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International Bulletin

Serious About Mission Studies

Christian mission has nearly always been taken seriously. But missiology—the systematic study of missions—more or less waited for the devoted labors of a nineteenth-century German pastor, Gustav Warneck. In 1896 the University of Halle, which for nearly two centuries had contributed many young missionaries to the Christian cause, established the first university chair of missiology. The following year, Warneck began teaching as the first occupant of the new chair. In this issue of the International Bulletin, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Warneck's appointment, our friend and colleague Willi Henkel, O.M.I., provides an account of the development of mission studies and mission research centers, both Catholic and Protestant, in Germany.

In the flowering of new academic missiological programs following World War II, the publisher of this journal, the Overseas Ministries Study Center, moved to contribute its own effort on a more modest scale of continuing education for mission. Assistant Editor Robert T. Coote provides the context for that initiative in his lead article celebrating seventy-five years of OMSC's ministry to the world Christian movement.

Other articles in this issue fall into one or another of *IBMR's* three popular series: one highlighting photos as sources of mission research, the others My Pilgrimage in Mission and Mission Legacies. All reflect the seriousness with which our generation takes the study of missions.

As of June 30, James M. Phillips retired from his position as Associate Director of OMSC and Associate Editor of this publication.

Before coming to OMSC in 1983, Jim served as a Presbyterian missionary in Korea and Japan and taught on the faculty of San Francisco Theological Seminary. As part of the *IBMR* editorial team, he contributed to the production of two books that have found enthusiastic acceptance in university and seminary programs of mission studies: *Mission in the 1990s* (Eerdmans, 1991) and *Mission Legacies* (Orbis Books, 1994); both are collections of material that first appeared in these columns. In addition, his

initiative and editorship resulted in another major mission studies volume, *Toward the Twenty-first Century in Christian Mission* (Eerdmans, 1993). With appreciation, we wish him God's richest blessing in retirement, even as we look forward to his continuing service as a contributing editor of the BULLETIN.

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of Missionary Research

No East or West: Celebrating Seventy-five Years of the Overseas Ministries Study Center

Robert T. Coote

hortly after the Overseas Ministries Study Center (OMSC) moved from Ventnor, New Jersey, to New Haven, Connecticut, in 1987, director Gerald H. Anderson received a letter from an overseas national church worker addressed to "New Heaven, Connecticut." OMSC residents that year, representing nationalities from five continents and enjoying the newly renovated facilities, smiled in recognition when they heard of the misspelling. Both they and those who have followed them year by year testify that they discover at OMSC, in fellowship with one another, a foretaste of heaven's "no East or West."

This year marks ten years for OMSC at 490 Prospect Street, New Haven, and seventy-five years of service to the world Christian movement—sixty-five years in New Jersey and the last decade in Connecticut.

"In Christ There Is No East or West," commissioned in 1908 for a missionary exhibition sponsored by the London Missionary Society, made its first appearance in an American hymnal in 1923. In March of that year Marguerite T. Doane and a small circle of family members and Christian friends incorporated the Society for Foreign Mission Welfare for the purpose of providing housing for missionaries on furlough. The first apartment had been opened the previous year in Ventnor by the Sea, then a lightly settled community neighboring the resort center of Atlantic City. Sand dunes were all that separated the first missionary apartments from the Atlantic Ocean, making Ventnor, with its rejuvenating sea air, an ideal setting for physical and spiritual renewal in the first half of the twentieth century. Ames C. Hanna, an American Baptist missionary to Burma and grandson of the Baptist pioneer in Burma, Adoniram Judson, and his wife and three children became the first occupants.

Among the residents in the early years of operation of the Houses of Fellowship (as the furlough houses were popularly

OMSC residents experience a foretaste of heaven's "no East or West."

known) was Shih Mei-yu, or Dr. Mary Stone, a Chinese national. A graduate of the University of Michigan Medical School in 1896, Shih Mei-yu was one of the first Chinese women to receive a medical degree from an American university. In 1901 she established a hospital in her home city of Kiukiang, Kiangsi Province. By the time of her stay at the Houses of Fellowship in 1926, she also had to her credit the founding of the Chinese Missionary Society, the Bethel Hospital of Shanghai, and, as cofounder, the Bethel Mission of China.

In 1927 another Chinese woman doctor stayed at the Ventnor Houses of Fellowship, Dr. Sing-Gin (Mary Carelton). In 1928

Robert T. Coote is Assistant Editor of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research and Assistant to the Director for Planning and Research, Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut.

there was Dr. Ah Ma Bunna of Burma. Within the first decade of operation, there was a score of other overseas nationals: from India, another woman physician, Dr. Potheri Paru; from Korea, Dr. James K. Chung; from Japan, Dr. Yugoro Chiba, president of the Baptist Theological Seminary in Tokyo, and Professor Genshiro Koriyama; in 1932, Pearl Chen, R.N., from the staff of the Margaret Williamson Hospital in Shanghai. That first decade saw missionaries from the West in fellowship with representatives from the East, arriving from Burma, China, India, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines. The medical and educational ministries of these Christian workers reflected the special missionary interests of Marguerite Doane. Her numerous philanthropies extended to medical schools and hospitals in Asia, including the institutions in Shanghai with which Mary Stone and Pearl Chen were associated.

Marguerite and her sister, Ida, founded the Houses of Fellowship in honor of their parents, William Howard and Frances Treat Doane. William Doane, who gained his family's fortune in Cincinnati, Ohio, through numerous patents on woodworking machinery, was the composer of hundreds of gospel hymns. His music is permanently linked with the ethos of the Overseas Ministries Study Center through such favorites as "To God Be the Glory," written with the blind poet Fanny Crosby.

It was during the early decades of the twentieth century that the potential of the Christian community in the East and other continents of the non-Western world began to register on Western church leaders. Marguerite, Ida, and their colleagues, however, could hardly have known how fully that early representation of overseas nationals at the Houses of Fellowship foreshadowed the coming shift in world Christianity from West to East and from North to South—and certainly not the shift that would occur seven decades later in OMSC's resident community in New Haven, where "In Christ, No East or West" has asserted itself in no uncertain terms.

Ventnor—Rejuvenation by the Sea

The Ventnor history of OMSC divides naturally into the thirtytwo years before Marguerite Doane's death in 1954 and the thirty-three years following her death. In the first period, the apartment facilities were gradually expanded from the nine units that existed in 1923 to sixteen by the late 1930s. In her semiannual reports to the trustees, Mabel Seymour, the resident hostess, delighted in reporting the restorative powers of Ventnor by the Sea. Typical is this account regarding Dr. Anna S. Kugler, pioneer medical missionary in Guntur, South India: "Dr. Kugler spent forty-five years there and was so ill that nobody expected her to go back. But she conquered pernicious anaemia after having been told that she would not get well and [that she should] summon her family to her bedside. She left the hospital and came to our Houses of Fellowship. To her rest here, the air, surroundings and the fellowship, she gives credit for greatly aiding her recovery. Despite her seventy-one years she is back on her field at work.'

In addition to the highly touted health benefits of Ventnor furloughs, there was the fellowship of like-minded Christian

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workers. They participated in weekly teas and prayer meetings, flag raisings on special occasions, various social events, and the annual "Doane Day," when the hymns of William Howard Doane were sung and discussed. A gathering in April 1940, typical of many, was devoted to Burma, and Ames Hanna (then spending his last furlough at the Houses of Fellowship) showed slides of the Baptist work in Insein. Marguerite Doane herself was present and shared 8-mm movie films from the ministry of the gospel missionary yacht she helped to finance in the Philippines. She had also procured for the occasion two reels from the Presbyterian mission board, "one of which gave glimpses of the [1938 International Missionary Council] Madras Conference." As early as 1932, Dr. Charles R. Watson, president of the American University of Cairo, and a member of the planning committee for Madras, had briefed the resident missionaries at the Houses of Fellowship on plans for the 1938 meeting, where for the first time delegates from the East would outnumber delegates from the West.

Marguerite Doane and her guests centered their fellowship on the issues, trends, and events that marked the advance of the

Marguerite and her guests kept up with the issues and events of the world Christian movement.

world Christian movement in their generation—although strangely, after the first decade the presence of overseas nationals among the Ventnor guests seems to have come to an end. Apparently the change was not recognized, and no action was taken to address it until forty years later, in 1973, under the directorship of R. Pierce Beaver.

In the first thirty-two years of the ministry of OMSC, 4,000 missionary adults and 2,000 children—plus countless visiting family members and friends—were accommodated in comfort at the Houses of Fellowship. As one of the five Clayton children (whose parents were Baptist missionaries in China) expressed it during the 1939 Christmas school holidays, "This is the only home we know in the United States."

Evangelical Growth and Ventnor Expansion

By 1954, the year of Marguerite's death, it was becoming evident that a substantial expansion of the North American missionary force was underway, especially from the ranks of conservative evangelicals. The trustees of the Houses of Fellowship responded by more than doubling the number of apartment units. By the early 1960s missionaries from the historic Protestant denominations who spent their furloughs in Ventnor began to be outnumbered by conservative evangelical missionaries. Many of the latter served with "faith missions," which relied entirely on missionary itineration to raise support. It was not surprising that the following pattern soon developed: The missionary men would settle their families into their apartments, enroll their children in school, and then spend much of the next nine months traveling among supporting churches in order to raise support. Because many families now stayed for a full year, not just for three or four months, which was the average length of stay in Marguerite's time, the result was that OMSC, despite its expanded facilities, was now benefiting fewer missionaries than in the past.

Recognizing this situation, the trustees began to ponder what kind of programmatic change could bring more benefit to the missionaries for their future work. In light of the growing contemporary interest in continuing education and career development, along with the concern among mission leaders for more in-depth training of missionaries, the trustees decided to offer a program of mission seminars. The corporate name was changed to the Overseas Ministries Study Center to reflect the change, and the new program began in the fall of 1967. Eugene Nida of the American Bible Society, Arthur Glasser of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale University, and Eugene Stockwell of the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries were among the first lecturers. The itineration schedule of many faith missionaries allowed little time to participate; those who did, however, found that "going back to school" could be extremely helpful. One couple wrote, "When we learned that there would be a series of studies this term, we were greatly disappointed. The last thing we wanted was to return to school. Our disappointment soon gave way when we attended the very first class. This was no burden, but a fellowship in learning. Another stated, "The lecturers you have here and the content of the courses are far superior to anything we had in Bible School."

R. Pierce Beaver, a widely respected mainline evangelical and founder in 1950 of the predecessor to the International Bulletinof Missionary Research, was appointed director of OMSC in 1973; Gerald H. Anderson, former missionary in the Philippines and president of Scarritt College for Christian Workers, was appointed associate director the following year and became director in 1976 upon Beaver's retirement. Beginning in 1974, the mission seminars and workshops were advertised nationally, and missionaries, students of mission, pastors, and others with strong mission interests began to travel to Ventnor to join the residents for some of the weekly programs.

Beaver took particular satisfaction in launching what he called "Study Group on Contemporary Issues in Missions." The inaugural meeting was held in May 1975, and it has met twice a year ever since. Composed primarily of evangelical mission executives, the membership list today numbers more than 100 persons. Following a recent meeting, an OMSC overseas national resident, Alan Jansen of the Cape Evangelical Bible Institute, South Africa, wrote

Having harbored great criticism of the imperial overload in American missions for many years, this weekend was a catharsis experience as I encountered the people behind the organizations. Instead of discovering a group of intransigent traditionalists, I found a group of people [willing] to make adjustments that would assist the cause of world evangelization. It leaves me encouraged that the people who will pass the batons on to the next generation, of which I am representative, will do it with integrity, having done their best for God. I salute OMSC's efforts in helping mission leaders process the issues of our day and tomorrow.

The Beaver directorship was a time of "firsts": The first nonresidents participating in the study program; the first Roman Catholic missionaries in residence; the first large ecumenical conferences of mission executives held for several years each May, which introduced mainline and evangelical leaders to one another; the first of the January Mission Seminars for Seminarians; the first of the evangelical mission executives study groups; and the first, or rather the return of, non-Western national church leaders to the Ventnor apartments. In Beaver's first year, 1973—

74, there were four overseas national church leaders and their families in residence, representing Costa Rica, India, Indonesia, and Kenya. The next year there were four more, representing Ceylon, India, Uganda, and Rhodesia.

By the early 1980s Burma, now known as Myanmar, was again being represented at OMSC, along with the Philippines, Japan, other Asian countries, Latin America, and Africa. Koichi Kimura of Japan and Maran Yaw of Burma spent hours together comparing war stories and rejoicing in their reconciliation in Christ. Kimura's uncle, a naval commander during World War II, had arrived in Indonesia as a conqueror; now Kimura was a missionary there as Christ's ambassador of peace. Maran Yaw shared the word about the international fellowship at Ventnor with his contacts in Myanmar. Ever since, there has been an unbroken stream of Christian leaders from Myanmar, seeking a time for study and spiritual renewal at OMSC.

Records show that by 1987, covering the thirty-two years while Marguerite Doane was active in the oversight of the Houses of Fellowship, plus the thirty-three years following her death, the number of missionaries accommodated in the Ventnor apartments exceeded 8,000 adults and 5,000 children. In addition, nearly 7,500 other adults and children were accommodated either as extended family members or, after 1974, as "outside" participants in the study program.

In the midst of these promising developments, disturbing trends began to show themselves. Maintenance costs for nine large buildings, containing thirty-eight apartments, business offices, library, gymnasium, children's playrooms, lecture rooms, and social facilities, were becoming prohibitive. More and more resources were going into real estate, limiting what could be devoted to program. Furthermore, the number of American missionaries electing to occupy the furlough apartments during the school year was gradually dropping. Three surveys of evangelical missionaries during the 1980s, conducted by OMSC and reported in the International Bulletin, pointed to changes that were drawing North American missionaries away from furlough centers such as OMSC. There were changes in furlough housing patterns, such as increasing use of church-provided housing and home ownership. There was also a striking surge of interest in earning academic degrees in missiology and other disciplines needed on the field, so missionaries were locating near universities and seminaries where they intended to study. For a new breed of missionaries, the priority of a former generation for restful isolation and rejuvenation at the shore had now dropped far down the list.

A Center for Cross-Cultural Studies

In 1980 the trustees began a four-year institutional self-study that led to the decision to relocate, away from the ocean's "splendid isolation" and closer to a major urban area with significant academic and cultural opportunities and resources. Among several prominent sites investigated by the trustees, New Haven proved the venue of choice. The proximity of Yale University Divinity School, with its unsurpassed Day Missions Library, was a major consideration.

