ Just two years later Mayr finished *Incwadi Yokufundisa ukufunda isi Zulu* (Manual for teaching and learning Zulu), a Zulu textbook which was published in Salzburg, Austria.¹⁷

While in Southern Rhodesia, Mayr published *A Chimanyika Spelling Book*¹⁸ and several religious books, such as a Catholic catechism titled *Katekisma kana Tsamba ye rudzidziso rwe Sangano katolike* (Catechism or book of the teachings of the Catholic Church)¹⁹ and a Catholic prayer and hymnbook entitled *Munda we mweya kana Tsambe ye minamoto ne ndwiyo* (Field of the Holy Spirit or book of prayers and hymns).²⁰ The collection *Gore Rinoyera re Sangano kana Mavangeri e Masondo: Ne e Misi mikuru minamoto ne ndwiyo dze gore rinoyera re Sangano zwimwe zwimwe zwiwo: Kwakabarwange wadzidzisi we St. Triashill*, published posthumously, contains prayers and hymns collected by him and other Mariannahill missionaries.²¹ *Buku re masoko anoyera e chirangano che kare ne chipswa rakawambzirwa nge masoko e Sangano* (a Bible history translated into *chiManyika*) and *Easy English for Natives in Rhodesia* were published after his death.²²

Mayr also left a few scholarly articles about the Zulus, such as "Language of Colours Amongst the Zulus Expressed by Their Beadwork Ornaments, and Some General Notes on Their Personal Adornments and Clothing."²³ Mayr's articles "The Zulu Kafirs of Natal" and "Zulu Proverbs" were published in *Anthropos*, an anthropological journal edited by Wilhelm Schmidt.²⁴ Schmidt, a corresponding member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, suggested that Mayr and three other Catholic missionaries receive phonographs to preserve indigenous music from various parts of the world.²⁵

Though Mayr was not the first person to produce Zulu recordings, his are some of the earliest sound documents made in that language. His recordings were originally made on wax cylinders and later copied to discs, so-called *Phonogramme*, in the Phonogrammarchiv of what was then the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna. On his motivation to record Zulu music, Mayr commented, "It is certainly high time for such a study, as European music is rapidly penetrating into every part of the country, and harmonicas, concertinas, etc., are taking the place of the original primitive instruments."²⁶ In one of the protocols enclosed with his Zulu recordings, Mayr wrote, "I intend to write a more detailed treatise on Zulu music for *Anthropos* after receiving the result of listening to the phonograph cylinders."²⁷ The article was not published in *Anthropos* but appeared instead in the *Annals of the Natal Government Museum* as "A Short Study on Zulu Music."²⁸

Mayr was interested in the culture of the African people among whom he lived and worked as a missionary. His writings, however, convey feelings of superiority, justifications of mission work, and other politics of the time that Mayr would have wanted or been forced to defend. It is therefore important to understand the local situation in Africa and Mayr's own personal history. His comments and notes should be examined within the proper sociohistorical context, with an eye on Mayr's interests and influences.

Notes

1. This article is an abridged version of my contribution to Series 10 of the Sound Documents from the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences which was published in 2006. I am grateful to Rosalind Early for editing my English text. Special thanks also to the Hochschuljubiläumstiftung der Stadt Wien, Magistratsabteilung 8, which funded part of the research. I thank Sandra Sanneh for providing translations of three of Mayr's isiZulu and chiManyika titles.
2. See Clemens Gütl, ed., *"Adieu ihr lieben Schwarzen": Gesammelte Schriften des Tiroler Afrikamissionars Franz Mayr (1865–1914)* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2004), pp. 27–36, 43–45.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–40, 50–53.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 54–304.
5. J. G. Duckworth, *The St. Mary's Story: A History of St. Mary's Catholic Parish Pietermaritzburg* (Mariannhill: Mission Press, 1989), pp. 5ff.
6. *Natal Almanac* (1886), p. 370.
7. Register of Baptisms, vol. 3, 1888–1901, St. Mary's Church, Pietermaritzburg.
8. See Gütl, *"Adieu ihr lieben Schwarzen,"* pp. 27–36, 43–45.
9. See "Feast of the Holy Family at Maryvale," *South African Catholic Magazine* 3 (1895): 170–71.
10. "A la mission de Maryvale," *Missions* 147 (September 1899): 274–78.
11. Register of Baptisms, vol. 3, 1888–1901.
12. See Gütl, *"Adieu ihr lieben Schwarzen,"* pp. 100, 173ff.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 305–16, 366–87.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 389–90.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–17; Franz Mayr, *Zulu Simplified, Being a New, Practical, and Easy Method of Learning the Zulu Language*, 5th ed. (Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis & Sons, 1904); Franz Mayr, *Zulu Simplified, Being an English-Zulu Exercise Book, with Key for Colonists and Natives*, 6th ed. (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1911).
16. See Gütl, *"Adieu ihr lieben Schwarzen,"* p. 121.
17. Franz Mayr, *Incwadi Yokufundisa ukufunda isi Zulu* (Manual for teaching and learning Zulu) (Salzburg-Maria Sorg: St. Petrus Claver Sodalität, 1901).
18. Franz Mayr, *A Chimanyika Spelling Book* (Mariannhill, [1910?]).
19. Franz Mayr, *Katekisma kana Tsamba ye rudzidziso rwe Sangano katolike* (Catechism or book of the teachings of the Catholic Church) (Mariannhill: Ignatius Cartlan, 1910).
20. Franz Mayr, *Munda we mweya kana Tsambe ye minamoto ne ndwiyo* (Field of the Holy Spirit or book of prayers and hymns) (Pinetown: Mariannhill, 1911).
21. Collective from Triashill, *Gore Rinoyera re Sangano kana Mavangeri e Masondo: Ne e Misi mikuru minamoto ne ndwiyo dze gore rinoyera re Sangano zwimwe zwimwe zwiwo: Kwakabarwa nge wadzidzisi we St. Triashill* (The Holy Church Year, with the Gospels for all Sundays and holidays, prayers and hymns for the Holy Church Year, besides some other prayers. Published by the Patres R.M.M., Triashill) (Mariannhill, Natal: Catholic Mission Press, 1918).
22. Franz Mayr and Aegidius Pfister, trans., *Buku re masoko anoyera e chirangano che kare ne chipswa rakawambzirwa nge masoko e Sangano* (Bible History, Containing the Most Remarkable Events of the Old and New Testaments, to Which Is Added a Compendium of Church History) (Mariannhill: Catholic Mission Press, 1917); Franz Mayr, *Easy English for Natives in Rhodesia* (Mariannhill, 1928).
23. Franz Mayr, "Language of Colours Amongst the Zulus Expressed by Their Beadwork Ornaments, and Some General Notes on Their Personal Adornments and Clothing," *Annals of the Natal Museum* 1 (1906): 159–66.
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The Legacy of Vincent J. McCauley

Richard Gribble

The Congregation of Holy Cross, a Roman Catholic religious order established in 1837 in France, provided missionaries to foreign lands almost from the outset. In 1840, religious were sent to Algiers; one year later others were sent to Indiana. In 1853 Holy Cross took on the mission of East Bengal (now Bangladesh). Again in 1958 the congregation answered the mission call, at the invitation of Jean Ogez, W.F., bishop of Mbarara, in western Uganda.

As a Holy Cross priest, Vincent Joseph McCauley, C.S.C. (1906–82), served God's people of both Asia and Africa between 1936 and 1982. While McCauley made significant contributions to the local church of East Bengal, this essay focuses on his legacy in the promotion of local church institutions and indigenous clergy in East Africa, seen best in his establishment there of educational institutions.¹

Early Life and Religious Formation

Vincent McCauley, the eldest of six children born to Charles McCauley and Mary Wickham, was born in Council Bluffs, Iowa, on March 8, 1906. His father, Charles,² was a wire chief for American Telephone and Telegraph in Omaha, Nebraska, across the Missouri River from Council Bluffs. His mother tended the home front, meeting the needs of Vincent and his five younger siblings. The family regularly attended missions and many other parish-sponsored events. As with many Catholic families of the period, the parish was central to the McCauley family's religious and social life.

In typical fashion for the day, McCauley was a product of the Catholic education system. He and all his siblings attended the local parish school, St. Francis Xavier. He then entered Creighton Prep in Omaha, where he excelled in sports, especially baseball, which was his true love. After finishing the program at Creighton Prep, he found it a natural move to Creighton University's College of Arts and Letters, where he matriculated as a member of the class of 1928.³

His time at Creighton was unexpectedly cut short, however, when members of the Congregation of Holy Cross gave a mission at St. Francis Xavier Parish in the early fall of 1924. The encounter sparked in him the desire for priesthood, a latent feeling that was, according to family members, rarely expressed.⁴ In a letter that fall to Holy Cross officials at Notre Dame, however, McCauley claimed that a calling to the priesthood "has been the aim of my life for many years." In a letter to the vocation director, he spoke of his desire to join Holy Cross: "Trusting that God wills it, my only desire now is for a favorable reply from you."⁵

McCauley left Council Bluffs in November 1924 to join the Congregation of Holy Cross at Notre Dame, Indiana. After completing his initial formation and achieving his baccalaureate

degree, he professed his perpetual vows on July 2, 1929. He then was sent to the Foreign Mission Seminary (commonly called the Bengalese) in Washington, D.C. McCauley attended classes at Holy Cross College, the principal seminary for the congregation in Washington. He was ordained on June 24, 1934, by John Noll, bishop of Fort Wayne, Indiana, at Sacred Heart Church at Notre Dame.

McCauley's desire to train for the missions at the Bengalese requires some analysis. Interviews with members of his family reveal little as to his motivation for this specialized ministry. Years later in a lecture at Creighton University, however, McCauley revealed at least partially his rationale: "For more than thirty-five years I have had the conviction that it was the faith and zeal and generosity of the Christian Community in Council Bluffs and Omaha that produced the situation, conditions, [and] atmosphere that enabled me and many others to receive the privilege of serving in the missions."⁶ It thus appears that McCauley chose to be a missionary from the example of sharing and self-sacrifice he experienced from family and friends at home. Similarly, self-sacrifice would characterize his mission career.

Missionary to East Africa

The first half of McCauley's ministerial career prepared him for his significant contributions to the church of Eastern Africa. His first overseas experience was in East Bengal, where from 1936 to 1944 he served as an educator and rector of a minor seminary. The experience and knowledge he gained regarding the need for indigenous clergy were significant. Returning to the United States because of poor health, he spent the next fourteen years in Washington, D.C., as superior of the Foreign Mission Seminary and procurator of the mission. Through this work he gained entrée to people and institutions that would be instrumental for his work in Eastern Africa.

In November 1958 McCauley was once again called upon to serve God's people in other lands. Earlier that year, he and fellow Holy Cross priest Arnold Fell presented a very favorable report concerning a possible community mission in western Uganda. Bishop Jean Ogez of Mbarara had invited Holy Cross to assist the White Fathers in their mission, prompting McCauley and Fell, at the request of the superior general, to personally visit the region.