For several months, the search for suitable property for OMSC's relocation seemed to go nowhere. Beginning to feel a bit anxious, the director mused about the ideal location of a parochial school located at 490 Prospect Street, just one block north of the divinity school. Wouldn't it be grand if it were to become available? Trustee Charles Forman, emeritus professor of missions at Yale, was prevailed upon to call the chairman of the

school board. The startled voice on the other end of the phone line revealed that just the previous evening the decision had been made to close the school. It soon developed that the school board and the elderly teaching nuns of the school would be pleased to see the property bought by another Christian institution. Divine providence could not have been more timely!

The new OMSC opened its doors in the fall of 1987. Bishop Lesslie Newbigin's inaugural address, delivered on October 5, affirmed the commitment of OMSC to the study of cross-cultural ministries and highlighted the critical function of East-West, North-South interaction: "The Gospel escapes domestication, retains its proper strangeness, its power to question us, only when we are faithful to its universal, supranational, supracultural nature. . . . [Its value must be] tested in actual encounters of the Gospel with all the nations, so that the Gospel comes back to us in the idiom of other cultures with power to question our understanding of it."

Pointing out that the promise of Jesus to lead us, through the Holy Spirit, into the fullness of the truth "is set in the context of the missionary commission," Newbigin underlined the broader implications of the work of OMSC: "The truth is credible only when the witness born to it is marked not by the peculiarities of one culture, but by the rich variety of all human cultures. We learn to understand what it means to say that Jesus is the King and Head of the whole human race only as we learn to hear that

OMSC's first New Haven residents represented five continents and eight nationalities.

confession from the many races that make up the human family. In the end we shall know who Jesus is as he really is, when every tongue shall confess him in all the accents of human culture. That is why this Center for the study of the issues raised in crosscultural ministry is important for us all." (Newbigin's address appeared in the April 1988 issue of the International Bulletin.)

As indicated earlier, OMSC's first year in New Haven witnessed a true bridging of East and West, with residents representing five continents and eight nationalities. The new location in New Haven seemed to make OMSC more attractive than ever to non-Western missionaries and church leaders. In 1993-94 Sung Min Suh, missionary to Indonesia from Korea, and his family spent their furlough at OMSC and alerted their friends, Korean missionaries in Chile, the Gustavo Hurs. The Hurs came in 1994–95 and alerted their friends, the Yoon-Il Hwangs, Korean missionaries in Peru. The Hwangs came in 1995-96 and alerted their friends the Wuidong Kims, Korean missionaries in Colombia, who have just completed their furlough at OMSC, 1996–97. Also this past year, Makoto and Tomoko Hidaka-Shimura of Japan, with their two young daughters, have brightened the resident community. They are linked with OMSC's Ventnor years through their friend Koichi Kimura. Thus, through word of mouth the international community at OMSC has grown year by year, demonstrating that in Christ, there is no East or West at OMSC. In recent years, about 75 percent of the resident community has consisted of church and mission leaders from the Two-Thirds World.

In addition to new levels of international presence in the

resident community, other developments since the move to New Haven have played major roles in enriching OMSC's program. Professor Andrew F. Walls, then director of the Edinburgh-based Center for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, came into residence for the 1988 spring semester to inaugurate the new position of senior mission scholar in residence. Every year since, one or two senior mission scholars and their spouses have been in residence each academic semester to enrich the life of the OMSC community. In the semester just concluded, Rev. Tom and Hazle Houston brought their lifetime of experience and gift of hospitality to their ministry among the residents of OMSC's Doane Hall apartments. Lessons learned by the Houstons from a pastorate in Nairobi, Kenya, and many years with the United Bible Societies, World Vision, and now the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization have surely benefited OMSC's residents during the spring semester. In addition to offering guidance and counsel for mission research projects of residents, OMSC's senior mission scholars symbolize lifelong commitment in the service of the Great Commission. Doane Hall residents discover in them a source of spiritual encouragement and direction as they live and fellowship together.

A new vehicle of mission scholarship at OMSC, New Haven, is the "brown bag" missions research colloquium. Held once or twice a month, these gatherings feature scholars and mission leaders who share with us recent developments and missiological insights discovered in the course of their research. Three audiences participate: (1) OMSC residents and staff; (2) interested individuals from the New Haven area, including Yale faculty, students, and local pastors; and (3) mission agencies and study centers from various areas of the country, whose personnel are enabled to participate by telephone conference call. On more than one occasion, entire seminary classes have joined the conference network. Participants on site in New Haven and those linked by telephone are able to ask questions of the presenter, so that a dialogue of learning accompanies each presentation. These events illustrate the serious level of reflection and research that underlies effective, responsible cross-cultural Christian mission.

Over the years OMSC has worked with a number of cosponsoring agencies at various off-site locations: Princeton Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey; Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia; Maryknoll Mission Institute, Maryknoll, New York; Samford University Global Center, Birmingham, Alabama; Evangelicals for Middle East Understanding, Chicago, Illinois. Twice OMSC has cosponsored study tours with Hartford Seminary and the Tantur Institute near Jerusalem, the latter serving as host and coordinator. The spring 1997 semester concluded with a week-long seminar in Quito, Ecuador, attended by representatives of half a dozen Latin American countries. On this occasion OMSC participated as a cosponsor with Latin American Theological Fraternity, Latin American Christian Tranformation Network, and MAP Latin America, with MAP Latin America taking the role of host and coordinator.

In its scaled-down quarters in New Haven, OMSC is able to offer fewer living units than in the Ventnor years. Nevertheless, more than 2,500 additional adults and children have occupied OMSC's New Haven apartments and guestrooms since 1987, while more than 1,400 additional "outside" participants in the study program have been accommodated in alternative local facilities.

Publications and Scholarship Grants

The International Bulletin of Missionary Research, a quarterly, academic-level journal published by OMSC since 1977 and ed-

ited by the senior staff, continues to serve as the vanguard of OMSC's contribution to the study of cross-cultural Christian mission. Half of the nearly 7,000 subscribers live outside North America. In all, more than 130 nations are represented by the readership. David Barrett's "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission" is without doubt the most widely followed feature of the *IBMR*, and after each January issue in which it appears OMSC receives numerous requests for permission to reprint. Recently it was quoted by columnist A. M. Rosenthal in the *New York Times*.

Jørgen Pedersen, director of the Danish Santal Mission, traveled to the United States this year to participate in OMSC's January Mission Seminars for Seminarians. He states, "We think the Bulletin is a must for mission workers at home and overseas." Eugene Heideman, the recently retired director of the Reformed Church in America's World Ministries, reports, "I constantly go back to previous issues for information about mission." William R. Burrows, managing editor of Orbis Books, declares that the *IBMR* "is the most interesting journal in the field." Bishop Theophilus Annobil of Ghana considers the *IBMR* to be "indispensable, because it keeps me abreast with what is going on in mission throughout the world."

In recent years the OMSC staff has edited three mission studies books that are being used in seminary and college-level

The REP grants reflect a growing acknowledgment of the significance of the Christian movement in world history.

courses. Mission in the 1990s, a collection of essays from the IBMR, was published by the William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. in 1991. Toward the Twenty-first Century in Christian Mission, a festschrift in honor of OMSC's director, Gerald H. Anderson, was published by Eerdmans in 1993. Mission Legacies, containing interpretive biographical essays on seventy-eight pioneers of the modern missionary movement, which first appeared in the IBMR, was released in 1994 by Orbis Books. In addition, this fall Simon & Schuster's Macmillan Reference Division will release the Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions, edited by Gerald H. Anderson.

OMSC's commitment to mission studies received affirmation in 1992 when the Pew Charitable Trusts of Philadelphia asked the director to coordinate and administer a major grant program designed to support and advance mission scholarship. This year Roger Hedlund of Serampore College, India, received support for writing a book on indigenous Christian churches in India. John Carman of Harvard Divinity School received a grant to explore what he calls "Seeds of Christ in Hindu Soil." A Chinese scholar is writing on the relationship between Christian missions and Christian higher education in Hubei and Hunan Provinces of China. The West African historian J. F. Ade Ajayi of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, is authoring a biography of Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the first African bishop in the Anglican Communion. These and twelve other research and writing projects are all going forward in 1997-98 with support from the OMSC Research Enablement Program (REP), funded by Pew.

In the previous grant year, 1996–97, REP funded a consultation of Chinese scholars and American Christian philosophers

(headed by Melville Stewart of Bethel College, St. Paul, Minnesota), dealing with Chinese-Western philosophy and religious studies. The event, which took place at Peking University in Beijing, was surely one of the first gatherings in China of Western Christian scholars and Chinese scholars to explore the subject of religion since the ending of the Mao era. In the same grant year, Fanai Hrangkhuma of Serampore College, India, explored reasons for the decline of mass movements to Christianity in India; a book is forthcoming. T. Jack Thompson of the University of Edinburgh used his grant to finish developing the record of black missionaries from South Africa to Malawi. Erica Bornstein, University of California, Irvine, developed a doctoral dissertation on Christianity and economic development in Zimbabwe.

Remarkably, in the first five years of REP's operations, 80 percent of the grants have been made to scholars associated with secular rather than religious institutions. It is believed by the ten scholars who serve on the Review and Selection Committee of REP that this reflects a growing acknowledgment in the academic world of the significance of the Christian movement in world history. OMSC's visibility in the field of mission scholarship has been significantly enhanced as a result of the REP program.

Taking Cross-Cultural Mission Seriously

On May 8 this year, morning worship at 490 Prospect Street involved a graduation ceremony. During their furlough-study year, most residents work to earn OMSC's Certificate in Mission Studies. To qualify, recipients participate in half or more of the weekly seminars and workshops during the academic year and, coming to the end of their residency, prepare a paper that integrates and applies to their future ministry what they have learned at OMSC. Rev. Panya Baba, past president of the Evangelical Church of West Africa and head of that body's mission department, introduced his paper with a Hausa proverb, "Furfura ba ya hana ilmi"—Gray hairs do not hinder learning. To his own surprise, Baba proved the truth of that saying. After taking the OMSC seminar on the "Information Superhighway," led by Martin Bailey, who is communications consultant for the Middle East Council of Churches and chairman of the OMSC Board of Trustees, Baba followed up by enrolling in a night class on computers, offered in the local high school. Janet Kotynski, who with her husband, Ed, works in Indonesia with Wycliffe Bible Translators, reflected in her paper on what she had gained from the seminars on the principles of partnering with their counterparts in the Indonesian Bible Society; she was especially helped by the seminars led by Duane Elmer of Wheaton College ("Cross-Cultural Conflict Resolution") and Saphir Athyal of World Vision ("Asian Christian Leadership Training amid Religious Pluralism"). K. V. Simon, a member of the faculty of Faith Seminary in Kerala, India, wrote, "Before coming to OMSC I did not sense the church in this wider [interdenominational and international] way. Now I feel that I am part of the worldwide church. The agony and pain of my Christian brothers and sisters are also mine. This was clearly brought out in the lectures of Peter Kuzmic." (Kuzmic, involved with the Evangelical Seminary of Osijek, Croatia, dealt with Christian mission in Eastern Europe.)

Mr. Wuidong Kim testified that "to study with excellent lecturers was a great benefit [and] to share with church leaders from different parts of the world [helped] me understand more about myself and my sending church, the Korean church." As expressed by Kim when he led a recent Thursday morning worship time at OMSC, he is going back to his work in Colombia

with a greater understanding of the need to overcome the cultural and personal elements in ministry style that limit effective communication in a Latin culture. Bill and Paula Hanna (no relationship to the Hanna family that first occupied a furlough apartment in Ventnor) are about to return to Thailand, where the Summer Institute of Linguistics, or Wycliffe Bible Translators, has asked them to participate in the design of a major training program for indigenous Asian Bible translators. The paper that Hanna wrote for his OMSC Certificate in Mission Studies systematically evaluated the seminars at OMSC for application to the design of that program. May Nyunt Khin of Myanmar, who heads the Baptist women's work among the Mon, a tribal people located in southern Myanmar, stated in her paper that she "felt and experienced the 'Live and Learn at OMSC'" statement that appears in the center's annual brochure.

It is not surprising that in the year-end evaluations submitted by OMSC residents, the dynamics of international and interdenominational fellowship among the occupants of Doane Hall figure prominently in the spiritual and personal benefits. This year Ed and Janet Kotynski and their two children are on furlough from their Bible translation work with the Tabaru people of Malaku, Indonesia. Janet's initial reaction to the realization that she would be living with a number of other missionaries and missionary families in Doane Hall was that this did not sound like the quiet and privacy she had hoped for. But the fellowship that developed with May Nyunt Khin across the hall soon overcame her misgivings. Janet reports:

May Khin and I have played and laughed together as friends, cried together as women and wives, and prayed together as sisters in Christ, for Indonesia where I work, and for Myanmar. She introduced me to her people, the Mon tribe, and to other tribes, the Chin, the Kayin, the Kayah, the Shan. . . . I learned that there are 43 million people in Myanmar. Five million are Mon and two thousand of those are Christians, with only twenty pastors, in a largely Buddhist country. The Mon are one of the most difficult groups to evangelize, according to May Khin, because they are the ones who first brought Buddhism to Myanmar. . . .

I have learned so much from my opportunity to know, love, and live in community with May Khin. I have learned how little I knew of sacrifice. I have learned that the privacy I had missed overseas as an American can also rob me of the richness of a life of relationship that comes so naturally to my friends from other countries. We will say good-bye soon. But one day we will sing a new song together to Christ, the Lamb, slain for us. For "with his blood he purchases men for God from every tribe and language and people and nation. He will make us to be a kingdom and priests to serve our God."

OMSC awarded thirteen Certificates in Mission Studies on May 8. They are a modest symbol of the serious reflection and research that takes place in New Haven year after year, by servants of Christ who are dedicated to his worldwide mission. And they leave New Haven with a new appreciation of the fact that in Christ's kingdom, there is no East or West.

German Centers of Mission Research

Willi Henkel, O.M.I.

ne hundred years ago, the foundation for mission studies in Germany was created in a university setting. In December 1896 the University of Halle established the first Protestant chair of missiology, with Gustav Warneck as the occupant, beginning in 1897. In 1911 the first Roman Catholic chair was established at the University of Münster, Westphalia, where Joseph Schmidlin was appointed. Later these two universities added research institutes of missiology.

Teaching and research: these are the two basic functions of universities, and missiology in Germany owes its greatest debt to the many teachers who have held chairs of missiology over the last century and to the pioneers and researchers who have headed university-based institutes of mission studies. Mention must also be made of various university libraries that contain considerable wealth of documentation on mission. Also important, though less prominent, are the numerous mission agencies, both Protestant and Catholic, that conduct higher schools of missionary formation and include courses on missiology.

Willi Henkel, O.M.I., is Director of the Pontifical Missionary Library and Editor of the Bibliografia Missionaria, Rome. This article first appeared in Sciences de la Mission et formation missionnaire au XXe Siecle: Actes de la XIIe session du CERDIC, Vérone (Lyons: Lugd, 1992). It is published here in English translation, with revisions, by permission.

Early Protestant Missiology

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century mission historians and theologians produced a considerable quantity of material dealing scientifically with missiology. Gerhard Rosenkranz classifies these in three groups as the foundations, history, and message of mission. Obviously the presentation of mission is conditioned by the state of research at the time of writing.

After World War I, a new orientation arose in theology. Previously the approach of theologians to mission studies tended to focus narrowly on particular biblical texts, whereas now they reflected more broadly on the salvific will of God as manifested in the Christ-event. This development prompted mission scholars to try to define and distinguish their discipline from that of church history. It was at that point that the universal dimension of mission began to emerge. Reflection on the message led to systematic research on non-Christian religions. Rosenkranz also observes that apologetics played a considerable role in this process.

Protestant theologians such as Alexander Duff, Karl Graul, and Reinhold Grundemann contributed to the subject, but it was Gustav Warneck who first elaborated a systematic missiology and is considered the founder of Protestant missiology. Warneck's hope was that missiology would have a more important role in theology than that of an "invited guest." Missiology, he said, should "be at home in theology." After his dissertation on the

conversion of Paul, "Pauli Bekehrung, eine Apologie des Christentums," produced for a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Jena (1870), Warneck continued his research on missiological questions. Four years later he founded the prestigious periodical *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift* (which he directed until his death in 1910). By 1883 his publications had earned him a doctorate "honoris causa" from the University of Halle, and in 1896 the university invited him to occupy its new chair of missiology. The years leading up to this appointment had been devoted to his effort to develop a scientific presentation of missiology. It was precisely the lack of such a scientific presentation that had made missiology, in his words, the "Cinderella of theology."

As the theme for his inaugural lecture at the University of Halle, Warneck chose "The Place of Mission in the Organization of Theology." Myklebust refers to it as the Magna Carta of

Warneck held that mission constitutes an integral part of God's revelation through Christ for the salvation of the world.

mission.⁷ According to Warneck, mission constitutes an integral part of the revelation of God through Jesus Christ, who is communicated for the salvation of the world. As a Protestant, Warneck focused on the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which provides the theological foundation for mission. All the problems of mission must be considered in the light of theological principles.

Within the domain of missiology Warneck gave special importance to the history of mission. Since the experience of mission history precedes the theory of mission, Warneck began by writing a history of Protestant missions, Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart.⁸ Julius Richter considers this work, which Warneck saw as a contribution to the history of the church, a model of historical research.

Warneck's greatest work, however, is *Evangelische Missionslehre*,9 in which he presents a Protestant theory of mission. In this book he develops the theological principles of mission, the aims of mission, the agents and accomplishments of mission, and finally the problems of mission. Warneck viewed both secular and missionary history as the unfolding of a divine plan. He discovered parallels between commerce, colonization, and the propagation of the faith, while at the same time emphasizing the independence of mission from colonial powers.

According to Myklebust, Warneck must be seen as an educator for a full understanding of his work. 10 Warneck saw that local clergy played a fundamental role in the Christian world mission. Therefore, to ensure that pastors would be able to provide leadership for mission, Warneck insisted that serious study of Christian mission be included in programs of pastoral formation. Warneck himself exemplified the pastor who lived his missionary vocation.

In 1879 he promoted the foundation of the General Missionary Conference of Saxony to help unify the laity in support of mission. He also organized weeklong conferences on missionary topics, which were attended by nearly half of the pastoral stu-

dents then in training at Halle. One of the very important results of these conferences was the arousing of interest of church consistories, and many churches directed their pastors to preach on mission on the Monday after Pentecost. In 1906 several provincial conferences joined in establishing the General Association of Protestant Missionary Conferences.

In 1888 Warneck delivered an address in which he pleaded for an international missionary council—thirty-three years before the International Missionary Council was founded! Warneck clearly saw beyond the confines of his time, his country, and even his continent.

Protestant Developments after 1910

Myklebust reports that about ten chairs and academic courses of missiology were established in the wake of Warneck's pioneering work at Halle. When Warneck retired in 1908, Gottlob Haussleiter was appointed as his successor and held the post until 1925.¹¹ Haussleiter was succeeded by Hilko Wiardo Schomerus (1926–45).

In the University of Berlin a chair of missiology was established in 1914; Julius Richter held the position until 1930, having been appointed "ordinary professor" in 1921. His successor was Johannes Witte (1935–39). During this latter period the chair of missiology became the chair of the science of religions. Another chair was created in Tübingen in 1928 with Martin Schlunk as occupant. He continued in that position until 1948.

Elsewhere there were professors of theology who were at the same time lecturers in missiology. This was the case in Marburg, where Heinrich Frick, professor of systematic theology and comparative religions, was also in charge of missiology. Before he received this appointment, he had taught history of religions and missions at Giessen.

In the University of Göttingen Carl Mirbt, professor of church history (1912–28), offered courses in mission. In 1912 Carl Paul, director of the Leipzig Mission, was appointed honorary professor of mission in Leipzig University. In Heidelberg, Gerhard Rosenkranz taught courses on mission and the science of religions. In Kiel, Hilko Wiardo Schomerus, Martin Schlunk, and Walter Freytag were appointed to teach courses on mission.

From 1912 onward Hamburg had a colonial institute with a lecturer in charge of mission who was later transferred to the faculty of philosophy. Hamburg also had Martin Schlunk (1912–28) and Walter Freytag (1953–59) as professors of missiology.

It should be noted that the Nazi regime was hostile toward the teaching of missiology; it suppressed the chair of missiology at Berlin University, left other positions unoccupied, and transformed the chair of missiology in Tübingen into a chair of African studies. In the institutes of theology, such as Bethel near Bielefeld, Wuppertal, and Berlin (Kirchliche Hochschule), there were also courses on missiology. These institutes also experienced the opposition of the Nazi regime.

With the development of missiology as a theological discipline, research institutes of missiology were established at Hamburg and Tübingen.¹² In keeping with German university tradition, each institute had its own specialized library.

The German Society for Missiology was founded in 1918 by Carl Mirbt, who was also its first president. He was succeeded in this position by Martin Schlunk in 1929. Beginning in 1936, the society published a series called *Missionswissenschaftliche Studien*. An older series, *Allgemeine Missions-Studien*, was then in its twenty-sixth volume.

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Catholic Initiatives in Missiology

After the awakening of Roman Catholic missions during the nineteenth century in France, a new interest in mission was aroused also in Germany. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith was established in Cologne (1834), Munich (1838), and Innsbruck (1881). The physician Heinrich Hahn wrote a history of mission in five volumes. In 1875 the Society of the Divine Word Missionaries was founded in Steyl. After 1884, as Germany took its place among the colonial powers, the government was interested in establishing missions outside the country. The Katholikentag (general assembly of German Catholics) met in Strasbourg in 1905 and gave further impetus to the missionary movement.

In August 1907 Joseph Schmidlin transferred from the University of Strasbourg to Münster, 15 where he was placed in charge

of medieval and modern church history. Shortly afterward, he was appointed to the adjunct chair of patristics, archaeology, and history.

During the summer of 1909 the federal ministry of public instruction identified the need for courses on colonization. ¹⁶ The following year Schmidlin declared his availability to offer courses on Catholic mission in the German protectorates. The Catholic faculty of theology at Münster took advantage of the occasion to request the ministry of public instruction to appoint an associate lecturer to be in charge of missiography, a course dealing with the present state of mission. The appointment of Schmidlin to this position was made in the fall of 1910, ¹⁷ and during the winter of 1910–11 he lectured to an opening class of 153 students. After a further request made by the faculty of theology, the chair became an adjunct chair, and finally, in 1914, Schmidlin was appointed full professor of missiology. ¹⁸

Readers' Response

To the Editor:

I'm sorry that Darrell Whiteman chose to include in his fine article on contextualization in your January issue the assertion that "a common phrase at the time [before 1949] was, 'One more Christian, one less Chinese.'"

I was in China before 1949 and never heard the phrase. It cropped up in an American Bible Society video on China, and I tried to get documentation for it from the narrator. He simply asserted that it must have been said, because it is so often repeated. But he was unable to identify a single person who could verify it.

On the face of it, the statement lacks credibility. The man revered by Nationalists and Communists alike as leader of the revolution of 1911, which ushered in the era of modern China, was a Christian, Sun Yat-sen. The de facto leader of China before 1949 was a Christian, Chiang Kai-shek, as was his famous and influential wife, influential members of her family, and many, many others prominent in Chinese life. Whatever we or the Chinese thought or think of these Christians, it seems hard to believe that they were considered not truly Chinese.

It is certainly true that at times Christianity has been reviled as a "foreign religion" in China. Like Buddhism and Islam (and Communism), it was indeed imported. More than Buddhism and Islam (but not more than Communism), its arrival was linked with a major onslaught on traditional Chinese culture, leading to widespread opposition to Christianity. Like Buddhism and Islam, it has enriched native Chinese culture. In particular, it has been to a large extent the carrier of many aspects of Western scientific culture, which China has been eagerly embracing after an initial hesitation.

However one estimates the impact of an imported Christianity in China, my point is to ask for evidence that in fact a common phrase was "one more Christian, one less Chinese." Without such evidence, the assertion appears to be another bit of antimissionary mythology.

David M. Stowe Tenafly, New Jersey

Author's Reply

I am grateful for David Stowe's inquiry about the source of the phrase, "One more Christian, one less Chinese," which I used in my January 1997 article on contextualization. I first discovered this phrase in the *Monthly Letter on Evangelism*, edited by Raymond Fung of Hong Kong when he was secretary for evangelism at the World Council of Churches. But I took Stowe's challenge to discover if this was one of those phantom phrases without any historical reality. I discovered it is very much anchored in reality. The phrase emerged as early as the first decade of this century, probably encouraged and used at the beginning and after the Boxer Rebellion, and it was especially common through the 1930s and 1940s.

Interestingly, the phrase is still heard in China today. Bishop K. H. Ding has used it several times in referring to Christianity in China before 1949. It was heard in China by a friend of mine approximately three months ago. To gather further confirmation that this phrase was authentic, a call was made to a pastor in China who is with the China Christian Council. He said it was a very common phrase but that foreigners would not likely have heard it. I am satisfied that the phrase is not "another bit of antimissionary mythology."

Of course, the purpose of my using the phrase was to underscore the reality that in pre-1949 China, and unfortunately in many parts of the world today, Christianity is still perceived as a foreign religion because it has failed to become adequately contextualized. May the day come soon when people across the face of the globe will recognize that Christianity has found a home in their own culture.

Darrell Whiteman Asbury Theological Seminary Wilmore, Kentucky

To the Editor:

In her article on "The Legacy of John J. Considine, M.M." (April 1997), Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., notes Considine's considerable achievements in the Catholic mission world and then

Schmidlin was also able to obtain a further two chairs: one for the science of religions (Franz Josef Dölger) and another for the Christian Orient (Paul Karge and Adolf Rücker); in addition, a lecturer was placed in charge of missiography (Karl Pieper).

At the University of Munich an adjunct chair was established with Johann Baptist Aufhauser as professor,¹⁹ and in the University of Würzburg Thomas Ohm, O.S.B., was put in charge of courses in missiology (1932–41).²⁰

In 1935 Schmidlin was removed from the chair of missiology at Münster and imprisoned by the Nazi regime. His place was taken by Josef Lortz.²¹ In 1928 Max Bierbaum was appointed to teach courses in mission law, and in 1930 he was appointed adjunct professor. In 1935 he was placed in charge of courses in mission theory and missiography.²²

After World War II, Thomas Ohm was appointed full professor of missiology in Münster, where he continued to teach until

his retirement in 1961. At Würzburg University in 1959, Josef Glazik, M.S.C., became adjunct professor of missiology. He succeeded Ohm as full professor in Münster in 1961 and retired from teaching in 1970.²³

Catholic Mission Institutes

In 1911 a deputy in the Reichstag proposed the creation of an institute for missiology. Members of the Katholikentag had already discussed the possibility of finding financial resources for archival research on missions and for a mission bibliography. These overtures found fulfillment when Schmidlin and Robert Streit, O.M.I., successfully advanced a proposal for establishing the Institut für missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen. One of its functions was to compile a reliable and complete bibliography of mission publications. It also promoted research in archives and granted subsidies for publications.²⁴

adds, "He was well known by many Protestants." In particular, Considine enjoyed a warm and longtime (though little known) friendship with Kenneth Scott Latourette at Yale Divinity School, a key figure in twentieth century American missiology. Their relationship spanned five decades (1920s–1960s), as shown by documents in the Yale Divinity School Library and Maryknoll Mission Archives.

In the 1920s when Latourette was researching materials for his History of Christian Missions in China, he visited Maryknoll and met Considine. His autobiography, Beyond the Ranges, recalls their collaboration, noting that Considine "was an early acquaintance who became a warm friend." This friendship had many facets: mutual visits (Latourette came to Maryknoll almost annually); dedication to developing mission libraries (Considine at Maryknoll and Latourette at Yale as curator of the Day Missions Library); by exchange of recommendations about important books and journals to each other; promotion of ecumenism in mission (through direct contact, symposiums, associations, etc.); professional collaboration (assessing each other's published works through letters, book reviews, commentaries, etc.); mutual assistance in researching mission questions; recommending spiritual writers to each other for personal growth. Interestingly, the first and last letters of Considine to Latourette in the Yale collection (there are several others) express gratitude for "your annual Christmas gift [generous check] to Maryknoll"—another expression of friendship.

Considine was stationed at the Maryknoll House in Rome in 1934 when Latourette spent several weeks there as part of his sabbatical from Yale. Latourette writes in his autobiography: "Through the Maryknollers many doors were opened. . . . Father Considine, with a fabulous knowledge of the missions of his entire church, generously made himself available." Latourette did research in the mission library of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, consulted experts on mission (e.g. Pierre Charles, S.J.), attended a beatification and canonization, and had a private audience with Pope Pius XI (to personally present a copy of his History of Christian Missions in China). Latourette writes in his autobiography: "The weeks in Rome contained only some of the many

instances of the unfailing courtesy shown me by Catholics." James A. Walsh, Superior General of Maryknoll, later (May 11, 1934) wrote to Considine in Rome: "Prof. Latourette has written his appreciation of your kindness and good offices."

Considine and Latourette represent authentic ecumenism and collaboration in mission through their relationship. Latourette was genuinely appreciative of Considine's vision in preparing Maryknollers for China; "Within a few months of its publication I was pleased to find that the entire *History of Christian Missions in China* had been read aloud at meals to the student body at Maryknoll." Latourette, in another section of his autobiography, says of Considine: "In many ways I am deeply indebted to him. A priest of complete commitment to Christ, asking nothing for himself, possessed of an amazing knowledge of missions, with wide-ranging vision and great wisdom, few if any of his generation have made greater contributions to the foreign missions of the American branch of his church."