It did not take long for McCauley, who arrived in Uganda with three newly ordained Holy Cross priests, to make his mark. As superior of the new mission, McCauley was the natural choice for bishop when in 1961 the Mbarara diocese was split, forming the Diocese of Fort Portal. Starting from scratch, McCauley organized the diocese administratively. He approached his role as bishop from a pastoral perspective, believing that his main purpose was to implant the faith by aiding Africans to take responsibility for their local church. He explained, "The objective of a foreign missionary must be to assist the Africans among whom he works to assume the responsibility for their Church. In order to reach this objective the missionary must be satisfied to do the training and to help his African fellow priest, Brother, Sister, or lay-man to advance as quickly and thoroughly as possible."⁷

As he had championed so strongly in Bengal, McCauley was a major promoter of the local church, Africanization, and the



Richard Gribble, C.S.C., is Associate Professor of Religious Studies at Stonehill College, North Easton, Massachusetts. He is the author most recently of Vincent McCauley, C.S.C.: Bishop of the Poor, Apostle of East Africa (Ave Maria Press, 2008).

—rgribble@stonehill.edu

fostering of indigenous clergy, primarily through the vehicle of education. His efforts in this vein began locally in 1964 through his establishment of St. Mary's minor seminary in Fort Portal. Today the school continues as a senior secondary school that feeds Uganda's three national seminaries, at Gaba, Kinyamasika, and Gulu.

McCauley's most significant contribution and greatest legacy to education was his supervision of the establishment of a national seminary in Uganda. In 1964 the Uganda Episcopal Conference (UEC) asked McCauley to direct the project. His contacts in the United States and Rome for financial backing, as well as his significant experience, made him the logical choice to head the project.

Although the project was plagued by design problems, insufficient funds, and cost overruns, McCauley managed to keep it on course. He was forced to constantly beg funds from

continue his work long after his death. From the very outset he was integrally involved with the Uganda hierarchy. He expressed his sense of integrity and personal involvement with his fellow bishops in a letter to the apostolic pro-nuncio in Zambia: "Each day brings us an increasing sense of the responsibility for the welfare of the Church on the part of the Bishops and the need to foster fraternal cooperation in order that the best interest of Christ among the people of God be promoted, deepened and extended."¹⁰

McCauley played a key role in systematizing the Uganda hierarchy. Bishop Joseph Willigers of Jinja called McCauley "the main thrust in shaping the new Uganda Episcopal Conference." He continued, "From the beginning it was obvious to me that Bishop McCauley was a major organizing power amongst the Uganda Bishops."¹¹ Bishop Paul Kalanda (local ordinary in Fort Portal from 1991 to 2003) wrote that McCauley "played a very big role in organizing the Uganda Episcopal Conference."¹²

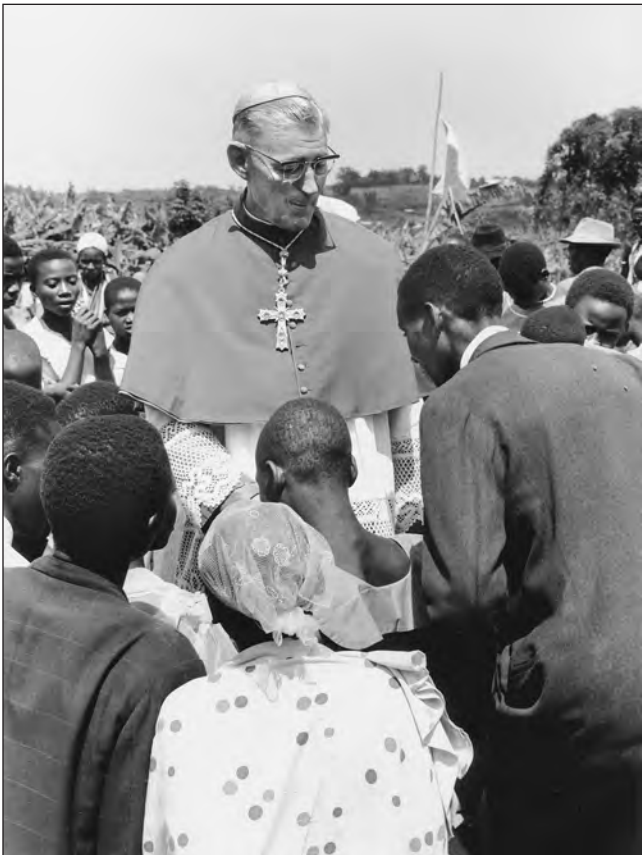
McCauley was thrust into positions of leadership in the UEC from the very outset. In October 1961, while attending his first meeting of the conference, he was appointed recording secretary. He served as vice-chairman of the conference on three different occasions and was also a member of its executive committee.¹³ In 1970 he served as chairman of the UEC's Social Services Commission and was a member of the Ecumenical Commission.¹⁴ Not only was McCauley highly regarded for his organizational skills, but he was equally well respected for his advice. Bishops from many areas came to Fort Portal to seek his counsel in many matters, most especially the initial organization of a diocese. McCauley's fellow bishops held him in high regard.¹⁵ He was never considered a threat, but always a wise and considerate father who was present to help.

McCauley's significant contributions to the local church through the promotion of education and the UEC were complemented by his construction of a new cathedral in Fort Portal. On March 20, 1966, a severe earthquake struck western Uganda, killing 104, injuring 510, and leaving 6,000 homeless. Among the significant casualties was the cathedral, which was a total loss. Almost immediately McCauley traveled to the United States to raise money to rebuild. On April 21, 1968, the new cathedral, called Virika, was dedicated, with Cardinal Lauren Rugambwa of Tanzania as the principal celebrant.¹⁶ The church stands today as a monument to McCauley's belief in the church of Fort Portal.

Chairman and Secretary General of AMECEA

In 1964 Vincent McCauley was elected chairman of the Association of Member Episcopal Conferences of Eastern Africa (AMECEA), an organization founded in 1961 at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, under the name Interterritorial Episcopal Board of Eastern Africa (ITEBEA). ITEBEA described its mandate as being "to pool information concerning the views and actions of the five Episcopal Conferences, and to carry out projects of common interest and seek solutions to common problems, when so requested by the national Episcopal conferences."¹⁷

The Eastern African bishops recast ITEBEA as AMECEA in 1964 while meeting at the third session of Vatican II, when they also elected McCauley chairman. The 1964 session also more clearly articulated AMECEA's objectives, the foremost of which was to promote intercommunication and cooperation among local churches in Eastern Africa. Next, the body sought ways to support the apostolate in light of the new conciliar documents. Third, the bishops wished to study problems of common interest in Eastern Africa and to find solutions. Lastly, the association



Holy Cross Fathers, Indiana Province Archives, Notre Dame, Indiana
**Bishop McCauley greeting parishioners at
 Virika Cathedral, Fort Portal, Uganda, ca. 1970**

Roman congregations, especially the Pontifical Work of St. Peter the Apostle, which provided the bulk of the construction monies. While McCauley was forced on several occasions to cut back the original design and was often frustrated to the point of offering his resignation,⁸ the project was eventually completed and the seminary dedicated on October 21, 1970. Grateful for his efforts, Emmanuel Nsubuga, archbishop of Kampala and chairman of the UEC, wrote to McCauley: "Your Lordship, believe me, since the Uganda Episcopal Conference put all trust in you for the building of the Gaba National Seminary, you have done wonderfully. Without your indefatigable effort and skill, the construction of Gaba National Seminary would not be what it is now."⁹

Vincent McCauley's promotion of the local church was also manifest in his work in the formation of institutions that would

hoped to render services in a collaborative effort to meet the needs of the people of God.¹⁸

McCauley led the nascent AMECEA body through its early years, working closely with Killian Flynn, O.F.M., who served as secretary general. Early efforts of the conference included the establishment of St. John's Corner (a center for alcoholic clergy), the sponsorship of Vatican II summaries by the British theologian Adrian Hastings, and the expansion of AMECEA's departments to serve the Eastern African church more widely and productively. McCauley was also primarily responsible for rescuing the organization from the brink of financial collapse and setting the body on solid fiscal ground by 1973, when his role as chairman ended.¹⁹

Clearly the crowning accomplishment of McCauley's tenure as AMECEA chairman was the creation of the Gaba Pastoral Institute. Vatican II's strong emphasis on the apostolate of the laity prompted the AMECEA executive board to seek some response. The board commissioned Killian Flynn and a group of expatriate religious to examine the possibility of starting an English-medium

Not only was McCauley highly regarded for his organizational skills, but he was equally well respected for his advice.

residential college to train clergy, religious, and laity for teaching religion and supervising this teaching. A positive report from the committee led McCauley, as chairman of AMECEA, to lead the organizational effort. He successfully petitioned Archbishop Nsubuga for use of the old Gaba Seminary buildings in Kampala. McCauley was able to secure sufficient funds for renovation of the buildings, allowing the Gaba Pastoral Institute to open on February 1, 1968, for its initial ten-month program.²⁰

McCauley's association with AMECEA transitioned in 1973 with his appointment as secretary general. He had left Fort Portal on December 31, 1972, having retired his position as local ordinary. Simultaneously, Killian Flynn died while on a home visit to Ireland. The combination of events left McCauley free to accept the vacant position of secretary general. Now approaching the twilight of his episcopal and missionary career, McCauley continued to promote AMECEA by making suggestions for new avenues the body could take in its mission to serve the Eastern African church.

As secretary general, McCauley was now responsible for the organization of the triennial meetings of the bishops. During his tenure he used these sessions to address issues pertinent to the local church. The theme of the 1973 plenary session, "Planning for the Church in Africa in the 1980s," illustrated where McCauley hoped to take AMECEA in the immediate future. Small Christian Communities (SCCs) was one significant area of study. This issue was raised more directly in 1976 under the theme "Building Christian Communities in Africa." The bishops stated in the session legislation: "The Christian communities we are trying to build are simply the most local incarnations of the one holy Catholic and apostolic Church. . . . The task of building Christian communities is more creating and developing awareness of what our renewed vision of the Church means in practical terms and relationships, than one of building new structures."²¹

With this mandate each diocese was asked to formulate a plan for implementation of this vision. At the 1979 plenary a more forceful statement was published by the study conference, stressing that SCCs were the best way to develop African Christianity: "Small communities also seem the most effective means of making the Gospel message truly relevant to African cultures and traditions. By participating in the life of the Church at this most local level, Christians will foster the gradual and steady maturing of the young Church."²²

McCauley was also responsible as secretary general for the promotion of the "secondary school religious education syllabus project." Divided into two phases, the program generated ecumenically based materials for students and teachers that eventually spread to twenty African countries by 1979. The project's importance became evident in 1977, when a new department of religious education, headed by Christian Brother Richard Kiley, was added to the AMECEA organization.

In August 1979 Vincent McCauley stepped aside as secretary general of AMECEA and was replaced by his chosen protégé, Father Joseph Mukwaya of Uganda. His formal retirement did not mean, however, that his presence and influence were not still felt at AMECEA. On the contrary, he assisted in many different roles, substituting for the chairman or secretary general when needed, and was always ready for input when asked.