James H. Kroeger, M.M.

The writer teaches at the Loyola School of Theology in Manila, and heads the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC) Desk for Asian Missionary Societies of Apostolic Life. During the spring semester 1997 he was in residence at the Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Ct., and doing research at Yale Divinity School Library.

The first Catholic missiological journal, Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft, was founded in 1911. Two series of publications were later sponsored: Missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte, which published thirty-one volumes by 1972; and Missionswissenschaftliche Studien (1935–43).

Robert Streit, who served from 1905 to 1912 as editor-in-chief of *Mary Immaculata*, periodical of the German province of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, observed in the course of his work that Catholic historians dealt with mission in a rather superficial way. Most of the literature then existing was for popular consumption and lacked a scientific approach. Streit strove to set a new standard by using exegetics, patristics, and history in his treatment of the Christian world mission.

In the early years of the twentieth century there was nothing on the Catholic side to answer Warneck's *Protestantische Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evangelische Heidenmission* (Protestant elucidation of Roman attacks on the evangelical mission to pagans, 1884). Streit's articles began to address this need and had a favorable reception in German Catholic academic circles.²⁵

The Katholikentag of Breslau (1909) and Berlin (1910) dealt with the question of teaching missiology in universities and

German universities after 1945 often combined missiology with other related disciplines.

seminaries. Streit was asked to prepare a memorandum on the need for a bibliography on mission. This led to the launching of the *Bibliotheca Missionum* project, which became an integral part of the Institut für missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen.²⁶ Appealing to missionary societies for their collaboration, Streit first studied all the existing mission bibliographies. Then during 1913 he traveled to France (Paris), Spain, and Portugal, the countries from which Catholic missionary activity was mainly promoted during the sixteenth century. He searched in libraries and archives such as the Archivo General de Indias in Seville and the state archives of Torro do Tombo in Lisbon.²⁷

Bibliotheca Missionum covers the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries. Streit's original intention was to compile mission bibliography up to the year 1911 (the year Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft was founded), and to look to Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft to cover more recent publications. The first volume of Bibliotheca Missionum presents a bibliography of the theory of mission, including dogmatics, ethics, pastoral topics, missionary methods, and history of mission in general. Volumes 2 and 3 deal with the Americas; 4-8 with Asia; 9 with the Philippines; 10–11 with Japan, Korea, and Indochina; 12–14 with China; 15–20 with Africa; and 21 with Australia and Oceania. Volumes 22-30 are supplements and include the literature published up to the 1970s. Streit authored the first five volumes before his death in 1930 at the age of fifty-five. Bibliotheca Missionum was very favorably received and has become an indispensable tool in the work of missionary research.28

During the period of secularization in Germany (from 1812), many ecclesiastical libraries were transferred to state universities. Thus we find mission-oriented works listed as being in the

university libraries of Berlin, Göttingen, Tübingen, and Munich. In later volumes of *Bibliotheca Missionum* there are also references to Roman libraries and the Library of Congress in Washington.

In the same period, manuscripts of religious orders were transferred to the Royal Archives, or Königliches Staatsarchiv, as it was called until 1921. After the reorganization of the archives of Bavaria (1921), they were given the title Bayrisches Hauptstaatsarchiv and were placed in the Bayrische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Unfortunately a considerable part of this collection was destroyed in 1945. There remain few documents on the missionary societies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In contrast, many documents from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries have been preserved. They concern Africa, Mexico, New Granada, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, Brazil, India, China, Japan, Indochina, Philippines, and Oceania.²⁹

Nearly all the missionary institutes in Germany have their own archives, and many of them have not been researched systematically. Mention should also be made of the Fugger Archives, which contain a considerable number of letters written by missionaries to their benefactors.³⁰

The Situation After 1945

Myklebust's work The Study of Missions in Theological Education (1955) lists all German faculties of Protestant theology with a chair or courses of missiology. All the universities mentioned above are to be found in that listing. For the first time the universities of Mainz and Münster are listed. We notice that a variety of subjects are combined with the teaching of missiology, indicating the development of the field. Erlangen offers New Testament and mission; Halle, the oldest chair, offers mission and comparative religions. From 1947 the University of Hamburg had an honorary chair of missiology in the faculty of philosophy, which in 1953 became a chair of missiology and ecumenism in the Protestant faculty of theology. Until 1949 the University of Kiel had a part-time and honorary chair of missiology. Since 1951 the University of Leipzig has offered similar arrangements. The chair at Marburg combines systematic theology, history of the church, comparative religions, and missions. In the University of Tübingen the chair is totally dedicated to missiology. The chair in Mainz University continues to be active. Finally, in the Protestant faculty of Münster there is an honorary part-time chair of missions, history of the church, and theological bibliography.31

Following World War II the chairs of missiology of the Protestant faculties of the German Federal Republic operated without interruption. From 1947 onward, Gerhard Rosenkranz held the chair of Tübingen; he was succeeded in 1966 by Peter Beyerhaus. This faculty also has an institute for missiology and ecumenism. In 1963 Niels-Peter Moritzen began teaching in Erlangen, now succeeded by Hermann Brandt; in 1957 Hans-Werner Gensichen began teaching in Heidelberg, where he was succeeded by Theo Sundermeier in 1983. After the premature death of Hans Jochen Margull in 1967, Theo Ahrens and Olav Schumann filled the chair of missiology in Hamburg. The chair of Mainz was first occupied by Walter Holsten (1947-73),32 then by Werner Kohler, who was followed by Hans Wissmann.³³ From 1962 onward, the chair in Marburg, which also dealt with questions on Africa, was occupied by Ernst Dammann.34 He was succeeded by Johann Bouman and Hans-Jürgen Greschat.

A new institute for missiology and the science of religions was founded in the Protestant faculty of Munich University in 1968, with Horst Bürkle as professor. He has been succeeded by

Michael von Brück. In 1972 Lothar Schreiner was appointed to the chair of the Theologische Hochschule of Wuppertal,35 and he has been succeeded by Friedrich Huber. The chair at Neuendettelsau was held by Herwig Wagner, who was succeeded by Dieter Becker; Johann Triebel is a lecturer at Neuendettelsau, while Heinrich Balz taught in Berlin. The current incumbent at Hanover University is Peter Antes, who teaches the science of religions in the faculty of education. A new chair for comparative science of religions has been founded at the Protestant faculty of Regensburg and was occupied by Michael von Brück until he moved to Munich; as yet no successor has been appointed at Regensburg. Also new is the science of religions program at the cultural faculty of the University of Bayreuth, with Ulrich Berner as professor. Heinz Röhr taught church history and science of religions at Frankfurt University, and Udo Tworuschka is professor of science of religions at Jena University.36 Klaus Hock is professor of the science of religions in a new chair at Rostock University, and Helmut Obst is professor of ecumenics and the science of religions at Halle University. All of these represent the richness of teaching and resources for the study of missions in Germany on the Protestant side.

In 1944 an institute for missiology and science of religions was established in the faculty of Catholic theology of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. The directors—Jean de Menasce (1944–48), Jacques D. Michels (1948–71), and Richard Friedli (1971–)—are members of the Dominican order, which has charge of the university. In addition, the institute has an associate professor for Asia, Anand Nayak, and two lecturers: Hans Schöpfer for Latin America and V. Python for China and Japan.³⁷ The institute gives special attention to intercultural theology and the relationship between missiology and non-Christian religions.

Mention must also be made of the former seminary of the Bethlehem Mission Society at Schöneck/Beckenried, where Johannes Beckmann taught for many years and founded in 1945 the *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, a much-respected periodical that publishes articles in German, English, French, and Italian. It is also responsible for the remarkable series Supplementa der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, now in its fifth decade.

Since 1983 the Theological Academy of the Society of the Divine Word has been authorized to confer degrees, which are recognized by both church and state. The institute is affiliated with the Roman Athenaeum of St. Anselm. The teaching of missiology holds a special place in the program, which offers a licentiate in missiology after a two-year course and a doctorate in missiology after a further two years and on presentation of a dissertation. The academy provides special training for teaching religion in state schools.³⁸

In the town of St. Augustin in 1961 the Steyler Missionswissenschaftliches Institut was founded; it publishes Studia Instituti Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini, a series that thus far comprises some fifty volumes. The institute also publishes the periodical *Verbum S.V.D.* It is also here that the well-known *Anthropos* is published by the Anthropos-Institut, founded by Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D., and the yearly *Monumenta Serica*, which deals with questions concerning China. During recent years the institute also has held study-weeks and published their findings.³⁹

After the retirement of Catholic missiologist Josef Glazik in 1970, the chair in Münster remained vacant for some time. It was later occupied by Johannes Dörmann and, after his retirement,

by Giancarlo Collet. The chair of Würzburg was occupied by Bernward Willeke, a well-known specialist on China and mission historian on East Asia. ⁴⁰ He was succeeded by Norbert Klaes, and he in turn by Ludwig Hagemann, a specialist in Islam.

Suso Brechter, O.S.B., taught missiology in the Catholic faculty of Munich University, but after his retirement the chair remained vacant. He will be remembered for his commentary on the Vatican Council II decree *Ad Gentes* in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (published in English by Herder and Herder, New York).

During the 1970s two institutes, which were not part of a university, were founded for the study of missiology. In 1971 the Pontifical Mission-Aid Societies in Aachen founded the

Missiology provides a worldwide outlook for other theological disciplines.

Missionswissenschaftliche Institut, and in 1979 the Munich branch of the societies founded the Katholisches Institut für missionstheologische Grundlagenforschung.

In 1972 the Aachen institute was recognized by the German bishops and in 1978 by the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples. The principal aim of the institute is to promote the study of theology in Africa, Asia, and Oceania and to make this theology known in Germany. The institute also grants financial help for research and for publications. From 1974 to 1990 the institute took over the publication of Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft from Münster and also the publication of Missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte (which ceased publication in 1985). Since 1980 the institute has published Mission im Kontext, a bibliography of Third World authors on the subject of missiology. A few years later an English version was launched. Since 1981 the institute has published the series Theologie der Dritten Welt.

The Munich branch of Missio, which has limited personnel, concentrates on conferences in the field of mission animation (i.e., building up motivation and action for mission).⁴²

Conclusion

Many new chairs and institutes of missiology have been founded in Germany since the first chairs were established a century ago. Research in missiology has both enriched the theological disciplines and stands in need of them. The study of religions, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, and historical sciences has developed considerably during these years. Missiology is essentially theological in character, since the principles on which it is based are theological. Missiology also makes use of the inductive method common to the human sciences.

Missiology provides a worldwide outlook for other theological disciplines. It must, moreover, fully examine the problems of the local churches. It has certainly been instrumental in overcoming a Eurocentric mentality and has opened up theology to Third World perspectives. Finally, missiology has made an essential contribution to ecumenism.⁴³

Notes

- 1. Gerhard Rosenkranz, "Evangelische Missionswissenschaft," Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart 6 (1960): 1013.
- 2. Ibid.
- Gustav Warneck, "Das Studium der Mission auf der Universität," Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift 4 (1877): 209. Also see Hans Kasdorf, Gustav Warnecks missiologisches Erbe (Giessen: Brunnen, 1990).
- 4. Olav Guttorm Myklebust, *The Study of Missions in Theological Education* (Oslo: Egede Instituttet, 1955), 1:297.
- 5. Ibid., p. 289.
- 6. Gustav Warneck, "Nach 25 Jahren," Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift 26 (1899): 6.
- 7. Myklebust, Study of Missions, 1:286.
- 8. Gustav Warneck, "Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart. Ein Beitrag zur neueren Kirchengeschichte," in Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, ed. J. J. Herzog, vol. 10 (1881–82), pp. 33–102; vol. 13 (1903), pp. 125–71; produced as a separate publication in 1882.
- 9. Gustav Warneck, Evangelische Missionslehre: Ein Missionstheoretischer Versuch, 5 vols. (Gotha: F. A. Berthes, 1897–1903).
- 10. Myklebust, *Study of Missions*, 1: 280–84. This reference is the source of information in the paragraphs immediately following.
- 11. Ibid., 2:102–5. This reference is the source of information in the paragraphs immediately following.
- 12. Rosenkranz, "Evangelische Missionswissenschaft," p. 1014.
- 13. Myklebust, Study of Missions, 2:113.
- 14. Karl Müller, Josef Schmidlin (1876–1944), Papsthistoriker und Begründer der katholischen Missionswissenschaft (Nettetal: Steyler, 1989), p. 66.
- 15. On the difficulties of Schmidlin with Ehrhard, see ibid., pp. 53–54.
- 16. Ibid., p. 69.
- 17. Eduard Hegel, "Der Lehrstuhl für Missionswissenschaft und die missionswissenschaftlichen Studieneinrichtungen in der Katholischen Theologischen Fakultät Münster," in Fünfzig Jahre Katholische Missionswissenschaft in Münster, ed. Josef Glazik (Münster: Aschendorff, 1961), p. 6.
- 18. Müller, Schmidlin, pp. 70-73.
- 19. Ibid.
- 20. Thomas Ohm, "Meine Tätigkeit im Dienste der Missionswissenschaft in Münster," in Glazik, Fünfzig Jahre, p. 33.
- 21 Ibid
- 22. Max Bierbaum, "Im Dienste der Missionswissenschaft, 1925–1952," in Glazik, Fünfzig Jahre, pp. 43–44.
- 23. Josef Glazik, "Meine Selbstdarstellung," in Glazik, Fünfzig Jahre, p. 58.

- 24. Josef Glazik, "Das Internationale Institut für missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen," in Glazik, Fünfzig Jahre, pp. 67–68.
- Willi Henkel, "The Legacy of Robert Streit, Johannes Dindinger, and Johannes Rommerskirchen," International Bulletin of Missionary Research 6 (1982): 16.
- 26. Ibid., p. 17.
- 27. Johannes Pietsch, O.M.I., P. Robert Streit, O.M.I.: Ein Pionier der katholischen Missionswissenschaft (Schöneck/Beckenried: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1952), p. 17.
- 28. Ibid., pp. 24–30. See also J. Beckmann, "Werden, Wachsen und Bedeutung der Bibliotheca Missionum," *Euntes Docete* 21 (1968): 33–63.
- 29. Bernward H. Willeke, O.F.M., "Die Missionshandschriften im Bayrischen Staats-Hauptarchiv zu München," *Euntes Docete* 21 (1968): 322, 325–45.
- Cf. Willi Henkel, "Florian Bahr (1706–1771), ein schlesischer Jesuitenmissionar in China und Musiker am Hof in Peking," Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte 34 (1976): 59–91.
- 31. Myklebust, Study of Missions, 2:293.
- 32. Werner Schuder, Kürschners deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), pp. 216–17, 879, 1324, 2000, 2148.
- 33. Jahrbuch für Mission 1990 22 (1990): 269.
- 34. Schuder, Kürschners, p. 481.
- 35. Ibid., pp. 404, 2890.
- 36. Jahrbuch für Mission 1990 22 (1990): 266-69.
- Richard Friedli, "Das Institut für Missiologie und Religionswissenschaft in Fribourg," Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft 75 (1986): 245, 247.
- 38. Josef Kuhl, "Missionswissenschaftliche Arbeit der SVD in St. Augustin und St. Gabriel," Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft 75 (1986): 271–72.
- 39. Ibid.
- 40. Schuder, Kürschners, pp. 816, 3516.
- 41. Ludwig Wiedenmann, "Das Missionswissenschaftliche Institut Missio in Aachen," Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft 75 (1986): 240.
- 42. Franz Wolfinger, "Das katholische Institut für missionstheologische Grundlagenforschung in München," Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft 75 (1986): 243–44.
- 43. Karl Müller and Theo Sundermeier, Lexikon missionstheologischer Grundbegriffe (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1987).

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Beneath the Wilberforce Oak, 1873

David Killingray

In 1873 Bishop Samuel Crowther (ca. 1807–91) of West Africa made one of his several visits to England. Ten years earlier, in 1864, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) general secretary, Henry Venn—a determined advocate of indigenization in the work of CMS—had seen to the appointment of Crowther as head of the Niger mission, which made him responsible for the inland Niger territories of western Africa. The first African to be consecrated a bishop in the African communion, Crowther was hailed as exemplar of Venn's three-self policy for the African church.1

Before his return to the Niger, Crowther and six companions made a visit to the hamlet of Keston, about twenty miles southeast of London. A photographer was secured for the occasion. The photo has appeared in the work of historians of West Africa, most

notably Christopher Fyfe and Jacob Ajayi.2

The location of the photograph is well known. It is the Wilberforce Oak, at Holwood near the village of Keston, in northwest Kent. Little remains of the oak today other than a weathered stump surrounded by a protective fence. But even without the tree it is possible to see exactly where the photograph was taken, based on the position of the stone seat in the background. The tree, now reached by a public footpath, has been since the middle of the nineteenth century a well-known local historical site mentioned in most of the tourist guides to the area.

The figures in the photograph are also clearly identifiable, and there is little doubt as to the significance of why they should be photographed beneath the tree. However, apart from determining that the year was 1873, based on various accounts placing the key individuals together in England that year, it has not been possible to establish exactly when the photograph was taken. The season of the year is indicated by the trees in full leaf; the weather had been sufficiently dry for the seven men to sit or sprawl on the ground. No written account of the outing to the Wilberforce Oak has been found, so we are left to wonder about the precise circumstances that brought the seven figures together on a summer's day in a part of rural Kent twenty miles from London.³ No clue is provided by correspondence in the CMS archives at the University of Birmingham, or in the publications of the society such as *The Proceedings of the CMS for Africa and the*

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In 1873 the Wilberforce Oak drew a distinguished international party of seven.

East for 1872–75, the Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, Church Missionary Record, or the Missionary Gleaner. A careful search of autobiographical and biographical works, and also the major national ecclesiastical and local newspapers for 1873, has likewise failed to provide any information to indicate exactly when and how the group gathered below the Wilberforce Oak at Keston. The historian is thus left to make an informed interpretation.

A Place of Pilgrimage

First of all the place. It is not surprising that a group of CMS members and a friend should be photographed beneath the symbolic branches of the Wilberforce Oak. For the West Africans, and particularly for the former slave child Bishop Crowther, it must have had a special significance. Almost a century earlier, in the late spring of 1787, three men, all in their twenty-eighth year, sat on the ground next to an oak tree on the edge of William Pitt's estate at Holwood: there was Pitt himself, then prime minister, his cousin William Grenville, and William Wilberforce, the member of parliament for Hull. They were discussing a proposal to be put in the House of Commons to abolish the slave trade. Pitt urged: "Wilberforce, why don't you give notice of a motion on the subject of the Slave Trade? You have already taken great pains to collect evidence, and are therefore fully entitled to the credit which doing so will ensure you. Do not lose time, or the ground may be occupied by another."4 Asked in old age why he took up the cause of abolition, Wilberforce replied, "I distinctly remember the very knoll on which I was sitting near Pitt and Grenville" above the vale of Keston.⁵

Although the true architects of abolition were the nonparliamentarians Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, James Ramsey, and others, it was Wilberforce with his moral rectitude and Tory politics who persistently argued the cause first for abolition and then for emancipation through the House of Commons and onto the statute book. Wilberforce's prominence on the political high ground helped personify him as the major figure in the campaign to end the British slave trade and slavery. By the mid-nineteenth century the Wilberforce Oak, as it was increasingly known, had become one of the landmarks of the abolitionist movement. This was recognized by placing a seat by the oak tree in 1862, the central panel of which bore an inscription from Wilberforce's diary for 1788: "At length, I well remember, after a conversation with Mr. Pitt in the open air at the root of an old tree at Holwood, just above the steep descent into the Vale of Keston,

It is not surprising that Crowther would want to be photographed at a site that had all the marks of a place of pilgrimage.

I resolved to give notice on a fit occasion in the House of Commons of my intention to bring forward the abolition of the slave trade."

The central figure in the photograph is Crowther, seated on the roots of the tree. Rescued from a slave ship and growing up in the West African settlement of Freetown, Sierra Leone, the young Crowther was surrounded by the name and influence of Wilberforce. Wilberforce had supported the scheme to establish the Sierra Leone settlement, a local village bore his name, and there had been a faltering collection in order to try to build a public hall in his memory. It is not surprising that the Yoruba former slave who became ordained and then, in 1864, was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral as the first African Anglican bishop, with a vaguely defined diocese of the Niger Territories, should wish to be photographed at a site that had all the marks of a place of pilgrimage.

The photographer is unknown. The picture was probably taken by a local photographer who took at least two exposures. One of those photographs is shown here; another has Edward Hutchinson (left) wearing his hat, and Nathaniel King, in the forefront, lying full length and supporting his head on his hand. As with all photographs then, the figures had to be posed. The technology of the time demanded that the subjects froze while the photographer, head under a black cloth, inserted a wet collodion negative plate into the camera supported on a tripod and judged the time needed for the exposure. The exposed plate then had to be developed on the spot in a portable dark-tent.

It is not known how the party was organized. Bishop Crowther had come to England in January 1873, and he chaired the second part of the CMS Annual Meeting, held in Exeter Hall, London, in early May. Perhaps during the Annual Meeting a day outing from London to Keston was arranged. It would have been a fairly simple affair, although not yet one made by many ordinary working people. It involved a forty-minute railway

journey from Victoria Station in central London to the market town of Bromley, and then a hired carriage for the three miles' ride through the Kent countryside to Keston. The services of a local commercial photographer, of whom there were several in Bromley, could have been secured in advance by post.

Keston was a small scattered hamlet among woodland and common with a medieval church and a number of large estates. One such estate was Keston Lodge, then owned by Edward Stanley, soon to be foreign secretary in Disraeli's government; in May 1875 he confided in his diary that adjoining his land was "Holwood and Keston Common [which] adds to the enjoyment, being picturesque and little visited: and the nearness to London makes it possible to pass a few hours there."

A Mutual Concern for Africa

From left to right the figures in the photograph are as follows: Edward Hutchinson (d. 1897), the lay secretary of the CMS; Rev. David Hinderer (1819–90); Rev. Henry Johnson (d. 1901); Crowther; Nathaniel King (1847–84), then a medical student at King's College, London; Rev. James Johnson (1836–1917); and on the far right Rev. Henry Townsend (1815–86).¹⁰

The senior figure is Crowther. Formerly from Yorubaland in southern Nigeria, he had been rescued from a slave ship by the British navy and educated by missionaries of the CMS in Freetown. In 1834 he became a tutor at Fourah Bay Institution (later College); in 1841 he accompanied a British expedition to the Niger. Two years later Crowther was ordained in London and sent as a missionary to Yorubaland, where he traveled extensively. He established the first mission station among the Igbo, compiled a Yoruba dictionary, and translated parts of the Bible and the prayer book into both Yoruba and Igbo. Long before he became a bishop in 1864, Crowther's life was held up as a model of African evangelical endeavor and piety.¹¹

The big question regarding Crowther's appointment was, Bishop of what part of West Africa? European missionaries working in Yorubaland, including both Hinderer and Townsend, were strongly against his diocesan jurisdiction being extended to their area, although ten years later both had changed their minds.¹² In 1861 Townsend, Hinderer, and other white CMS clergy had petitioned Venn objecting to the consecration of Crowther.13 In 1864 Crowther's new diocese was vaguely defined as being along the River Niger. It was financially weak, poor in physical and human resources, and mainly confined to missionary work. As Adrian Hastings says, Venn failed to firmly implement his principles and was left with "an arrangement which led to ineffectiveness upon the one side and dissatisfaction on the other."14 By the time this photograph was taken, Crowther had been a bishop for ten years. A gentle and humble man, he would not have thought other than to be riend and support even those who had opposed his elevation, although by 1873 his erstwhile white opponents had considerably changed their views and come to accept the value of Africans as clergy and also Crowther as bishop.

The two European clerics in the photograph are Henry Townsend and David Hinderer. Townsend had served with the CMS in West Africa since 1842. He was ordained in 1844 and two years later founded the CMS Yoruba mission at Abeokuta. He was a paternalist and originally had set himself against the idea of an indigenous African church. In the 1860s Townsend opposed as premature the ordination of African clergy, arguing that Crowther as a bishop was "unacceptable." He wanted a European colonial or missionary bishop in Nigeria and said of

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Crowther: "I don't believe in his power to become head of the Church here. . . . He is too much a native." ¹⁶

Hinderer came from southern Germany and had worked for the CMS in West Africa since 1849, where he founded the Ibadan mission. From reports and in his correspondence he comes across as a gentle and gracious man. During the Yoruba wars of the 1860s Hinderer and his wife were virtual prisoners in Ibadan, where they suffered ill health and considerable privation. In 1869 they retired to a parish in Norfolk, where Mrs. Hinderer died the following year; David returned to Yorubaland in 1874 to work for another three years. ¹⁷

The two other African clergymen in the photograph, James Johnson and Henry Johnson, were both children of freed slaves and had been born and educated in Freetown. They were close associates of Crowther and endured with him not only the hostility generated by the British trader George Goldie's expanding commercial interests and the new imperialism of the late 1880s, but also the painful criticisms of their ecclesiastical probity by a new breed of European evangelical missionaries that resulted in the Niger Purge of 1890. ¹⁸ In that sad affair Crowther lost his diocese and Henry Johnson was dismissed.

James Johnson, popularly known as Holy Johnson, served as a catechist and evangelist in Freetown for several years and was ordained in 1866. He was an austere man, single-minded in his Christian faith and vision. When, as a result of Venn's ideas, a

For the group that gathered under the Wilberforce Oak, slavery was still a live issue.

largely self-governing native pastorate was established in Sierra Leone in the early 1860s, Johnson embraced the system with enthusiasm. For him the African church had to be truly independent, directed and led by Africans, the herald of an African nation. With justification E. A. Ayendele subtitled his biography of Johnson, "Pioneer of African Nationalism." 19 "Holy" Johnson's Africanist ideas extended to the Fourah Bay College; he argued, along with W. E. B. Blyden, that Fourah Bay should become a university financed by the colonial exchequer and wholly independent of any missionary body. This, and other ideas that he freely pronounced, led the CMS to call him to London for discussions in 1873—the year of our photograph. $^{20}\,Later\,Johnson$ worked in Nigeria, where from 1886 to 1894 he was a member of the Legislative Council in Lagos. In 1899 he became assistant bishop of the Niger Delta Pastorate and exercised a powerful influence over Christian work in southern Nigeria until his death.

Among the several African Johnsons active in church and commerce on the west coast, Henry Johnson also received a distinguishing label—"Jerusalem" or "Eloquent" Johnson, the latter in recognition of his linguistic skills. Ordained in 1866, he served in Sherbro, where he was engaged in translating the Gospels into Mende.²¹ He too was present in England in 1873, for the CMS had arranged for him to study Arabic and Hebrew in Palestine, to which he journeyed via Britain, where he spent eight months before going on to Palestine.²² On his return to West Africa in 1876, Johnson worked as a missionary in the Niger Delta; this was followed by a brief spell as principal of the CMS Grammar School in Lagos (1878–80). Johnson was made arch-

deacon of the Upper Niger in 1878, and during the next decade he assisted Crowther in his diocese. Following his dismissal during the Niger Purge, Johnson returned to live and work in Freetown, where he died.

The European on the far left of the photograph is Edward Hutchinson, lay secretary of the CMS since 1867 and responsible for the financial affairs of the society. Hutchinson was a solicitor, and Venn thought highly of his legal skills. When Venn retired in 1872, he was succeeded as general secretary of the CMS by Henry Wright. Wright and Hutchinson were the two principal officers at the CMS headquarters in Salisbury Square, London. In the late 1870s Hutchinson wrote of his confidence that Africans could "fill the highest ecclesiastical positions with dignity, tact and ability." However, Hutchinson's improper conduct of CMS funds and his use of the CMS steamer on the Niger for trading purposes led to his removal as lay secretary of the society in May 1881. He then went as a missionary to Canada, where he was later ordained in the Scottish Episcopal Church.

The last figure in the photograph, reclining in the center foreground, is the twenty-seven-year-old Nathaniel Thomas King. 26 King was born in Abeokuta, the son of the Rev. Theophilus King, a saro (i.e., a liberated slave who returned home to Nigeria). Singled out by the CMS as a promising student, King was sent to Freetown Grammar School and then, in 1871, to King's College, London, to study medicine, where he won prizes for divinity and forensic medicine.²⁷ The man in the photograph in 1873 is justifiably confident; in that same year he proceeded to the University of Aberdeen, from which in 1876 he graduated with good marks as a medical doctor, the first Nigerian to qualify in medicine from a British university. King worked as a doctor in Lagos, attending to both Europeans and Africans and often without a fee; he strongly opposed Yoruba indigenous religious practices, was a prominent mason, and was also a leading light in the literary and choral circles of the town. He died during the June 1884 smallpox epidemic in Lagos.

The men in this photograph were united in their commitment to West Africa. They had differences as to how that spiritual work should be best carried out, but that is hardly a matter of surprise. Crowther alone had known what it was like to be a slave, although the other Africans, members of the new elite, all lived in the shadow of that experience and knew about it from their parents.