During his "retirement" McCauley left one more significant mark on the Eastern African church through the establishment of the Catholic Higher Institute of Eastern Africa (CHIEA), today the Catholic University of Eastern Africa. Planning for a postgraduate school for clergy had been ongoing since November 1973, when Cardinal Angelo Rossi of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples requested that all African episcopal conferences should investigate such a school for the English-speaking countries. After the work of various committees concluded that the project was viable, AMECEA took responsibility for the effort, placing McCauley, with his vast previous experience as a fund-raiser, in charge of the development efforts. McCauley was also involved with the design and construction, for which his experience with the Gaba National Seminary was invaluable.

Although McCauley did not live to see the day, CHIEA welcomed twenty-one students on September 3, 1984. Courses in biblical theology, dogmatics, moral theology, pastoral studies, liturgy, church history, spiritual theology, church law, management, social communications, pastoral counseling, and catechesis were available. CHIEA's aim was "to be the cradle of a Catholic University for Eastern Africa and to cater for specialized and advanced ecclesiastical studies through teaching and research in an African cultural environment."²³ One year later, on August 18, 1985, Pope John Paul II formally opened the school.²⁴

Conclusion

Vincent McCauley battled skin cancer his entire adult life, but his death came from pulmonary problems. For about a year he began to experience pulmonary hemorrhages, which grew progressively worse. He returned to the United States and, as always, went to the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, for treatment. There on November 1, 1982, while undergoing surgery, he died. Present with him at the time was his longtime friend John Croston, a fellow African missionary and Holy Cross priest, who stated, "A valiant man of God died, but a saint was born."²⁵ Appropriately, the superior general of Holy Cross, Thomas Barrosse, C.S.C., lauded McCauley's life of simplicity as religious and missionary: "He was an extraordinary man, and I thank God for having blessed

Holy Cross, our missions in Eastern Bengal of forty years ago, and the Church of East Africa today with so simple, generous, dedicated and joyful a religious and priest."²⁶

Vincent McCauley, priest, missionary, and bishop, returned to God having served the Lord and his people faithfully for

forty-eight years. At heart, he was a missionary, working long and hard in the service of God's people through promotion of the local church. His legacy in East Bengal/Bangladesh and East Africa is assured.

Notes

1. For detailed information on the life and work of Vincent McCauley, see Richard Gribble, *Vincent McCauley, C.S.C.: Bishop of the Poor, Apostle of East Africa* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria Press, 2008).
2. Robert Hoffman, C.S.C., interview with the author, April 24, 2006, Archives Holy Cross Fathers, Indiana Province (hereafter AHCFI), Notre Dame, Indiana.
3. Vincent McCauley to George Finnegan, C.S.C., September 27, 1924, Confidential Personal File, AHCFI.
4. Eleanor McCandless, interview with the author, April 3, 2006, AHCFI.
5. Vincent McCauley to George Finnegan, September 27 and October 5, 1924, Confidential Personnel File, AHCFI.
6. Vincent McCauley "The Churches and Development in Africa," lecture at Creighton University, May 7, 1971, 910.1, McCauley Papers, Archives of the Diocese of Fort Portal (hereafter ADFP), Fort Portal, Uganda.
7. Vincent McCauley to Leo Volker, W.F., November 21, 1966, 641, Missionaries of Africa, ADFP.
8. Convinced the project was not viable under the constraints imposed, McCauley wrote to Archbishop Antonio Mazza, secretary of the Pontifical Work of St. Peter the Apostle, "Our need in Uganda is, therefore, to develop a well-trained modern clergy, capable of competing with the University-trained leaders of Uganda. To attempt this 1970 need of the Church in 1940 accommodations is impossible. Because this impossibility is so clear to me, I cannot in conscience assume responsibility for what I know will be inadequate for the Church's need in Uganda. Since I cannot do what I see clearly must be done, and since I have been unable to persuade you and the Supreme Council, I reluctantly withdraw in favor of others who may have better success in obtaining for Uganda a Seminary adequate to her needs." See Vincent McCauley to Antonio Mazza, June 22, 1967, 220.4, UEC Commissions, Gaba, ADFP.
9. Emmanuel Nsubuga to Vincent McCauley, July 18, 1970, 204.1, AMECEA Secretariat Correspondence (misfiled), ADFP.
10. Vincent McCauley to Archbishop A. Paullidrinna, March 3, 1967, 202.5, AMECEA Correspondence, ADFP.
11. Joseph Willigers, M.H.M., to Richard Gribble, C.S.C., March 12, 2006, private papers of Richard Gribble (hereafter PPRG), North Easton, Massachusetts.
12. Paul Kalanda to Richard Gribble, March 14, 2006, PPRG.
13. Barnabas R. Halem Imana to Killian Flynn, O.F.M., Cap., June 12, 1967, 202.5, AMECEA Correspondence; Regulations of the UEC Secretariat, September 15, 1969, 210, UEC Regulations and Statutes; Meeting Minutes Uganda Episcopal Conference, October 21, 1970, 202.2, AMECEA Plenary (misfiled), ADFP; S. C. Lea to Bishops' Executive Episcopal Conference, June 25, 1963, 200.5, Uganda Episcopal Conference, Archives Archdiocese of Kampala (hereafter AAK), Kampala, Uganda.
14. Report of Brother Bartholomew, March 26, 1970; Meeting Minutes, Ecumenical Commission of the UEC, 203, Uganda Episcopal Conference, AAK.
15. Robert Hesse, C.S.C., interview with the author, February 22, 2006; Banyatereza Sisters, group interview with the author, January 28, 2006, AHCFI.
16. Vincent McCauley to Howard Kenna, C.S.C., May 21, 1968, 35:6, Kenna Papers, AHCFI.
17. "Short History of AMECEA, 1961-1973," n.d., AMECEA History, Archives Association of Episcopal Conferences of Eastern Africa (hereafter AAMECEA), Nairobi, Kenya. The original representatives to ITEBEA were Bishops Billington (Uganda), Blomjous (Tanganyika), Cavallera (Kenya), and Hardmann (Malawi) and Archbishop Kozlowiecki (Zambia).
18. Statutes of AMECEA, n.d. 202, AMECEA Regulations, ADFP.
19. Originally AMECEA was funded through the Pro Afris (antislavery) fund, which was allocated annually from the Vatican to each episcopal conference. After a few years the system broke down, requiring other means to finance AMECEA operations. Eventually McCauley set in place a system of "taxation" by which each member national episcopal conference contributed to the organization.
20. "Short History of AMECEA; James Ferguson, C.S.C., interview with the author, April 4, 2006; pamphlet, AMECEA, McCauley File, Holy Cross Mission Center Papers, AHCFI. Part 1 of the ten-month course was a basic overview of African pastoral anthropology, Scripture, pastoral theology, liturgy, and religious education. Part 2 concentrated on select themes and problems studied in a more pragmatic and less theoretical approach.
21. John Mutiso-Mbinda, "AMECEA Bishops' Consultations," p. 20, AMECEA Regulations, ADFP. The 1976 AMECEA Study Conference stated emphatically: "Systematic formation of Small Christian Communities should be the key pastoral priority in the years to come in Eastern Africa." See Joseph Healey, M.M., and Donald Sybertz, M.M., *Towards an African Narrative Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2004), p. 138.
22. In addition, the conference described the missionary role of Eastern African SCCs: "SCCs can be an effective way of developing the mission dimension of the Church at the most local level and of making people feel that they are really part of the Church's evangelizing work" (quoted in Healey and Sybertz, *Toward an African Theology*, pp. 150, 348).
23. AMECEA Communication Sheet, 1982, AMECEA History, AAMECEA.
24. Catalog CHIEA Bulletin no. 1, 1984-1985, SG 155 (C), CHIEA Academic Matters, Secretary General, AAMECEA; Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA) Program of Studies, 2001-2004, p. 1. On November 3, 1992, after a six-year process, a civil charter was received, and the Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA) officially began. Today CUEA serves a wide range of students from across the continent in numerous major disciplines.
25. John Croston, C.S.C., interview with the author, July 7, 2005, AHCFI.
26. Thomas Barrosse, C.S.C., to Richard Warner, C.S.C., November 10, 1982, 811, Doss. 1, Holy Cross Generalate Papers, Archives University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Book Reviews

Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico.

By Jaime Lara. *Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2008. Pp. ix, 372. \$75.*

Jaime Lara, an associate professor of Christian art and architecture and chair of the Program in Religion and the Arts at Yale University Divinity School and Yale Institute of Sacred Music, makes a major contribution to our understanding of evangelization in sixteenth-century Mexico in this richly textured and illustrated study. In *Christian Texts for Aztecs*, a companion volume to his first book (*City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain* [2004]), Lara explores the relatively understudied topic of the ways in which the Catholic sacraments were understood by the Nahuatl-speaking Mexico (Aztecs) in central Mexico. He focuses on external religious behavior and how the performative characteristics of public worship in Mesoamerican society converged with “an equally vibrant European liturgical tradition” (p. 4). He pays particular attention to the affinities between *teoyoism* (Mexica religion) and Catholicism in the use of metaphoric language and visual metaphor and the process of inculturation that underlay the missionary endeavors in sixteenth-century Mexico.

With a nuanced and disciplined eye, Lara scrutinizes an impressive range of sources such as Christian missionary texts, architecture, indigenous codices, woodblock prints, copper engravings, and religious artwork that combines indigenous techniques with European iconography. Chapters 1–3 provide the medieval and European background of missionary activity and understandings of conversion, the late medieval liturgy prior to the discovery of the New World, and the precedents for visual

preaching. Chapters 4 and 5 examine the presentation and administration of the seven sacraments among the indigenous peoples. Lara contends that pre-Columbian practices prepared the Mexica for the Catholic sacraments. He is sensitive to the importance of understanding the spatial and sensory contexts in which sacraments were administered and devotions occurred. He provides a compelling analysis of how flowers, feathers, song, and dance—central to *teoyoism*—were creatively reworked into an emerging Mexican Catholicism. Some concepts proved more difficult than others to translate and communicate, most notably the real presence of Christ in the consecrated host. Chapters 6 and 7 analyze processional liturgies. Lara pays particular attention to the heavily theatricalized processions of the feast of Corpus Christi, which eventually substituted for the Mexica ritual cult of the sun. Chapter 8 explores the liturgical artifacts of Catholicism (including *matracas*, or wooden clappers, the *tarasca* dragon, and corn Christs) and the material culture of the new religion. Chapter 9 is a speculative exercise on the importance of the human heart and blood in *teoyoism* and in Catholicism. Lara suggests that friars and their indigenous assistants reappropriated Mexica beliefs about human sacrifice and religious cannibalism and applied them to Christ’s sacrifice on the cross and to his sacramental body.