Slavery Still a Live Issue

As this small group of friends and colleagues gathered under the Wilberforce Oak, the question of the slave trade and slavery was still very much a live issue. The Foreign Office had only recently closed down its Slavery Department, to the consternation of many abolitionists. They argued that, while the European- and American-dominated transatlantic slave trade from West Africa had been brought to an end, mainly by British efforts, pressure was still needed to break the Afro-Arab slave trade from East Africa. Another cause for concern, aired in the press and Parliament in 1873 and 1874, was whether the government would be prepared to deal firmly with indigenous slavery in its newest West African possession of the Gold Coast. That is, would it tolerate slavery in West Africa at the same time as it continued to try to end the Arab slave trade in the Indian Ocean?

It would be interesting to know what our group of men discussed as they journeyed to and from the Wilberforce Oak and whether the current issues of the day concerning slavery and the slave trade were part of that agenda.

Notes

- 1. On Venn see C. Peter Williams, The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990); also W. R. Shenk, Henry Venn—Missionary Statesman (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1983).
- 2. Christopher Fyfe, Sierra Leone Inheritance (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1964), opposite p. 210; J. F. A. Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841–1891: The Making of a New Elite (London: Longmans, 1965), opposite p. 224. Fyfe's accompanying note identifies only three of the figures. Ajayi's longer note names all seven and mentions the significance of the location, but he provides the wrong date, and a typographical error attributes the photograph to the "Christian" (rather than Church) Missionary Society. In 1977 the CMS discovered the original photograph to be missing. The photograph for this article was reproduced from the plate in Ajayi's Christian Missions in Nigeria.
- 3. The Bromley Library contains a copy of the photograph shown here and also a specimen of a commercially produced hand-colored postcard based on this photo. Unfortunately both photograph and postcard are pasted onto cardboard mounts, making it impossible to check for the name of a photographer. The Wilberforce Museum, Hull, also has a copy of the photograph, but it is also glued to a mount, so it is not possible to know the provenance. I am grateful to Judith Fox, of the museum, for a copy and this information.
- 4. Quoted in John Pollock, *Wilberforce* (London: Constable, 1977; paperback ed. Tring: Lion Publishing, 1978), p. 58.
- John Harford, Recollections of William Wilberforce (London: 1864), p. 139
- The seat, made from Forest of Dean stone, was erected at the expense of Earl Stanhope, the historian who was also largely responsible for the creation of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. See *Bromley Record*, March 1, 1862, pp. 136–37.
- 7. Christopher Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 128, 329, 465–66.
- 8. Register of Missionary and Native Clergy 1805–1904 (London: CMS, n.d., printed for private circulation); The Annual Reports of the CMS: Seventy-Fourth Year, 1873–1874, pp. xxiii and 6. Church Missionary Intelligencer, n.s., 11 (1875): p. 87.
- 9. Entry for May 12, 1875. Stanley bought Holwood in 1877. See John Vincent, ed., A Selection from the Diaries of Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby (1826–73) Between September 1869 and March 1878 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1994), p. 217.
- 10. There is no full-length modern biography of Crowther. See an early biography by J. Page, The Black Bishop (London: 1908); J. Loiello, "Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the CMS, and the Niger Mission, 1857–1891" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of London, 1980), and also his "Bishop in Two Worlds: Samuel Ajayi Crowther (c. 1806–1891)," in Varieties of Christian Experience in Nigeria, ed. Elizabeth Isichei (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 34–55. Crowther's work in West Africa is dealt with most notably and accessibly by Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria; Williams, The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church, and Adrian Hastings, The Church in Africa, 1450–1950 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), chap. 9. See also Andrew F. Walls, "Samuel Ajayi Crowther," in Gerald H. Anderson et al., eds., Mission Legacies (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1994), pp. 132-39.
- 11. There are two early biographies, one by "A lady," Good out of Evil; or The History of Adjai, the African Slave Boy (London: 1850), and the

- other anonymous, The African Slave Boy: A Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Crowther (London: 1860).
- 12. E. A. Ayendele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria: A Political and Social Analysis (London: Longmans, 1966), p. 16.
- 13. See Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, pp. 180ff.; T. E. Yates, Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad (Uppsala, 1978), chap. 5, and Williams, The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church.
- 14. Hastings, The Church in Africa, p. 345.
- 15. G. Townsend, Memoir of the Rev. Henry Townsend (London, 1887).
- 16. Townsend to Venn, July 25, 1865, quoted in Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria*, p. 195.
- 17. A. Hinderer, Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country (London, 1871).
- 18. See Hastings, *The Church in Africa*, pp. 388–93, and the accompanying bibliography.
- 19. E. A. Ayendele, Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836–1917 (London: Frank Cass, 1970).
- 20. James Johnson arrived in London from Freetown on April 18, 1873, and returned to West Africa in February-March 1874. He "cherish[ed] a very pleasing remembrance of my visit to England last year—of the many warm Christian friends I met with" (Church Missionary Intelligencer, n.s., 11 [1875]: 79).
- 21. Henry Venn wrote of Henry Johnson that "his powers as a linguist are of a high order" (Venn to J. H. Glover, printed in *The African Times* [London], April 29, 1873, p. 122).
- 22. Johnson left Sierra Leone for Britain on March 29, 1873. He was in Palestine until mid-1876. In a letter to Edward Hutchinson from Jerusalem, dated June 24, 1875, Johnson wrote in a pan-African vein that he was "following the fortunes of the [CMS] East African Mission with patriotic interest. I say 'patriotic' because I feel that whatever concerns Africa, it matters not in whatever part of the vast Continent, concerns, or should concern, me" (CMS Archives, Birmingham Univ. C. M./O 38).
- Edward Hutchinson, The Lost Continent: Its Rediscovery and Recovery (London: 1879), p. 43, quoted in Williams, The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church, p. 96.
- Loiello, "Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the CMS and the Niger Mission,"
 p. 266. See also Williams, The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church, pp. 96–97.
- 25. Eugene Stock, A History of the Church Missionary Society, vol. 3 (London: CMS, 1899), pp. 254, 261. On the centenary of the abolition of the slave trade, the CMS used the Wilberforce Oak photograph as an illustration in the Church Missionary Gleaner, June 1, 1907, p. 82. In doing so, someone at the CMS headquarters went to considerable effort to paint out Hutchinson from the group and also to touch up and redraw the seat in the background. Why this was done is not known. Was it because Hutchinson was still under a cloud? Or was it that the six clerical figures, African and European, better represented the endeavors of the CMS in West Africa? Whatever the reason, it seems now to have been either petty or unnecessary. A glass slide of this version of the photograph is in a collection of local views in the Alderman Buxton Collection at Bromley Library.
- See John D. Hargreaves, Aberdeenshire to Africa: Northeast Scots and British Overseas Expansion (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1981), pp. 81–82.
- I am grateful to Geoffrey Browell, archives assistant, King's College, London, for this information.

My Pilgrimage in Mission

David M. Howard

If y pilgrimage in mission began before I was born. My parents were missionaries in Belgium but returned to the United States shortly before my birth in 1928. They prayed for all six of their children long before we were born, asking God to send us into the Lord's service. This prayer was answered, as four of their children became missionaries, one a pastor, and one a seminary professor.

My earliest childhood memories are happy ones of seeing my father on his knees with an open Bible and in prayer early every morning. Family devotions were held morning and evening. We sang a hymn, my father read the Bible then led in prayer, and we all ended saying the Lord's Prayer together. We thus learned scores of the great old hymns of the faith by heart plus many passages of Scripture. Sunday afternoons were often spent with our father reading to us from a book entitled *Rainbow Missionary Stories*. I loved the ones about John G. Paton of the South Sea Islands, who faced cannibals and dangers of the seas.

Missionaries were often guests in our home, as my parents believed in open hospitality and wanted their children exposed to godly men and women. Their guest book contains names from forty-four countries and twenty-four nationalities. I have a vague memory of meeting Betty Stam, who was later martyred in China. I recall sitting on the knee of L. L. Legters (one of the founders, with Cameron Townsend, of Wycliffe Bible Translators) as he thrilled me with stories of Indians and coyotes. The North American offices of the China Inland Mission were near our home in Philadelphia, and we often visited there and met some of their great missionaries. Thus some strong foundations were built into my life from early childhood by constant exposure to world missions.

Impact of Wheaton College and InterVarsity

I enrolled in Wheaton College in 1945 as part of the post–World War II generation. I had not served in the military, having turned eighteen just as the war ended. But nearly one-third of the student body in the late 1940s was made up of veterans of wartime service. Most of these men (there were few women in the military in those days) were older than the average entering freshman. They had seen the world as no previous generation ever had. They had faced life and death. They had seen incredible suffering and destruction, and they were far more mature and sober minded than the average student. Many of them wanted to go back to the areas where they had fought and give the Gospel to these needy lands.

Some of them joined together to form new mission societies. For example, Mission Aviation Fellowship was founded by pilots and mechanics who now wanted to use their training to fly missionaries to isolated posts. Far Eastern Gospel Crusade (now SEND International) was founded by veterans of the Pacific

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theater of war. Greater Europe Mission was founded largely by veterans of that theater of war. Many of these men were contemporaries of mine at Wheaton. They exercised a profound influence on us younger students in giving us a broader vision of a needy world and our responsibility to respond to those needs.

My closest friend in college was Jim Elliot. He later was best man in my wedding and also became my brother-in-law, when he married my sister, Elisabeth. We lived together, prayed together, studied the Bible together, wrestled on the varsity wrestling team together, and had a lot of fun together. His single-minded vision to serve God in the most remote and difficult area of the world he could find was contagious. He aggressively pursued other students to challenge us with God's claims on our lives, especially related to spreading the Gospel. His personal prayer life spilled over, as he organized a twenty-

Many World War II veterans wanted to go back to share the Gospel in areas where they had fought.

four-hour prayer chain to pray for missions from Wheaton College. He asked students to sign up to pray for one fifteen-minute period of the day. The chart he made for this was filled by willing students, so that prayer was taking place around the clock, day and night.

Jim and I were active in the Student Foreign Missions Fellowship (SFMF), which had recently merged with InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF). We attended the first IVCF/SFMF student missionary convention, held at the University of Toronto in December 1946. This was the first of what is now known as the Urbana (Illinois) conferences. It was there that I signed a World Evangelism Decision Card committing my life to God for missionary service. I kept that card tacked up over my desk in college as a daily reminder to pray that I would be faithful to that calling. I still have the card in my notebook.

It was at Wheaton that I met my wife, Phyllis, who was also a missionary candidate. She has been my faithful, loving, and supportive companion since our marriage in 1950.

The most significant course I had while in Wheaton Graduate School was Dr. Merrill C. Tenney's "Missionary Principles in the Book of Acts." It was an intensive course where we had to read the entire Book of Acts at one sitting as just one part of every day's assignment. The lessons learned provided some of the most foundational principles that have stood me in good stead throughout a lifetime in missionary work. Somewhere in those formative years I read two small books that opened my eyes in a new way to the missionary scope of the Bible. They were W. Graham Scroggie's World Outlook of the Bible (no date) and H. H. Rowley's Missionary Message of the Old Testament (no date). Both showed that throughout the entire Bible it is made clear that God's heart is for the whole world. This encouraged me to consider what my place in world missions should be.

Latin America Mission: Costa Rica

While in graduate school, my wife and I explored several mission agencies as we sought God's will for our lives. We finally felt led to apply to the Latin America Mission (LAM); we were accepted and went to Costa Rica in 1953. After one year of intensive language study, I spent four years teaching in the Seminario Bíblico Latinoamericano in San José. I have often felt that, as a young and inexperienced missionary, I probably did not have much impact on my students. But I personally learned a great deal through study for my courses and getting immersed in Latin culture.

We lived in a small village outside San José, where there was no evangelical church. The village was conservative and very anti-Protestant, and we had a difficult time trying to share the Gospel. The first person whom I apparently led to Christ in Latin America was a young high school student in that village. I diligently discipled him for two years in prayer, Bible study, and witnessing together. He seemed to grow well in his spiritual walk. Then one day he slipped a note under our door saying that he no longer believed what I had tried to teach him and that he was returning to his former way of life. This was a staggering blow to me, and I tried to see him restored to faith in Christ. But to my knowledge he never "returned to the fold." I am not aware of anyone else that I was able to lead to Christ in our first term in Costa Rica.

In 1956 Jim Elliot was murdered with four companions in the jungles of Ecuador. Immediately I went down from Costa Rica to be with my sister, Elisabeth, and to help her get reestablished in her jungle home without Jim. That event caused great searchings of heart for me, as Jim had tried hard to get me to accompany him to Ecuador. Had I done so, I would have died with him. I found myself asking, "Did I miss God's calling? Should I have died with Jim?" I also asked, with the encouragement of many people, "Should I now be one to replace Jim?" In other words, should I now go to Ecuador to help fill the gap which those five deaths had left? I prayed earnestly about this for some months but sensed no leading from God to do so.

Learning Evangelism from the Untaught

After our first term of service, the LAM transferred us to Colombia, where I was asked to assume the position of field director. I felt woefully inadequate for this responsibility, being just thirty years old and considerably younger than most of the veteran missionaries on that field. However, the LAM family seemed to accept me graciously and made me feel welcome.

At that time an exciting spontaneous people movement was beginning in the hinterlands of northern Colombia. This was sparked when God laid his hand on an unlettered farmer named Victor Landero, who became the greatest personal evangelist I have ever known. It became my privilege over the next nine years to work closely with Victor. Although he was a young and uninstructed Christian, he had amazing insights into the Word of God and was remarkably gifted in evangelism. We often traveled together to remote villages in the forests to carry the Gospel to those who had never heard it. While he probably thought of me as his mentor, the truth was that I learned far more from him, in his simple uncluttered faith and his exercise of the gifts of the Spirit, than he learned from me.

One book that was especially helpful to me at that time was Harry Boer's *Pentecost and Missions* (Eerdmans, 1961). Boer showed biblically that while the Great Commission formed the basis for

the missionary outreach of the early church, it was the coming of the Holy Spirit that gave the impetus and power to obey that commission.

In addition to the spontaneous growth of the church, there came an unexpected outburst (for lack of a better term) of the charismatic movement. This was totally unplanned and unrelated to any work by Pentecostals. It was a sovereign intervention of the Spirit of God, who began to give to these humble peasants some of the more visible gifts of the Spirit, such as tongues, healings, and prophecies. This became both a wonderful blessing for new believers and a cause of great concern and even opposition from the older, more conservative believers. Tensions built up to the point of dangerous splits developing in some of the older churches.

I had grown up in an evangelical culture where we were totally unfamiliar with such manifestations. I had no idea how to deal with this. Because none of us LAM missionaries as yet had experienced any of these more visible gifts, the newer believers accused us of being "anti-Holy Spirit." The older, more conservative believers accused us of "going pentecostal" because we were open to whatever the Spirit of God was doing. Others accused us of not knowing what we believed and waffling around in the middle.

In addition to these manifestations there soon came a great groundswell of demonic activity. Some of it was demon possession. Some of it was demonic imitations of the gifts of the Spirit, which were deceiving "even the elect" (Matt. 24:24). It was difficult at times to discern what was truly of the Spirit of God and what was from the devil or perhaps simply from emotional or psychological reactions.

For several years in the early and middle 1960s we struggled to understand what God was doing. I was helped by Christ's words to the Pharisees in Matthew 22:29, "You are in error

It was difficult to discern what was of the Spirit of God from what was of the devil or emotional reactions.

because you do not know the Scriptures or the power of God" (NIV). I realized that we urgently needed to understand what the Scriptures really taught on these matters, and we also needed to experience the power of God in our ministry.

It also occurred to me that Satan was now using a new tactic. The church of Colombia had just recently emerged from violent persecution against evangelicals, where many had suffered greatly and even died for their faith. That was Satan acting as "a roaring lion" (1 Peter 5:8) to devour the church from without. Now Satan was appearing as "an angel of light" (2 Cor. 11:14) to deceive the church from within. This was far more dangerous, as it was not always easy to discern.

Intensive study of the Scriptures, much fervent prayer, and seeking counsel from wise and godly people were all helpful to me personally. Thankfully, after several years of great turmoil and confusion in the churches, we were able to see a leveling out and an acceptance of what God was truly doing. Today these issues are no longer divisive in Colombia, as believers readily accept the sovereign work of the Spirit, as he "gives to each one, just as he determines" (1 Cor. 12:11).

One book published about that time that was especially helpful to me was John Stott's *Baptism and Fullness of the Holy Spirit*. Stott's balanced and biblical exegesis was definitive for me, and I arranged to have his book translated into Spanish.

Mentoring by Kenneth Strachan

During this period I was named assistant general director of LAM, working under the general director, Kenneth Strachan, and our colleagues Horace (Dit) Fenton and Dayton Roberts. These three men, all older than I, had a profound influence on me, as we worked together as an administrative team.

I remember how Ken Strachan shook me out of my preconceived notions about such things as social concern. The LAM had a hospital in Costa Rica, which we hoped was a means of evangelism. However, when questions were raised about how effective this was for evangelism, Ken spoke up strongly one day and said, "Even if we don't lead one person to Christ in the hospital, we are *still* obligated to operate it as part of our witness. Just as Jesus was concerned for the whole person—body as well as spirit and soul—so we must show our concern for the total needs of our friends." While I had been of the persuasion that social concern smacked of the old social gospel, which earlier fundamentalists had repudiated, I began to see that Ken was right. We *must* be just as concerned as Jesus was for the total needs of the human race. This became a major change in my personal development and missiological outlook.

Another landmark book in the development of my thinking was J. H. Bavinck's *Introduction to the Science of Mission* (1960), which my good friend Jack Shepherd gave to me in 1966. Bavinck states, "From the first page to the last the Bible has the whole world in view.... Gen. 1:1 is obviously the necessary basis of the great commission of Matt. 28:19, 20." This was an eye-opening thought to me, to connect the doctrine of creation with the giving of the Great Commission. It further honed my understanding of God's concern for the entire world.

Back to the Student World

After fifteen happy years in Latin America, I received an invitation to become missions director of IVCF. I turned it down three times, but on the fourth invitation the Lord made it clear that this was a calling from him. So in 1968 we returned to the United States, where I assumed these responsibilities, including directing the Urbana conventions.

The next nine years were challenging and fulfilling, as I tried to help the student generations of the late 1960s and the 1970s face up to God's commands for world evangelization. This was not easy, as that was the time of the counterculture and the "anti-everything" spirit among students. The protest movements of those days included protesting against missions. However, I found that when honest students were faced with the clear biblical concerns of God for the world and his claims on their lives, they began to respond positively.

At Urbana 70 only 8 percent of the students present signed World Evangelism Decision Cards. At Urbana 73 this rose to 28 percent, and by Urbana 76 the figure was 50 percent. We were encouraged to see a dramatic turnaround in student attitudes toward mission. It was gratifying to have some small share in this change.

I also saw, however, the dangerous change in outlook on mission among some of the historic denominations. In preparation for each Urbana conference, I visited the headquarters of the

National Council of Churches at 475 Riverside Drive in New York and many denominational mission agencies. In 1972 I had lunch in New York with a group of these leaders, inviting them to be represented at Urbana, since students from their churches would be there. One of the mainline mission leaders said to me, "You need to know, Mr. Howard, that in our mission we are seriously reevaluating whether or not we even have any right to go to another culture and try to change their religion." I was shocked into silence.

Another leader said, "Frankly, I dread another Urbana conference! Every time one of them comes around, we get a great influx of eager missionary candidates, and we don't know what to do with them." This sign of an insidious drift away from God's concern that the world should hear and know of Jesus Christ was ominous. It prompted me to be sure that at Urbana we should continue to present the clarion call of God's Word for the evangelization of the world.

New Exposure to the World Church

In 1977 the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization asked IVCF to loan me to them to coordinate and direct a world consultation to be held in 1980. So I spent the next three years on this assignment. The Consultation on World Evangelization was held in Pattaya, Thailand, in June 1980. In preparation for this I had to travel extensively around the world. This was my first real exposure to the church outside of North and South America. It was a marvelous learning experience, as I had the privilege of meeting many of the great Christian leaders of the non-Western world and seeing God's hand at work in the church.

Leighton Ford was the chairman of this consultation. He and I had been friends in college at Wheaton, and it was good to team

It was stimulating to interact with the Secretaries of Christian World Communions and represent the evangelical wing of the church.

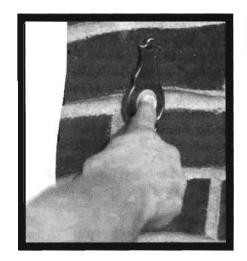
up with him. His keen thinking and insightful visions were stimulating and challenging to me, and I learned a lot from this relationship.

Following the Pattaya consultation, where I had become acquainted with many key evangelical leaders from around the world, I was invited to become international director of the World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF). The first four years in this position were difficult and discouraging. I felt lonely and inadequate. Fund-raising, administrative control, and other factors were taking their toll on me.

Then in 1986 the international council of WEF decided to move its headquarters from the United States to Singapore. This was a landmark decision for WEF and a life-changing one for me. My wife and I moved to Singapore in 1987 and enjoyed five wonderfully fulfilling and happy years there. We became deeply involved in a growing local church (Bartley Christian Church) and made many true friends.

From Singapore I traveled around the world to keep in touch with the national evangelical fellowships or alliances that form the membership of WEF. During my ten years in WEF I averaged

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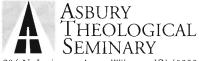
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visiting about sixteen countries per year. This was a great privilege and blessing, as I saw God at work in many different cultures.

One of the special blessings to me during those ten years was the privilege of meeting yearly with a group called Secretaries of Christian World Communions. This was an annual gathering of men and women representing the broad spectrum of the world Christian community, including the Vatican, the Orthodox communions, the World Council of Churches, and most of the major Protestant denominations such as the Baptist World Alliance, the World Methodist Council, and many similar denominational councils of Anglicans, Lutherans, Disciples, Mennonites, and so forth. It was stimulating and illuminating to interact with these friends and to represent the evangelical wing of the church.

In 1992 it was my special joy to turn the position of international director of WEF over to my good friend Agustin (Jun) Vencer of the Philippines. He became the first non-Westerner to direct WEF since its founding in 1846. This was a cause of deep satisfaction to me.

Back to the Beginning

Returning to the United States from Singapore in 1992, I was invited to help Cook Communications Ministries International (formerly the David C. Cook Foundation) in its ministry of training non-Westerners in the field of Christian publications. Because I now had a broad background in the international scene, thanks to my years in WEF, this became a natural and fulfilling ministry for me.

Then, quite astonishingly, in 1995 the Board of Trustees of LAM asked me to return as president of the mission. This struck me as preposterous at this stage of my life. But they were

adamant and enthusiastic in their invitation. My wife agreed with them. My children, who are now all adults, said, "Dad, this is great! You are now coming full circle back to where you began over forty years ago." So here I am in Miami at LAM headquarters, sitting at a desk once occupied by Kenneth Strachan, as I write about my pilgrimage in mission.

God has given us four wonderful children and twelve grand-children. One son, David Jr., is a professor of Old Testament and Hebrew; Stephen is a pilot with American Airlines; Beth is married to a pastor; and Michael is a computer analyst. Phyllis and I praise God for them. I have also been able to write eight books, but being the brother of a best-selling author (Elisabeth Elliot) does not sell my books. As my brother, Tom, who is also an author, says about his books, "They sunk without a ripple." That has been the fate of most of mine!

As I write, I am reminded of Moses' words in Deuteronomy 8, "Remember how the Lord your God led you all the way in the desert these forty years . . . causing you to hunger and then feeding you with manna. . . . Your clothes did not wear out and your feet did not swell." Yes, God's leading has been clear, his provision has always been adequate, and he has fed me with daily manna. So I say with hymn writer Joseph Addison,

When all thy mercies, O my God, My rising soul surveys, Transported with the view, I'm lost In wonder, love, and praise!

Note:

1. The story of Victor Landero is told in detail in *Hammered as Gold*, by David M. Howard (Harper and Row, 1969), and in *The Victor*, by Bob Owen with David M. Howard (Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1979).

The Legacy of George Grenfell

Brian Stanley

In the ranks of the great Victorian missionary explorers of the central African interior, George Grenfell stands second in importance only to David Livingstone. Although he never wrote a book and never attained the general public renown that Livingstone enjoyed, Grenfell did more than any other person to open up the vast Congo basin to missionary endeavor. Like Livingstone, he was more of a geographic pioneer than a church planter. Only after his death in 1906 did his labors bear fruit in substantial church growth, most noticeably in the Upper Congo.

Early Life and Call to the Mission Field

George Grenfell was born at Sancreed in Cornwall on August 21, 1849, but spent most of his childhood in Birmingham. His family was Anglican, but as a boy Grenfell began to attend the Sunday

Brian Stanley is Director of the North Atlantic Missiology Project and Fellow of St. Edmund's College, University of Cambridge. His publications include The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism (1990) and The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792–1992 (1992).

school of Heneage Street Baptist Church, where he was baptized as a believer and received into church membership in 1864. On leaving school, Grenfell was apprenticed to a firm of hardware and machinery merchants, where he acquired an expertise in things mechanical that would stand him in good stead in later years. He was already interested in missionary work in Africa and followed closely the exploits of Livingstone and Alfred Saker, the Baptist pioneer in the Cameroons. In 1873 the Heneage Street congregation commended Grenfell for training for missionary service, and in September he entered Bristol Baptist College.

Grenfell's college career was short (just over a year) and not particularly happy. Probably of greater value to his future service than his theological studies were his regular Saturday afternoon excursions to the Cumberland basin in Bristol, where he closely observed the shipping in what was then one of the busiest ports in England. In November 1874 the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) accepted Grenfell for service in the Cameroons. He sailed the following month for West Africa in the company of his hero, Alfred Saker, who was returning to the Cameroons for the last time.

Early Experience in the Cameroons

Initially Grenfell worked alongside Saker at Cameroons Town (now Douala), teaching practical skills to the young men of the mission community. Saker, strongly influenced by Livingstonian ideals of "commerce and Christianity," had made it his goal to build up a Christian community capable of self-sustaining economic life. Grenfell made the acquaintance of two of the former Jamaican slaves whose vision to bring the Gospel to their ancestral homeland had led to the inception of the Cameroons mission—J. J. Fuller and Francis Pinnock. Grenfell came to revere Fuller as a missionary who exercised an exceptional influence over the hearts of the people. Pinnock's son, John, later became a trusted colleague on the Congo.

In the same year Grenfell married Mary Hawkes, sister of a close friend at Heneage Street. Tragically, Mary died in January 1877, after giving birth to a stillborn child. "I feel very lonely," a distraught Grenfell confessed to the BMS secretary, Alfred Baynes; "I'm in great trouble and in need of your prayers." 2 Later in 1877 he found a measure of companionship when he was joined by another young recruit, Thomas Comber. The two young missionaries began a series of exploratory journeys inland from Cameroons Town that foreshadowed the role that Grenfell in particular was subsequently to play in the Congo. By 1878 Grenfell had surveyed and mapped the southern slopes of Cameroons Mountain and ascended the Mungo, Yabiang, Wuri, Lungasi, and Sanaga Rivers; he sent details of his journeys to the Royal Geographical Society.³ In all this, like Livingstone before him in southern Africa, Grenfell was concerned to find the best route into the interior to establish contact with peoples unspoiled by harmful European influence.4

The Opening of the Congo

On October 8, 1877, the BMS committee decided to invite Comber and Grenfell to make an exploratory journey to the Congo River. In July the society had accepted an offer of £1,000 from the eccentric Leeds mission enthusiast Robert Arthington to establish a mission on the Congo. In September news had reached London of H. M. Stanley's successful journey to the mouth of the Congo, thus proving that Livingstone's "Lualaba" River was none other than the Upper Congo (and not the Nile, as Livingstone had supposed). Comber and Grenfell received the society's request on January 5, 1878, and almost immediately boarded a mail steamer bound for the mouth of the Congo. This initial visit lasted only a few weeks, as the rainy season was about to begin and the steamer was due to return to the Cameroons at the beginning of February. The two missionaries were nonetheless able to leave a letter for the king of the ancient Kongo kingdom, informing him that they would return to visit him.

In July 1878 Comber and Grenfell were able to return to the Congo, accompanied by seven African helpers from the Cameroons and a Portuguese interpreter. The party reached the capital of the Kongo kingdom, São Salvador, on August 8, and were well received by the *Ntotela* (king), Dom Pedro V, a client of the Portuguese. However, opposition from the paramount chief of the neighboring Makuta country prevented them from advancing much further inland, and on returning to São Salvador, Comber and Grenfell found evidence of a revival of the historic Roman Catholic missionary presence there. Grenfell therefore concluded that São Salvador might not be appropriate as the first station of the new mission and began to think of ways of bypassing the Kongo kingdom en route to the interior.⁵

Disgrace and Reinstatement

On August 20 Grenfell wrote to the BMS from São Salvador resigning from the society. His biographers understandably offer no explanation. Grenfell had left his home in Victoria, the Cameroons, on June 28 knowing that Rose Edgerley, his young black Jamaican housekeeper and a member of the Baptist church was pregnant and that he was the father. For weeks he had kept this information even from Comber. In the Cameroons, however, the affair had become known and had already been reported to A. H. Baynes at BMS headquarters by two letters from the senior Cameroons missionary, Q. W. Thomson, and by one from Thomas Comber.⁶ With this correspondence before it, the BMS

Geographical pioneering was essential for constructing a coherent mission strategy.