Lara makes several key arguments. First, relatively little of Mexica religion was destroyed; rather, much of it was “recycled” through modifications in visual and verbal metaphors. Second, Mexico’s

early evangelization was accomplished largely by the deployment of images and metaphors. Third, Lara emphasizes the partnership between the friars and Nahua Christians and foregrounds the proactive roles of the latter. Finally, he stresses the creative qualities of evangelization in New Spain, which “was a laboratory in the inculturation and contextualization of Christianity and its liturgy, a fascinating experiment whose effects linger to this day” (p. 13). Lara’s work clearly points to the need for comparative research on the specifics of regional evangelizations throughout colonial Latin America and on the differing fortunes of inculturation and partnerships between friars and indigenous Catholics.

I do have a minor quibble. Lara’s contention that enacted worship had a greater impact on the emerging society in Mexico than did political hegemony (an argument made in his first book) remains problematic and elides deeper questions about the exercise of power in colonial societies. So even though he acknowledges that the conversion of Mesoamerica to Catholicism was “far from perfect or without serious problems” (p. 255), he leaves this reader with the distinct impression that he does not quite believe this conclusion. Lara’s study, nevertheless, is a superb meditation on missionary activity in the New World and sets a very high standard.

—Susan Deans-Smith

Susan Deans-Smith is Associate Professor of Colonial Latin American History in the Department of History, University of Texas at Austin.

Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the Transformation of the West.

By Jehu J. Hanciles. *Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2008. Pp. xviii, 430. Paperback \$35.*

Hanciles paints on a broad canvas. The backdrop consists of long vistas across the history of the church, allied to contemporary demographic and migration studies. This sets the scene for

detailed studies of the African immigrant churches currently being formed in the West. In superbly crafted prose Hanciles argues that (1) our understanding of globalization must include recognition of

the active agency of non-Westerners and (2) world mission must be reconceived, post-Christendom, in light of renewed confluence of mission and migration—“every Christian migrant is a potential missionary” (p. 6).

The book is convincing in its demonstration that globalization is not a one-way process of advancing Western hegemony but that, on the contrary, it is being significantly shaped by non-Western agency, and in showing that the face of Christianity in the West is being changed through the

advent of immigrant churches, which represent the contextually shaped faith of non-Western communities. It is less convincing in regard to the “transformation of the West.” While Hanciles offers both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the new immigrant churches, he concedes that, so far, their impact has largely been limited to people who are already part of their transnational communities. What remains to be seen is whether they can develop the capacity for cross-cultural mission, which will enable them to impact people in the Western mainstream, where secular (post)modernity holds sway. Will they be more “pastoral detention center or missionary springboard” (p. 349)?

The movement of immigrant non-Western Christianity is painted in largely positive hues (missionary hagiography revisited?). This may be a necessary corrective to earlier neglect, but it highlights the need for more critical and nuanced accounts to be developed in the future. No one, however, should attempt such an exercise without thoroughly engaging with Hanciles’s ground-breaking book. It is a must-read for anyone seeking to discern the emerging shape of mission in our time.

—Kenneth R. Ross

Kenneth R. Ross is Council Secretary of the Church of Scotland World Mission Council. He was formerly professor of theology at the University of Malawi, where he taught from 1988 to 1998.

Mission in the Twenty-first Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission.

Edited by Andrew F. Walls and Cathy Ross. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2008. Pp. xvi, 219. Paperback \$25.

In 1990 the Anglican Consultative Council affirmed five marks of mission: (1) to proclaim the Good News of the kingdom; (2) to teach, baptize, and nurture new believers; (3) to respond to human need by loving service; (4) to seek to transform unjust structures of society; and (5) to strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustain and renew the life of the earth. The first half of the book reflects on the five marks through excellent two-part chapters, each part being written by a different author. As coeditor Cathy Ross describes it, “The first article of the pair is a more reflective, theological article. . . . The second article is more descriptive and has more of a praxis orientation” (p. xiv). Often, however, the first article includes discussion of praxis, and the second article includes theological reflection. Thus the dual emphasis is found through

Fifteen Outstanding Books of 2008 for Mission Studies

In consultation with fifty distinguished scholars from around the world, the editors of the *INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH* have selected fifteen books published in 2008 for special recognition of their contribution to the advancement of scholarship in studies of the Christian mission and world Christianity.

Aritonang, Jan Sihar, and Karel Steenbrink, eds.

A History of Christianity in Indonesia.

Leiden: Brill. €179 / \$267.

Begründer, Michael.

The South Indian Pentecostal Movement in the Twentieth Century.

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. Paperback \$40.

Dyrness, William A., and Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, eds.

Global Dictionary of Theology: A Resource for the Worldwide Church.

Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press. \$50.

Frykenberg, Robert Eric.

Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present.

New York: Oxford Univ. Press. \$150.

Hanciles, Jehu J.

Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the Transformation of the West.

Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books. Paperback \$35.

Hiebert, Paul G.

Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change.

Grand Rapids: Baker Academic. Paperback \$24.99.

Jenkins, Philip.

The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia—and How It Died.

New York: HarperOne. \$26.95.

Kalu, Ogbu U.

Clio in a Sacred Garb: Essays on Christian Presence and African Responses, 1900–2000.

Trenton, N.J., and Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press. Paperback \$29.95.

Lara, Jaime.

Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico.

Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press. \$75.

Makdisi, Ussama.

Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East.

Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press. \$35.

Robert, Dana L., ed.

Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914.

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. Paperback \$40.

Sharkey, Heather J.

American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire.

Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press. \$39.50.

Strengholt, Jos M.

Gospel in the Air: Fifty Years of Christian Witness Through Radio in the Arab World.

Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum. Paperback €65.

Soelmo, William Lawrence.

A New Vision for Missions: William Cameron Townsend, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the Culture of Early Evangelical Faith Missions, 1896–1945.

Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press. Paperback \$46.

Zahniser, A. H. Mathias.

The Mission and Death of Jesus in Islam and Christianity.

Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books. Paperback \$36.

the two-part structure of each chapter, as well as within the individual parts. The contributors demonstrate that the best theology is done in the context of mission and show the importance of theological reflection on mission practices.

The second half of the book explores diverse issues in mission, again by authors from various global settings. I recommend first reading the afterword by coeditor Andrew Walls. His fine essay places the rest of the book in context by describing the current transition in global mission

through the lens of the great European migration of the previous five hundred years and the current reverse migration. The new reality he describes is reflected by the fact that most of the contributors to the book are from the Majority World, and by the fact that they do not direct their critiques solely at the North (or West), as they might have done twenty or thirty years ago, but also at theological and missional weaknesses of the churches in their respective settings.

A small critique of the book is that

the editors failed at points to keep non-Anglican readers in mind. For instance, rather than explaining the source of the five marks of mission in the introduction, the reader is not told about it until page 158. That is not to say the book is for Anglicans only. A number of the contributors are non-Anglican, and with the exception of perhaps one chapter, readers from other traditions will find the content accessible and relevant.

—Mark D. Baker

Mark D. Baker is Associate Professor of Mission and Theology at Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary, Fresno, California.



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The Certainty Trap: Can Christians and Muslims Afford the Luxury of Fundamentalism?

By Bill Musk. Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 2008. Pp. xxx, 257. Paperback \$17.99.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, religious fundamentalism became a widespread global movement. The specter of fundamentalism in both Islam and Christianity continues to pose considerable challenges to meaningful dialogue between the adherents of these two dominant religious traditions. A “certainty trap” has become prevalent in Islam and Christianity, with concomitant extremist and violent interpretations of sacred texts. Such an approach has been used to justify an unprecedented sacred fury and violence on a global scale. Religious traditions must come to terms with the potential dangers of a rigid interpretation of scripture. Both Christianity and Islam will flourish if their followers become weary of the certainty trap, which threatens to eclipse the positive messages in both religious traditions.

Bill Musk asserts that the majority of Muslims and Christians operate within what he calls a hermeneutic of certainty. They steadfastly subscribe to a literal interpretation of their sacred texts, leaving no room for critical engagement with these texts. According to Musk, the crux of the issue is how one can acknowledge the authority of sacred texts “and yet not fall into the trap of harnessing its endemic authority to allow verses from different contexts to justify beliefs or practices that, with deeper reflection, might not appear to be so justified” (p. xxi). Musk makes a convincing case for a more nuanced reading of the scriptures. He challenges both Christians and Muslims to scrutinize their interpretation of sacred text in order to avoid cavalier caricatures and simplistic solutions to complex phenomena or issues.

Musk warns Christians and Muslims alike against interpretations and practices that betray the history and content of their respective religious traditions. The interpretation of various scriptures as authorizing violence, carnage, terror, and oppression is an offense to the picture of the God of love and peace that is enshrined in the Qur'an and in the Bible.

The Certainty Trap offers valuable insights that can meaningfully contribute to Christian-Muslim relations. Given the author's sojourn and ministry in the Middle East, this book may speak more to Islamists and the fundamentalist fervor in Islam, a fact that does not diminish its value for interreligious understanding and engagement.

—Akintunde E. Akinade

Akintunde E. Akinade, from Nigeria, teaches Christian-Muslim relations and comparative religion at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar.

**All Things Hold Together:
Holistic Theologies at the African
Grassroots; Selected Essays by
M. L. Daneel.**

By M. L. Daneel. Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2007. Pp. xvi, 408. R 236 / \$40 / £23 / €31.

Daneel, who has held faculty positions in the Free University of Amsterdam and the University of South Africa, is currently connected with the Boston University School of Theology. Not content with an ivory tower existence and having a concern to understand the African Initiated Church (AIC) movement from the inside, in the mid-1960s he took up residence for three years in an African village adjacent to Bishop Mutendi's Zion City among the Shona-speaking peoples of Zimbabwe. He has subsequently spent more than forty years in sympathetic participant observation and close collaboration with the AICs and other churches in the area. I know of no one who has entered more deeply into the thought and experience of AIC churches and written more realistically about them.

This collection of thirteen essays from the dozen or so books and many articles Daneel has published has a particular value in that it appears at a time when several of Daneel's major publications are out of print and serves the purpose of providing synoptic vignettes of his unique mission and contributions to the understanding of both the AICs and African Traditional Religions. They are collated in complementary groups of three under five major headings. There

is hardly a dimension of the thought and experience relative to the AICs that is not explored. Individual chapters focus on the historical roots and classification of types of AICs, patterns of leadership and worship, the experiential dimensions of the celebration of the Eucharist and baptism, the importance of healing, the exorcism of demons and evil spirits, AIC missionary zeal, and ceremonies and practices focused on the care of the earth.

The collection is brought to conclusion with a recent retrospective essay titled

"Liberative Ecumenism at the African Grassroots," which develops the practical outworking of the theme of the entire collection: "holding together what has broken apart" (p. 360). Supported by the Free University and the Reformed mission councils of the Netherlands, Daneel in 1972 founded Fambidzano, a "Cooperative of Churches" (p. 58). In this chapter he describes his experience directing this ecumenical organization, which united many AICs in working for justice and reconciliation and which concentrated

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mainly upon providing theological education by extension. Aspects of his many years of work with subsequent ecumenical groups are also included. The author emphasizes throughout, not the separatistic tendency of the AICs, but what binds Christians together.

This book provides invaluable information for those preparing for service and for those already working in Africa, particularly given the expansion

and growth of the Pentecostal AICs. A focused bibliography and index enhance its usefulness.

—Russell L. Staples

Russell L. Staples, Professor Emeritus of World Mission at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, was engaged in pastoral ministry and theological education in South Africa and Zimbabwe for twenty years.

The Living Church: Convictions of a Lifelong Pastor.

By John Stott. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2007. Pp. 180. \$17.

Time Magazine once described John Stott as the closest the evangelical world has to a pope. With his long curacy at All Souls Church, London, and his work in the global evangelical field, Stott has devoted a lifetime to bridging the gap between the academy and ministry; all his writings bear ample witness to this interface. *The Living Church* captures his convictions gained over a lifetime of vocational pastoral service. Divided into eight chapters, it covers essentials, worship, evangelism, ministry, fellowship, preaching, giving, and impact. Three historical appendixes, which explain why Stott is still an Anglican in spite of some of its current challenges and which share his dream as an octogenarian of a living church, complete the book.

As can be expected from Stott, in *The Living Church* he demonstrates his balanced biblical Christianity. Starting with the premise that the church is perceived to be out of touch with contemporary culture, he provides the essentials of a framework within which the modern church can survive all the changes around it. Stott examines, too briefly, the debate on the traditional and emerging churches. He ends up calling them both to an appreciation of the biblical understanding of church that, as in preaching, “wrestles with the dialectic between the ancient world and the modern world, between what has been given and what has been left open, between content and context, Scripture and culture, revelation and contextualization” (p. 65).

As with all of Stott’s books, this latest work is a quick read—simple, but by no means simplistic. He is gifted in cramming a lot of reflection into a few sentences. One of the special features of the book for me was the example he gives of a parish profile, or local church audit. I find it extremely useful in evaluating a church’s effectiveness as a tool for sharpening its witness.

My only regret is that Stott—truly a household name among evangelicals all over the world—did not use more illustrations from Majority World churches. Overall, however, I found his invitation to “come to Christ for worship and go for Christ in mission” (p. 57) well worth heeding.

—Casely B. Essamuah

Casely B. Essamuah serves as Compassionate Outreach Pastor at Bay Area Community Church, Annapolis, Maryland. Originally from Ghana, he studied at Harvard and Boston Universities in Massachusetts.

Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures. Vol. 6: Supplement and Index.

Edited by Suad Joseph. Leiden: Brill, 2007. Pp. clxxiv, 409. €228 / \$326.

With the publication of its sixth and final volume, the *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures* secures its place as the most impressive reference work produced in the field of Islamic studies during the past generation. The series presents cutting-edge scholarship on fresh and often sensitive topics related to women and gender in the Islamic world. It evinces tremendous breadth, approaching coverage of the entirety of Islamic history (including contemporary societies) and all world regions.

This sixth volume has three major parts. In the first part, the general editor, Suad Joseph, reflects on the larger project, its methodological and logistical challenges, and its accomplishments. She notes that the six volumes contain

1,246 entries, totaling nearly two million words, produced by a multinational cast of 907 different contributors (Muslim and non-Muslim). This first section also offers a useful tally of Muslim populations in every country of the world.

Part 2 of this volume includes new, supplementary articles related to the themes of the five earlier volumes. (These themes, in order, are labeled "Methodologies, Paradigms, and Sources"; "Family, Law, and Politics"; "Family, Body, Sexuality, and Health"; "Economics, Education, Mobility, and Space"; and "Practices, Interpretations, and Representations.") The articles cover a wide array of topics, for example, homelessness in Arab cities, modern discourses of love in the Caucasus, drug use in South Asia, and mosques in East Asia.

Part 3 provides name and subject indexes for all six volumes. As a finding aid, these indexes are helpful but not exhaustive. An entry on confessionalism, for example, points to an article in the second volume but fails to list an article entitled "Sectarianism and Confessionalism" that appears in this sixth volume. Finding articles relevant to a particular issue may therefore require some serendipity. Readers of the *IBMR* will be particularly interested in the dozens of articles listed by subject under "Missionaries" and "Missionary Education" (both relating to Christians), "Missionary Movements, Islamic," "Christianity," and "Christians."

The publisher is charging \$326 (€228) for this sixth volume and a whopping \$1,776 (€1,242) for the whole set. The price puts it beyond the range of individual buyers. Nevertheless, for institutions that have a serious interest in Islamic studies, acquiring this excellent series should be a top priority.

—Heather J. Sharkey

Heather J. Sharkey is Associate Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

The South Indian Pentecostal Movement in the Twentieth Century.

By Michael Bergunder. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008. Pp. xii, 380. Paperback \$40.

David Barrett and other scholars have predicted that Pentecostalism, the world's fastest growing Christian movement, could, by 2025, account for upwards of 30 percent of all Christians. This thorough

volume by Michael Bergunder, originally published in German, stands as an exemplar of much-needed regional studies tracing the course of this global trend. The book is a part of a series of studies in the history of Christian missions.

Following a comprehensive introduction that places South Indian Pentecostalism in a larger context, the book discusses the topic in three parts. The first deals with the history of the Pentecostal movement in the four South Indian states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka,

and Andhra Pradesh. The second part raises some theoretical and theological questions that affect Pentecostalism and also places the movement in the wider church and religious context of South India. In the final part the writer raises the question of Pentecostalism and the contextualization of Christianity. This section also contains vital statistical and bibliographic information.

As a dispassionate and sensitive scholar, Bergunder goes beyond the traditional "faith and order" framework



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In his latest book, Fuller professor **Jehu J. Hanciles** evaluates the interconnection between globalization, migrations, and religious expansion, and examines how non-Western movements and initiatives have the potential to transform Western society and Christianity.

and openly discusses social questions such as the lingering impact of caste, even among Pentecostals. "Foreign money" is another malady that has plagued Indian Christianity. While discussing the dialectical tensions between the foreign missions in India and the local leadership, the author notes the authoritarianism of some Indian Pentecostal leaders and the fragmentation of a few missions under the impact of overseas funding agencies (pp. 95–99). He also notes, however, that several Pentecostals rejected "assured

financial support rather than allowing administrative interference" by foreign agencies (p. 76).

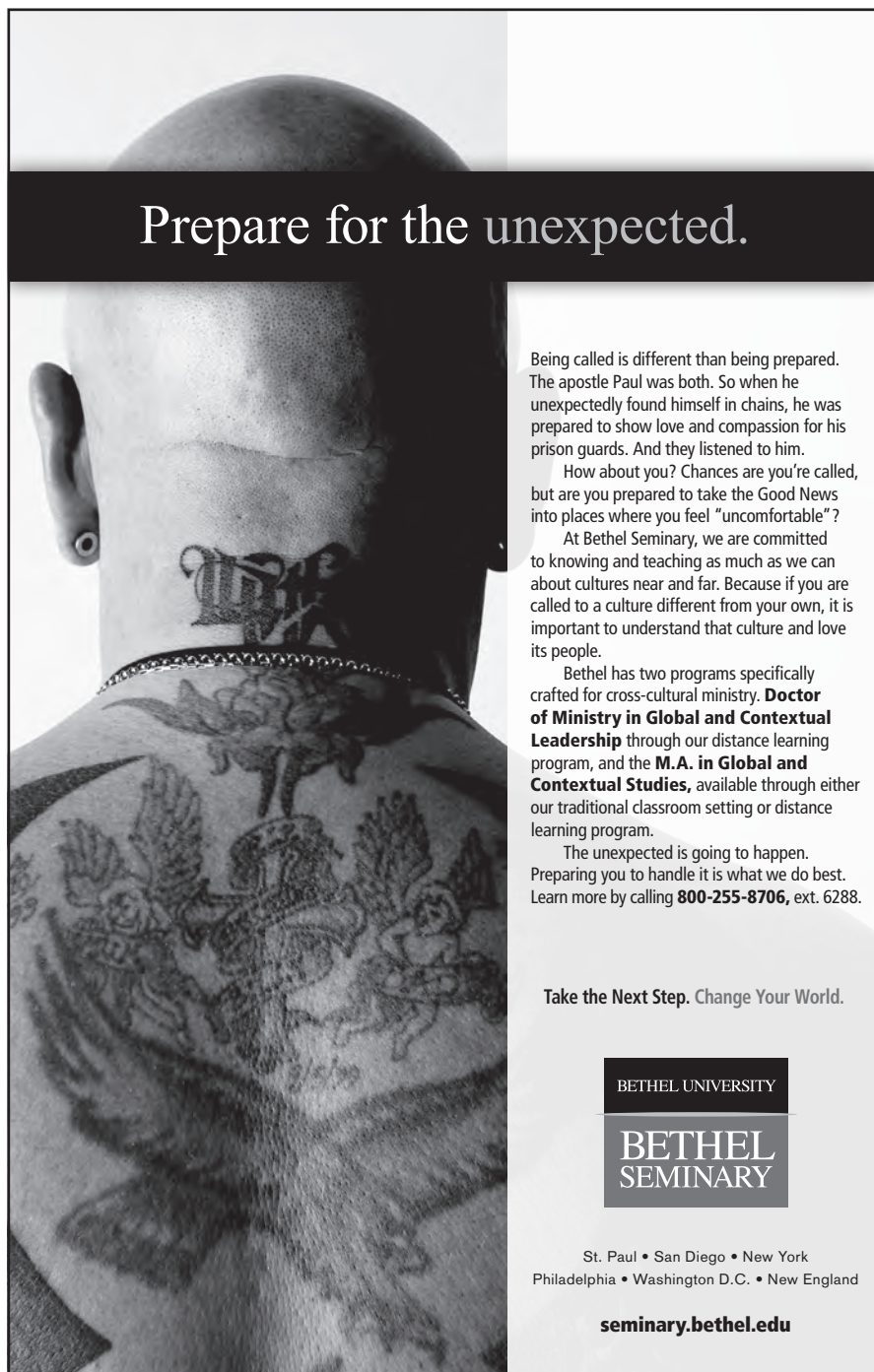
The freshness and spontaneity that distinguish Pentecostalism from the more institutionalized churches make any clearly defined framework difficult, and indeed the book provides no clear definition of "Pentecostalism." The book discusses Pentecostalism, the charismatic movement, and neo-Pentecostalism. The "Selected Biographies" section also includes notes on some members of non-

Pentecostal churches (e.g., Dhinakaran and Sadhu Kochukunju).

With its lucid analysis of the topic, as well as a comprehensive bibliography, index, and maps, this book is a valuable resource for any student of world Christianity today.

—Jesudas M. Athyal

Jesudas M. Athyal, on leave from the Gurukul Lutheran Theological College, Chennai, India, is a Fellow of the Center for Global Christianity and Mission, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts.



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With the Gospel to Maasailand: Lutheran Mission Work Among the Arusha and Maasai in Northern Tanzania, 1904–1973.

By Kim Groop. Åbo, Finland: Åbo Akademi Univ. Press, 2006. Pp. 353. Paperback €28.

This welcome study, written as a doctoral dissertation for the University of Åbo's Department of Church History, Faculty of Theology, is both valuable corrective and strong contribution to the growing literature regarding Maasai religious history. This history begins with the Leipzig Mission to "the Maa-speaking peoples" (p. 15) and concludes with the founding of the Lutheran Synod in Arusha Region. The last two decades of the period are influenced by Catholic missionary activity as it coexisted with the Lutheran in an ecumenism of competition and cooperation, of imitation and learning from each other's mistakes and successes.

Kim Groop had access to a treasure trove of unpublished material in the original German, as well as journals and reports and published sources in German, English, and Scandinavian languages, which brings an unusual depth and breadth to his research. Studying both the Arusha and the Maasai people, he carefully differentiates between them, demonstrating throughout that the Arusha are non-Maasai, a basic clarification that is sorely needed.

Groop is systematic and scientific in his methodology, in keeping with his training as a church historian, giving pros and cons while explaining what had taken place over an area of more than 25,000 square miles in the context of seventy tumultuous years. His accurate work leads to a rich understanding of the church, both Lutheran and eventually also the Catholic, as it too is part of the narrative throughout. Groop stresses that, at least in theory, the Lutheran mission followed a holistic plan of health care, education, and evangelism. Circumstances dictated its uneven execution, in selected and

widely scattered locales. Groop says little of Catholic activity among the Arusha but does show how in Maasailand they followed the Lutheran model. And “while the Protestants fought over who should do the work, the Catholics simply set about doing what needed to be done” (p. 264). Both were eager to educate a cadre of young men to take over as pastors or priests. Thus, Lutheran practice was not to admit girls to their schools; “the total number of girls in all schools in Maasailand in 1955 was 5” (p. 257; cf. p. 256). Later, in Catholic schools three or four of every ten students were girls. The school apostolate ended in 1970 when the Tanzania government nationalized all schools. This takeover freed up the energies of both churches for creative efforts at direct evangelization of adults, both men and women.

Numerous maps, graphs, and vintage photographs help guide the reader through the unfolding story. This volume stands on its own as a study of a transitional period in mission history. If anyone has other accounts about the Maasai, this book needs to be among them to balance and complete a record too often poorly rendered.

—Girard Kohler and Eugene Hillman

Girard Kohler, C.S.Sp., served as a missionary in northern Tanzania from 1964 to 1993. Currently he is Mission Procurator of the Fathers of the Holy Spirit, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Eugene Hillman, C.S.Sp., is Professor Emeritus of Humanities at Salve Regina University, Newport, Rhode Island. For over twenty-six years in Tanzania and Kenya he did missionary work and was a university instructor.

Ruth Rouse Among Students: Global, Missiological, and Ecumenical Perspectives.

By Ruth Franzén. Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Mission Research, 2008. Pp. 428. SKr 250.

The name Ruth Rouse (1872–1956) may not resonate with many today, but a century ago in the heyday of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) and its successor, the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF), hers was a name to conjure with. Ruth Franzén, who in October 1993 contributed an article on Rouse to this journal (*IBMR* 17:154–58), has given us a thoroughly documented, carefully researched, and highly readable analysis of Rouse’s years (1897–1924) as a pioneer in women’s international student ministry.

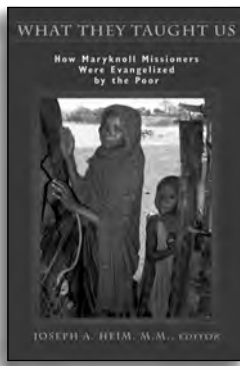
Rouse came from an upper middle class London family that attended Spurgeon’s Metropolitan Tabernacle. She

went to Cambridge University but, since she was a woman, was not awarded a degree. Rouse was a role model for female students, a skilled personal worker, and an intrepid adventure-seeker who traveled widely. She was the first woman in senior SVM and WSCF leadership, a feminist pioneer who was never self-assertive. Along the way, Franzén gives us fresh insights into the increasingly dictatorial (and polarizing) leadership of John R. Mott.

While at Cambridge, Rouse became

an Anglican. The 1882 meetings of Dwight L. Moody (the birth parent of SVM) had helped break down denominational barriers. Rouse maintained the warm-hearted pietism of her youth while becoming increasingly ecumenical. As the WSCF came under increasing financial pressure, and as divisive theological issues arose (leading to the formation of Inter-Varsity Fellowship in 1928), Rouse regarded herself as a bridge-builder. She appeared willing to accommodate wide theological diversity.

In the Field and in the Classroom



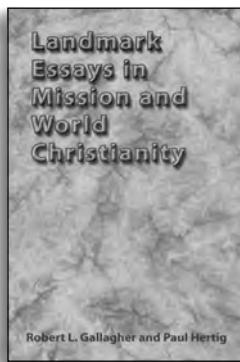
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Foreword by JOHN J. WALSH, M.M.

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Significantly, Rouse's final assignment, as WSCF became socially committed, was to administer a European Student Relief Fund, all the time insisting that hers was also a commitment to evangelization. Clumsily voted out of WSCF leadership in 1924, she went on to have a vibrant career into her eighties, editing with Stephen Neill the definitive *History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517–1948* (SPCK, 1954). Revered by her generation, a legendary figure in the next, Rouse today

is largely forgotten. It is to be hoped that Franzén's excellent book will restore her to prominence as a pioneer in student ministry, missionary recruitment, and evangelical feminism.

—A. Donald MacLeod

A. Donald MacLeod, Research Professor of Church History at Tyndale Theological Seminary, Toronto, is the author of C. Stacey Woods and the Evangelical Rediscovery of the University (*InterVarsity Press, 2007*).

Coming out of the "Iron Cage": The Indigenists of the Society of the Divine Word in Paraguay, 1910–2000.

By Darius J. Piwowarczyk. Fribourg, Switz.: Academic Press, 2008. Pp. 368. Paperback SFr 75 / €50.

Coming out of the "Iron Cage" is an excellent contribution to missions history and to a critical theological and anthropological reflection of Western missionary endeavors among indigenous communities. The book is structured according to the author's scheme of three discrete historical phases of the missionary engagement of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) among Amerindians in Paraguay during the twentieth century.

The first phase, from 1910 to 1925, takes place in an environment distinguished by the secular ideology of progress, under the shadows of Western imperial expansion, and with the ecclesiastical twin goals of Christianizing and civilizing the Amerindians. It had the support of the Paraguayan state, which wanted to civilize its "savages." The SVD thus entered into the contested minefield of Indigenism—the attempt to construct the identity of the Amerindians, their Indianness. Skillfully using Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and an exhaustive research in the SVD archives, Piwowarczyk is able to elucidate the historical aporias and paradoxes of that missionary endeavor, what the author calls its historical ironies, which were the crossroads and conflicts between the global process of modernization, the political purposes of the Paraguayan national state, the imperial aspirations of Germany, and the conservative ambience prevailing in the Roman Catholic Church.

The second phase begins in the mid-1960s, in a world characterized by the global hegemony of the United States, a Catholic Church transformed by the Second Vatican Council, and the mantra of "development" as the recipe for addressing the plights of the so-called underdeveloped nations. Piwowarczyk aptly lays out the different actors and agents in the disputed field of Indigenism. A new theological trend also makes its entrance: Latin American liberation theology, which inspires new ecclesiastical and political disturbances. The author illuminates the conflicts between the missionary utopia and its historical implementations.

The third phase begins in the early 1970s with the severe critique of missions by the First Barbados Conference. Now the main themes are the protection of the indigenous cultures, the self-determination of the native communities, and the defense of their land claims. This new phase takes place in the global

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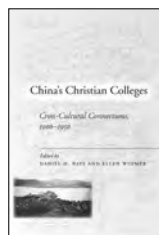
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environment of “flexible accumulation,” the hegemony of globalizing neoliberalism, and the postmodernist stress on difference and identity politics. The key idea is “cooperation-participation.” SVD’s missionary work is reshaped, and new contestants emerge in the dispute about the proper dialectics between nation and ethnicity, conversion and social justice. Again, Piwowarczyk’s critical gaze dissects the ambivalences and contradictions of SVD’s missionary project.

This book should be required reading, especially in times like ours, when indigenous communities have, for the first time in history, become important protagonists in Latin American national politics.

—Luis N. Rivera-Pagán

Luis N. Rivera-Pagán is Professor Emeritus of Ecumenics and Mission at Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey.

Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868–1947.

By Chad M. Bauman. *Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008. Pp. xv, 276. Paperback \$40.*

The central issue addressed in this book is “whether and to what extent conversion to Christianity in Chhattisgarh . . . entailed a process of ‘deculturation’ or ‘denationalization’” (p. 1). This issue, as Chad Bauman, assistant professor of religion at Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana, rightly points out, is very timely because it lies at the heart of the Hindutva (“Hinduness”) attack upon Christianity in India today. The choice of subject is also appropriate because most Indian Christians are Dalits and because it focuses upon colonial times, when Christianity is supposed to have done most of its denationalizing damage.

Before the Chhattisgarh Dalits became Christians, most were Satnamis (followers of the True Name, a religious sect formed by Ghasidas, their first guru in the early nineteenth century). Bauman therefore begins his study by contextualizing the Satnamis and the Christian mission among them of the U.S.-based German Evangelical Mission Society (1868) and the Disciples of Christ (1885). Chapters follow on conversion, the linking of Satnami and Christian history, medicine, Christian womanhood, and some individual Satnami and Christian stories around the theme of transformation. The concluding chapter includes some post-Independence developments.

Bauman sees the process of Christianizing Chhattisgarh, limited as it was, as also including the “Chhattisgarhization” of Christianity (p. 6).

This is a very good, methodologically stimulating book that not only utilizes archival materials and oral history but also draws upon theory and parallel studies in formulating hypotheses or developing explanations and generalizations. I wish the chapter on conversion, which categorized the (generally well-known) reasons for converting or not converting,

had focused instead upon the changing dynamics of conversion as the community evolved over the eighty years the study covers. My favorite chapter was on the myths connecting Christianity with Ghasidas and how these myths shaped the community’s self-understanding.

—John C. B. Webster

John C. B. Webster, a retired Presbyterian missionary to India, has published extensively on Dalit Christian history.

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Dr. Allison Howell

Dr. Allison Howell, an Australian, was born in the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly the Belgian Congo) where her parents were missionaries with the Brethren Assemblies. Since 1981 she has served mostly in Ghana as a missionary researcher and teacher, first with SIM Ghana in the Upper East Region among the Kasena, and for the past ten years on the staff of the Akrofi-Christaller Institute of Theology, Mission and Culture. A senior research fellow and the dean of accredited studies at the institute, Howell also coordinates a group of Kasena pastors who are writing a Bible commentary on the Gospel of John in Kasem.

Dr. Randall Prior



Dr. Randall Prior is professor of ministry studies and missiology at the United Faculty of Theology, Melbourne, Australia. He teaches in the areas of theological reflection for ministry practice and pastoral theology, as well as about the intersection of Gospel and culture, mission, and evangelism. Prior’s research interests include exploring these topics in the context of Vanuatu as an experiment in grounding theology in a post-independent South Pacific. He is editor of *The Gospel and Cultures: Initial Explorations in the Australian Context* (1997) and a series called *The Gospel and Culture in Vanuatu*. A former pastor, Prior is part of the Uniting Church in Australia.



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Bound with Love: Letters Home from China, 1935–1945.

Edited by Audrey Salters. Agequod Publications, 2007. Pp. 360. Paperback £12.50 / \$20. (To order, go to www.boundwithlove.co.uk.)

Ronald and Gwyneth Still sailed from British shores for China in August 1935 to join the Baptist Missionary Society's mission in a town they called Chouts'un (Zhoucun), in Shantung (Shandong) Province, where Ronald Still was to take up a position in the BMS Foster Hospital. From Chouts'un the newly married couple sent home letters to their parents and siblings vividly describing their experiences and impressions. Later on, they wrote in some detail of their survival with three small daughters under Japanese occupation and internment.

About a thousand of the couple's letters in blue airmail envelopes survive in the home of Audrey Salters, one of the three daughters born in China. From these she has selected and edited extracts, deftly weaving together an absorbing and, at times, extremely moving narrative. The lives of a deeply Christian but modern young couple on a small, remote mission station in North China in the

1930s are brilliantly re-created through the engaging frankness and humor of Gwyneth's letters, while Ronald's provide fascinating detail about hospital patients, their medical conditions, and his surgical experiences. At Christmas 1937 everything changed as Japanese forces first bombed and then occupied Chouts'un. With some interruptions, the Stills stayed at their post, Ronald working valiantly but under increasing difficulties at the hospital until August 1942, when, with hopes of repatriation fast receding, the family moved with three hundred or so other Britishers into the Columbia Country Club in Shanghai. Though the club, unlike Chouts'un, had running water, eleven flush toilets were found insufficient to provide for the needs of 360 inmates! Other far worse shortcomings and deprivations were experienced over the next three years, and the reader feels all the joy and relief of the Stills as they write at the end of August 1945 that they

have all survived and will soon be on their way home.

Over the years I have read many missionary compilations and memoirs, but I found this book to be one of the most engaging. I have been charmed, moved, and informed and was sorry only that the story had to end!

—Rosemary Seton

Rosemary Seton was, until 2004, Keeper of Archives and Special Collections at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

The Betrayal of Faith: The Tragic Journey of a Colonial Native Convert.

By Emma Anderson. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007. Pp. xii, 303. \$45 / £29.95 / €31.50.

As the title suggests, this work raises some disquieting implications for current issues, including the legacy of residential schools and other means of forced assimilation (chap. 5). But far from laying blame, this

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important book primarily tells the story of Pastedechouan, a young Innu convert to Christianity who at the age of eleven sailed to France with Récollet missionaries who hoped to educate him to become an evangelist to his people. (The Innu, who live along the north shore of the St. Lawrence in eastern Quebec and Labrador, were once called “les Montagnais” or “mountain people” by early European settlers.)

Emma Anderson, who teaches at Ottawa University, draws the raw material for this story largely from seventeenth-century European journals but uses knowledge of Innu life to help interpret the indigenous actions described in those journals. In this way she presents the Innu as “cultural actors” seeking to maintain their own values while creatively adapting foreign culture and ideas to their own needs (p. 211). While her rhetorical imagination occasionally gets carried away (as with speculation on the death of Pastedechouan, pp. 203 and 206), Anderson uses her sources with care and even includes a helpful discussion on using nonaboriginal sources in uncovering aboriginal stories (pp. 235–41).

The “betrayal” is that Pastedechouan returned after five years in France, having

missed very crucial years to an Innu education. This hiatus left him unable to meet the expectations of either his missionary sponsors or his own people. After unsuccessful attempts to reintegrate into Innu culture, he found himself in the world of commercial interests as a translator and eventually was employed as language tutor to the Jesuit superior Paul LeJeune. LeJeune devoted much of his journal to their relationship.

The power of the book, as well as its missiological value, lies in the depth of sympathy and understanding that Anderson brings to her examination of this troubled, even tragic, relationship. Her careful and theologically astute analysis of the winter hunting trip LeJeune shared with Pastedechouan and two of his three brothers in 1633–34 reveals human vulnerabilities and cultural misunderstandings that led not only to missed, even squandered, opportunities to live and share the Gospel but also to complete estrangement and likely contributed to the death of all three of those brothers within a few years (1634–36).

—John C. Mellis

John C. Mellis is Provost of Queen's College, in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador.

God Needs No Passport: Immigrants and the Changing American Religious Landscape.

By Peggy Levitt. New York: New Press, 2007. Pp. xii, 270. US\$26.95 / £17.99 / C\$33.95.

“Immigrants,” writes Peggy Levitt, “make up one-quarter of the American public along with their American-born children. They are not only transforming cities like Houston and Atlanta, they are remaking suburban and rural America as well” (p. 1).

Levitt has given us a thought-provoking, stimulating, and sensitive report of her sociological studies on the role of religion in U.S. immigration. She is an associate professor and chair of the department of sociology at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, and a research fellow at the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard.

Based on a carefully constructed methodology of personal interviews of immigrants in the United States and on-site visits to their countries of origin in Pakistan (Muslims), India (Hindus), Ireland (Catholics), and Brazil (Protestants), Levitt

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observes, "Today's immigrants . . . are remaking the religious landscape by introducing new faith traditions and Asianizing and Latinoizing old ones. By doing so, they are transforming what it means to be American" (pp. 1–2).

Levitt's main points might be summarized as follows. In terms of family, culture, economics, politics, and religious affiliation, today's immigrants demonstrate a sense of belonging that is simultaneously global and local, equally and continually part of both their country of origin and their country of destination. That is, "God needs no passport" (p. 2). Religious faith is not abandoned during

immigration but rather is an integral (and, for some, essential) component of their self-understanding. Religious faith impacts the immigrant experience and is influenced by it.

In chapter 4 Levitt offers a series of classifications in order to organize the differing ways in which immigrants express their faith. The basis on which these groupings are created is somewhat unclear. Even so, this is a very important book for anyone interested in understanding the new horizons of religious affiliation in North America, particularly as that influences and is impacted by immigration. Levitt appropriately calls for a deeper and

clearer understanding of the religious dimension of the immigrant experience, greater tolerance for religious plurality on the part of everyone (native-born and immigrant alike), and a deeper appreciation of the role and significance of religious faith in our understanding of the immigrant experience in the United States.

—Charles Van Engen

Charles Van Engen is the Arthur Glasser Professor of Biblical Theology of Mission in the School of Intercultural Studies at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California. He served as a cross-cultural missionary in Mexico.

All Things Hold Together: Holistic Theologies at the African Grassroots.

By M. L. Daneel. Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2007. Pp. xiv, 408. Paperback R 236 / \$40 / £23 / €31.

This is an invaluable book, based on more than forty years of experience of African Independent Churches (or African Initiated Churches), particularly those of Zimbabwe. Daneel is deeply concerned for such churches to be considered part of the mainstream of Christianity. Yet his accounts of their activities are balanced and objective—even to the extent of often casting into doubt his own thesis that the AICs are authentically Christian and a force for good.

Certainly, early researchers pronounced too harshly on the AICs in accusing them of excluding the Bible, Christ,

and Christian ethics altogether. But it is troubling that witchcraft has remained an obsession of AIC communities. A Christian leader pointing out seven women, three of them pregnant, as poisoners to rebel soldiers after a vision, thus dooming them to execution; another leader, as part of his recruiting drive, planting evidence of sorcery in houses he is claiming to cleanse; demands for public confession of witchcraft as the price of baptism—such scenes left me admiring Daneel's honesty and diligence as a researcher but hardly seconding his vision of indigenous African spiritual integrity.

The hard facts against such political correctness are nowhere harder than in Zimbabwe. The mission churches are the moral centers of the opposition to Robert Mugabe's devastation, which may become full-scale genocide; the AICs seem to have done nothing against him—not that they are able to, as they lack any power or connections. The wounds from colonialism are very sore; to push Western institutions away is understandable, but in the case of mission churches, which carry the main hope for justice and compassion in Africa, it is unspeakably tragic.

—Sarah Ruden

Sarah Ruden, a visiting research fellow at Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, is a translator of Latin and Greek making the transition to biblical studies. She lived in South Africa from 1994 to 2005.

A New Vision for Missions: William Cameron Townsend, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the Culture of Early Evangelical Faith Missions, 1896–1945.

By William Lawrence Svelmoe. Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press, 2008. Pp. xi, 369. \$46.

William Svelmoe makes a strong case for the pivotal role played by Cameron Townsend, the founder of Wycliffe Bible Translators (WBT), not only in revolutionizing missions but also in transforming American evangelicalism. This biographical treatment of the first half of Townsend's life traces his development from an undistinguished college student at Occidental College into a Bible salesman

in Guatemala, then an innovative but headstrong missionary for the Central America Mission, and finally the visionary founder and leader of the world's leading Bible translation organization.

Svelmoe, writing with attention to the human quirks of a cast of interesting characters, such as Townsend's difficult wife, Elvira, and a fellow missionary who believed in evangelism by megaphone,

does an excellent job of showing how Townsend's lesser-known years in Guatemala (1917–32) served as a laboratory for many of the ideas that later characterized WBT. Townsend's interest in Guatemala's Indians distinguished him from most of his missionary colleagues, but his insistence on the importance of translating the Bible into indigenous languages made him unique.

Once he had founded his own organization, WBT, and its sister organization, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Townsend had more freedom to implement his schemes. The particular circumstances of WBT's first field, Mexico, which had adopted extensive restrictions on missionary activity after its revolution, pushed Townsend to develop a form of ministry acceptable to that country's

secular elites. Linguistics and nonsectarian service proved to be WBT's ticket to acceptance and respectability. Going out of their way to provide linguistic and practical aid to anyone who would accept it, especially to officials and to Catholic clergy, Townsend and his missionary linguists won over many initially skeptical Latin Americans. Although some evangelical supporters in the United States rejected this apparent support of "the enemy" (i.e., atheistic officials and Catholic priests), Svelmoe suggests that Townsend's embrace of scientific excellence and service to ideological rivals ultimately helped to soften evangelicalism's posture toward outsiders, even as it proved a successful strategy on the mission field.

There are two weaknesses to this book. More attention to sources from Guatemala and Mexico might have provided a helpful counterpoint to Svelmoe's masterful use of WBT's various archives. Less importantly but more annoyingly, faux Victorian chapter titles such as "In Which Townsend Mixes Science with Faith, Writes an Audacious Letter, and Recruits More Than a Few Girls" strike a false note in an otherwise professional and rigorous work.

Still, this is a masterful work that

convincingly places Cameron Townsend among the most influential missionary innovators of the twentieth century. It will be the definitive biography of Townsend for many years to come.

—Todd Hartch

Todd Hartch teaches Latin American history at Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond, Kentucky, and is the author of Missionaries of the State: The Summer Institute of Linguistics, State Formation, and Indigenous Mexico, 1935–1985 (Univ. of Alabama Press, 2006).

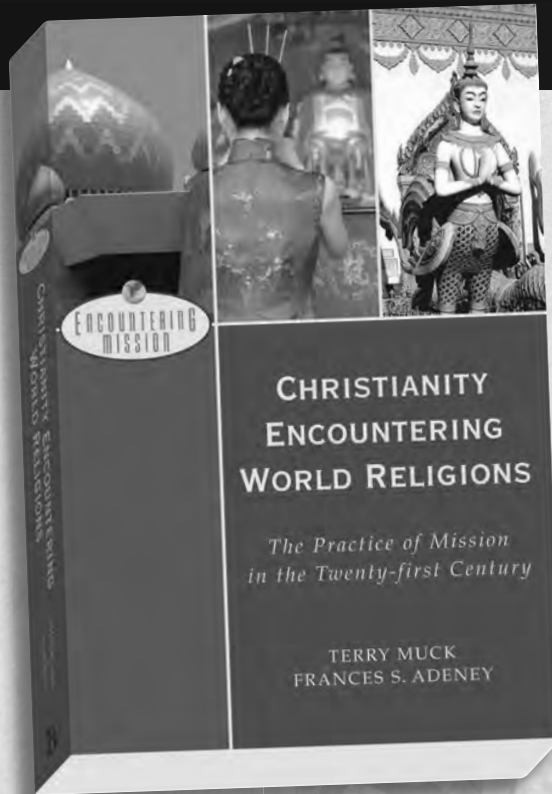
The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ: Contemporary Faces and Images of Jesus Christ. Vol. 3B.

Edited by Roman Malek. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2007. (Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum, Sankt Augustin.) Pp. xii, 430. €60.

This volume is the latest addition to an interdisciplinary project that aims at revealing the many faces and images of Jesus Christ in China from the Tang to the

present day. The current book is the sequel to volume 3A, subtitled *Modern Faces and Images of Jesus Christ*. Two more volumes are in preparation; one will reproduce artistic renditions of Jesus by Western missionaries and by Chinese artists, and the other will provide an annotated bibliography and a general index with glossary for the entire collection.

Volume 3B, with fourteen scholarly essays and thirty-one texts of anthology, paints a rich and diverse portrayal of Jesus in China's contemporary context. What differentiates this volume from the previous ones is its depth of theological reflection on the person of Jesus. At least eight essays are descriptions of the rise of a theology rooted in Chinese (Asian) philosophies, religions, folktales, and historical events. Among several recurrent themes, those of the cosmic Christ and of a Jesus-oriented Christology are particularly prominent. Authors include Asian theologians such as Peter C. Phan, Liu Xiaofeng, and Tan Yun-ka. Other influential Chinese thinkers are the subjects of detailed analyses, such as systematic theologian C. S. Song, religious leaders T. C. Chao and K. H. Ting, and Chinese philosopher Fang Tung-mei. Only two articles deal with Marxist



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interpretations of Jesus; regrettably, one of them lacks the scholarly excellence displayed in other pieces. The book also omits important aspects of the more recent period as, for instance, understandings of Jesus during the Cultural Revolution and perceptions of Jesus among the so-called Cultural Christians. Well aware of such lacunae, the editor sees the collection as a stimulus and an invitation to further search for the faces and images of Jesus Christ among Chinese past and present.

This work, like the previous ones, bridges the gap between Chinese studies and religious studies and should be of interest to a wide range of scholars.

—Jean-Paul Wiest

Jean-Paul Wiest is currently Research Director of the Beijing Center for Chinese Studies, Beijing, and Research Fellow in the Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Interpreting Contemporary Christianity: Global Processes and Local Identities.

Edited by Ogbu U. Kalu. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008. Pp. xiv, 365. Paperback \$45.

Interpreting Contemporary Christianity has fourteen essays, historical reflections on twentieth-century mission and church movements, presented at the Currents in World Christianity conference held at the University of Pretoria, 2001. For professors seeking non-Western perspectives, this volume offers a rich blend, including fine essays by four African and four Asian scholars.

Using the metaphor of changing tides, Ogbu U. Kalu suggests that contemporary Christianity cannot be understood using the assumptions of Western scholarship in the twentieth century. Arguing that new theories must emerge from contexts that are both local and global, Kalu suggests four driving forces: the globalizing impulse in Christianity, the domestication and reinvention of Christianity in local communities, the powerful Pentecostal transformation of the religious landscape, and the interplay of local and global economic and religious forces.

The four essays on the African church illustrate all of these forces at work. In the local context Stinton shows how Ghanaians have domesticated Jesus through cultural images of chief/king, reinventing worship of the “king of kings” through this metaphor. Mwaura documents how two gifted Kenyan women founded urban Pentecostal “healing” churches in the 1990s, blending African media, preaching, television, video, and information technology to minister to impoverished women and men, and to thousands of people seeking healing and hope across Kenya.

In the global context Adogame reports that African Pentecostal churches in Europe reach beyond their immigrant congregations to evangelize in the European context. While replicating distinctive

African practices of worship and ministry, they also forge networks between Europe and Africa that have significance for the future of Christianity in each. Hanciles argues that the future of Christianity no longer resides in the West but instead will be shaped by African spirituality and the movement of its intellectual elite in a new wave of missionary migration throughout the world.

The essays on India and China pick up similar themes, including intriguing case studies of Pandita Ramabai and Jing Dianying (powerful Pentecostal religious leaders), the 1938 Indian debate on the contextualization of the Gospel as “kingdom of God” vs. the church, and the role of the North China Theological Seminary and fundamentalism in China. This volume clearly achieves its goal, providing several other fine essays that address religion and globalization from a historical perspective.

—Sherwood G. Lingenfelter

Sherwood G. Lingenfelter is Professor of Anthropology, School of Intercultural Studies, and Provost and Senior Vice President, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California.

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Dr. Jean-Paul Wiest, director of the Jesuit Beijing Center, Beijing, China, and Mrs. Michèle Sigg, *DACB* project manager, share skills and techniques for documenting mission and church history. Eight sessions. \$175

October 12–16

Nurturing and Educating Transcultural Kids.

Ms. Janet Blomberg and Ms. Elizabeth Stephens of Interaction International help you help your children meet the challenges they face as third-culture persons. Eight sessions. \$175

October 19–23

Leadership, Fund-raising, and Donor Development for Missions.

Mr. Rob Martin, director, First Fruit, Inc., Newport Beach, California, outlines steps for building the support base, including foundation funding, for mission. Eight sessions. \$175

November 3–6

The Gospel of Peace at Work in a World of Conflict.

Dr. Peter Kuzmič, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts, and Evangelical Theological Seminary, Osijek, Croatia, examines a variety of Christian approaches to peacemaking and considers contemporary examples of reconciliation ministry. Seven sessions in four days. \$175

November 9–13

The Church on Six Continents: Many Strands in One Tapestry.

Dr. Andrew F. Walls, honorary professor, University of Edinburgh, and former director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, presents OMSC's fifth **Distinguished Mission Lectureship** series—five lectures with discussions. Consultation with participants on topics of interest. \$175



November 30–December 4

Grounding Theology in Cultural Context: Lessons from the South Pacific.

Rev. Randall Prior, Uniting Church Theological College, Melbourne, Australia, and senior mission scholar in residence at OMSC, draws lessons from the post-independence South Pacific for the way we understand theology and how we do theology. Eight sessions. \$175

December 7–11

Climate Change and Catastrophe: Paradigms of Response in Christian Mission.

Dr. Allison M. Howell, Akrofi-Christaller Institute of Theology, Mission, and Culture, Ghana, considers Christian responses to climate change—something that is not new in human history—and the catastrophes that often accompany climate change, so as to provide a framework for Christian mission today in facing new crises. Eight sessions. \$175

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Book Notes

Adogame, Afe, Roswith Gerloff, and Klaus Hock, eds.

Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora: The Appropriation of a Scattered Heritage.

London: Continuum, 2008. Pp. xiv, 354. £75.

Association for the Promotion of Mission Studies / Verein zur Förderung der Missionswissenschaft.

Migration: Challenge to Religious Identity / Migration: Herausforderung für die religiöse Identität.

Kriens: Brunner, 2008. Pp. 310. Paperback. No price given.

Fensham, Charles.

Emerging from the Dark Age Ahead: The Future of the North American Church.

Ottawa, Ont.: Novalis, 2008. Pp. 226. Paperback \$24.95.

Gaillardetz, Richard R.

Ecclesiology for a Global Church: A People Called and Sent.

Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2008. Pp. xxiv, 312. Paperback \$30.

Gonda, László.

The Service of Evangelism, the Evangelism of Service: The Influence of John R. Mott, Hendrik Kraemer, Willem A. Visser 't Hooft, and Johannes C. Hoekendijk on the Development of the Understanding of Mission in the Reformed Church in Hungary (1910–1968).

Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2008. Pp. xii, 245. Paperback €23.90.

Hamrin, Carol Lee, ed.

Salt and Light: Lives of Faith That Shaped Modern China.

Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick Publications, 2009. Pp. xi, 240. Paperback \$28.

Jewell, Joseph O.

Race, Social Reform, and the Making of a Middle Class: The American Missionary Association and Black Atlanta, 1870–1900.

Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Pp. x, 225. \$79; paperback \$28.95.

Jørgensen, Jonas Adelin.

Jesus Imandars and Christ Bhaktas: Two Case Studies of Interreligious Hermeneutics and Identity in Global Christianity.

Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008. Pp. xii, 481. €74.50 / £52.20 / \$107.95.

Kuhn, Marko.

Prophetic Christianity in Western Kenya: Political, Cultural, and Theological Aspects of African Independent Churches.

Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008. Pp. xx, 328. Paperback €59.70 / £41.90 / \$86.95.

Schroeder, Roger P.

What Is the Mission of the Church? A Guide for Catholics.

Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2008. Pp. xiv, 159. Paperback \$16.

Scotland, Nigel.

Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian Britain.

London: I. B. Tauris; distributed in the U.S. by Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Pp. xiii, 266. \$80.95.

Stentzel, Jim, ed.

More than Witnesses: How a Small Group of Missionaries Aided Korea's Democratic Revolution.

Mequon, Wis.: Nightengale Press, 2008. Pp. 509. Paperback \$19.95.

Visser, Marten.

Conversion Growth of Protestant Churches in Thailand.

Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2008. Pp. xiv, 298. Paperback €27.50.

Wade, Maria F.

Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans: Long-Term Processes and Daily Practices.

Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida, 2008. Pp. xxiii, 302. \$69.95.

In Coming Issues

Jesus Imandars and Christ Bhaktas: Report from Two Field Studies of Interreligious Hermeneutics and Identity in Globalized Christianity

Jonas Adelin Jørgensen

Mission to Nowhere: Putting Short-Term Missions into Context

Brian M. Howell

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