Committee on November 19 accepted Grenfell's resignation and terminated his connection with the society. Grenfell had promised Rose he would return to marry her and hence sailed direct from the Congo for Victoria, where his daughter, Patience, was born. His marriage to Rose proved happy and enduring. For two years he worked for a commercial concern in Victoria.

Thomas Comber returned to the Congo in 1878 with three missionary colleagues and, encouraged by the Ntotela's friendly reception, set about establishing a base station at São Salvador. Comber made a series of thirteen fruitless attempts to establish a route between São Salvador and the beginning of navigable river at Stanley (now Malebo) Pool, on whose shores modern Kinshasa is built, and the gateway to the interior. However, an even higher priority than finding a route to Stanley Pool was to establish a depot at the mouth of the Congo for the receipt and forwarding of supplies from Europe. By December 1879 Comber was writing to Baynes urging that such a depot be established on the mouth of the Congo at Banana and making "earnest request" that efforts be made to secure Grenfell's services to run it. This recommendation was accepted, apparently without any disagreement, at the meeting of the BMS committee on April 23, 1880. Grenfell was offered the post of superintendent of the proposed Banana station at a salary of £150.8 Thus it was that by the end of 1880 Grenfell was back on the Congo with his family, erecting the mission buildings at Musuku (found to be a preferable site to Banana), and readmitted to the mission, although in a role that was at first strictly defined. If there were those who felt the decision to be precipitous, they have left no record of their views. Baynes must have regarded his decision as a calculated risk, but he never had cause to regret it.

Exploration of the Congo Basin

In June 1880 the BMS accepted an offer from Robert Arthington of £4,000 for the purchase and upkeep of a Congo steamer, made on condition that the society should endeavor to open up a route eastward from the upper river to meet a possible extension of the Tanganyika mission of the London Missionary Society. A year later the society finally agreed to proceed with the construction of a steamer for the upper river and to recall Grenfell to England

to supervise the work. The *Peace* was built by Thorneycrofts, well-known shipbuilders of Chiswick, London. The vessel had to be dismantled and parceled up for the voyage to the Congo and subsequent overland journey to Stanley Pool. There Grenfell himself had to supervise its reassembly; his mechanical training and expertise now came into their own. The steamer was finally launched in June 1884. Grenfell had already undertaken a first voyage on the upper river, from January to March 1884, in the *Peace*'s whaleboat. On July 7 he and Comber boarded the *Peace* for a further five-week voyage of the Congo and some of its tributaries. Grenfell's rehabilitation was now complete. No longer the warehouseman at Musuku, he was now the spearhead of the society's forward policy on the upper river.

By December 1886 the Peace had made five further journeys of exploration of the upper Congo and its tributaries. The results in missionary terms were not immediately apparent. Although the BMS Committee had resolved in July 1884 to construct a chain of at least ten stations between Stanley Pool and Stanley Falls (Kisangani), the first upper river station at Lukolela was not established until November 1886. Grenfell was conscious that some domestic supporters accorded his explorations an importance that was to the detriment of the less spectacular labors of colleagues such as Thomas Comber, whereas others grew impatient at the apparent neglect of evangelism. He found reassurance in Livingstone's famous dictum, "I view the end of the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise"; pioneering was essential for the construction of a coherent missionary strategy aimed at the key centers of population. The wider significance of Grenfell's explorations was marked by the award in 1887 of the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical

Relations with the Congo Free State

At the Berlin West Africa Conference in 1884–85, the European powers had recognized the sovereign rights over the Congo of King Leopold II of Belgium. Leopold's "Congo Free State," though a cloak for his personal economic ambitions, was initially heralded by European governments as a convenient means of keeping the Congo open for free trade. Grenfell, along with

A far-sighted strategist, Grenfell envisioned a chain of mission stations stretching across Africa.

William Holman Bentley, the leading BMS missionary on the lower river, and A. H. Baynes in London, shared this generally optimistic evaluation of Leopold and his Free State, and they stubbornly held to this view until long after most informed observers had revised their estimate of Leopold's alleged benevolence. Until 1885 the great virtue of the Free State in the eyes of the Baptist missionaries was its function as a bulwark against Portuguese designs on the Congo, which carried with them the threat of Roman Catholic missionary expansion. After 1885 the forces of the Congo Free State also offered the main hope of breaking the stranglehold of Arab slave-traders on the upper river, which stood in the way of Baptist advance. Moreover, Grenfell was warmly received by Leopold in Belgium while on

furlough in July 1887, and again on three occasions in 1891, when the king conferred on him the insignia of Chevalier of the Order of Leopold, "in recognition of services rendered in opening up the territory of the Congo State, and of efforts made towards ameliorating the condition of the peoples subject to his Majesty's rule."

By the mid-1890s evidence was accumulating of widespread atrocities perpetrated by Belgian agents in the conduct of the rubber trade. Leopold responded in September 1896 by appointing the Commission for the Protection of the Natives, comprising six missionaries, one of whom was Grenfell. But the commission's powers were limited, and none of its members came from the Equator district, where the atrocities were concentrated. Grenfell himself, now admitting the existence of abuses, but still persuaded of Leopold's personal good intentions, regarded the commission as "an unworkable machine" that would prove powerless to effect change where it was needed. 10 In 1902 the journalist E. D. Morel began his campaign for Congo reform and succeeded in mobilizing the full weight of the British Nonconformist conscience in opposition to Leopold's regime. The BMS committee, however, relying heavily on Grenfell's opinion, still maintained its public profession of confidence in Leopold's rule.

In August 1903 Grenfell drafted a letter to Leopold II, explaining that his conscience no longer permitted him to wear the decorations that the king had bestowed on him for his services to the state. His action was not, however, a protest against atrocities perpetrated by the agents of the Free State. At this point he still believed that the crimes that had been committed were the action of individual officials, and in his experience, these had been suitably punished by the authorities. Rather, Grenfell's protest was prompted by the continuing refusal of the state to permit the BMS to realize its plans for advance on the upper river and so complete the chain of Protestant stations across central Africa. Grenfell sent his letter, with the decorations, to Baynes in London, leaving it to his judgment whether they should be forwarded to Leopold. Baynes deemed it wise to take no action.

Despite the BMS committee's assertion that its missionaries were not in a position to provide firsthand testimony of abuses, some were soon doing precisely that, supplying Morel with accounts of the drastic impact of excessive taxation in the Equator district. A fact-finding tour in 1903 by the British consul at Boma, Roger Casement, supplied irrefutable evidence of the true extent of atrocities. This was the conclusive blow for Grenfell, causing him to resign from the Commission for the Protection of the Natives. By April 1904 he was a sadly disillusioned man, admitting that he had been duped: "I really believed the King's first purpose was to establish law and order and to promote the well being of the people, and that the development of the resources of the country was a means to that end. I regretfully, most regretfully, admit that those who have so long maintained the contrary are to all intents and purposes justified, and that I have been blinded by my wish to believe 'the best.' The recent revelations have saddened me more than I can say!" 12

Baynes himself, and the BMS as a whole, soon reached the same conclusion. Leopold had bowed to the mounting agitation by appointing a Commission of Enquiry into the alleged atrocities. The publication of its report in November 1905 led to the demise of the Free State. The Congo became a Belgian colony in 1908.

In retrospect, Grenfell's confidence in the essential benevolence of the Free State appears naive, and in the final years of his life he castigated himself for his naïveté. Yet it would be wholly mistaken to portray Grenfell as half-hearted in his defense of African interests. He retained from his Cameroons experience an unshakable confidence in the capacity and potential of black people at a time when racism was beginning to affect even missionary attitudes. He consistently argued for giving black missionaries greater responsibility, and he attempted to persuade the BMS that John Pinnock, son of Francis Pinnock, should be paid on the same basis as, and granted equal status to, his white missionary colleagues.¹³

Mission Strategist for Central Africa

Grenfell's abiding significance is as a far-sighted mission strategist for central Africa. He was deeply influenced by Robert Arthington's vision of a chain of mission stations stretching across the continent to meet the westward advance of the Church Missionary Society from Uganda. Grenfell corresponded directly with Arthington, and the two men met in 1891, when Grenfell promised Arthington that he would explore the Aruwimi River as a possible route toward southeastern Sudan and the Upper Nile; he redeemed the promise in 1894.14 Grenfell's vision for the evangelization of the whole Sudanic belt was shared with the young evangelical Anglican Graham Wilmot Brooke, who later played a controversial role in the CMS Niger mission. Brooke spent a month with Grenfell at Stanley Pool in 1888 and greatly impressed the older man with his skills as a cartographer and his spiritual zeal, along with his Livingstonian strategic perception of "the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise."1

Grenfell's determination in his later years to press still further up the Upper Congo, and in particular to explore its largest tributaries—the Ubangi, Aruwimi, and Lindi Rivers—was far more than an eccentric fixation. It stemmed from a conviction that "we have before us in the Soudan the widest and

wildest empire of the Crescent against which the Cross is being lifted up."¹⁶ Grenfell rightly perceived that the sub-Saharan belt would become in the twentieth century the principal zone of conflict between Islam and evangelical Christianity. That was why he was increasingly exasperated in his last years by the repeated refusal of the Free State authorities to allow the BMS to found a station on the Aruwimi. For the same reason, he believed it to be essential to develop the BMS station at Yakusu (downstream from Kisangani) as a center of training for teachers and evangelists for the Upper Congo—a vision that was realized after his death.

In the final months of his life, Grenfell continued to ponder which was the more feasible route of further advance from Yakusu—whether eastward toward Uganda, as Arthington had urged, or southward along the river toward LMS territory.¹⁷ He

Grenfell foresaw that the sub-Saharan belt would become the principal zone of conflict between Islam and evangelical Christianity.

died at Basoko, near the junction of the Aruwimi and the Congo, on July 1, 1906. His strategic ambitions remained in part unful-filled. Nevertheless, his contribution to the Christian penetration of the sub-Saharan belt, which has seen such marked church growth in the twentieth century, must be reckoned as a major one. A missionary career that was so nearly terminated by moral failure proved in the long run to be of enduring significance.

Notes:

- BMS Archives (hereafter BMSA), A/19, Grenfell to Baynes, September 8, 1887.
- 2. BMSA, A/19, Grenfell to Baynes, January 13, 1877.
- 3. H. H. Johnston, George Grenfell and the Congo, 2 vols. (London: Hutchinson, 1909), 1:43–44.
- 4. George Hawker, *The Life of George Grenfell* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1909), pp. 81–82.
- 5. BMSA, A/19, Grenfell to Baynes, August 9, 1878.
- BMSA, A/6, Thomson to Baynes, July 10 and 22, 1878; A/12, Comber to Baynes, August 9, 1878.
- 7. BMSA, BMS Committee Minutes, November 19, 1878, pp. 508–10.
- 8. BMSA, BMS Committee Minutes, April 23, 1880, pp. 349–51.
- 9. Hawker, Life of Grenfell, pp. 245, 305, 311-12.

- 10. Ibid., pp. 372-73.
- 11. BMSA, A/21, Grenfell to Leopold II, August 10, 1903.
- 12. BMSA, A/20, Grenfell to Baynes, April 27, 1904.
- BMSA, A/19, Grenfell to Baynes, September 8 and 25, 1887, February 23, 1888; A/20, Grenfell to Baynes, April 2, 1896.
- 14. BMSA, A/21, Grenfell to Arthington, July 13, 1894.
- 15. BMSA, A/19, Grenfell to Baynes, June 23, 1888. For Brooke, see C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), chap. 4.
- 16. BMSA, A/20, Grenfell to Baynes, August 30, 1898.
- 17. BMSA, A/21, Grenfell to BMS Committee, April 7, 1906, and to W. Y. Fullerton, April 15, 1906.

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Works by George Grenfell

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The Legacy of Franz Michael Zahn

Werner Ustorf

feel we should make use of any means at our disposal to win the privilege of the freedom of mission. Therefore, I suggest we complain again, first to the Reichskanzler..., then, to the Kaiser, to the Parliament, and to the press. Hopefully we will get what we are looking for; in any case, the effect will be that from now on they will not be so quick to kick us about, having experienced that we are screaming considerably."

The theologian and concerned citizen who in 1891 self-confidently defended the freedom of mission against the political apparatus of the Kaiser's Reich was Franz Michael Zahn (1833–1900; mainly known by his second name). What was the issue? A high-handed Junker and official of Togo, the German colony in West Africa, had prohibited the missionaries from giving English lessons in their own mission schools. This ban was not only due to nationalistic chauvinism; there was more at stake. German colonialists feared that black Africans might catch up with the lead of the whites. They regarded an African command of the English medium as a stepping-stone toward black emancipation, leading to the promotion of Africans to top positions, to equality with the Europeans, and finally to the collapse of Ger-

German colonists in Togo feared that black Africans might catch up with the lead of the whites.

man colonial superiority. In their view, the English lessons of the Bremen Mission did harm to the basic idea of German colonialism: the engineering and careful maintenance of a discrepancy in the technological, economic, and sociocultural levels between colonizing and colonized societies. To use a modern term, they wished to preserve a policy of apartheid.

Zahn had not deliberately become an opponent of the German colonial imperialism; the course of events had simply forced him to take this position. The Bremen Mission had worked on the West African coast since 1847 under British tolerance, and sometimes protection; now, the British-German border negotiations of 1890 had brought the eastern part of the mission field under the administration of German Togo. But the Ewe-speaking congregations for decades were economically oriented toward the British Gold Coast and therefore were eager to learn English.² Trading centers like Cape Coast or Accra also had black doctors and solicitors and, very important for the emancipation process, a more or less free black press. Nothing of this was to be found in German Togo from 1884 to 1914.3 For the subjugated nations of Africa, it made a clear difference whether they were under British rule or under German authoritarianism. It was thus in the interest of the social advance of the Christians of Togo that Zahn had to be on his guard in relation to German colonial claims.

But it was also Zahn's personal political convictions that

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made him a critic of German colonial thought. He was a liberal and would not accept the idea that a nation that claimed to be a Kulturvolk (civilized people) at home was entitled to apply political and moral standards of a Herrenvolk (master race) to Africa. What Zahn resisted during the last decade of his directorate of the Bremen Mission was the totalitarian dimension imperialism had acquired. The imperialism of the era perceived all non-Western peoples, with their cultures, achievements, and resources, as objects of a cold utilitarian interest. This interest would be directed to other places once the resources of a given area were exhausted. The colony, with all its substance, including missionary work, was regarded as a structure specially designed to serve the imperialist interest. It was not colonialism as such that threatened the freedom of mission. In fact, Zahn could look back favorably on decades of cooperation between mission, trade, and British colonial administration. The problem was colonialism's development into totalitarian imperialism, especially in its German version.

Against this threat to the interests of African peoples, Zahn waged a journalistic war. He rejected the advice of the alleged friends of mission not to tell the Africans "that they are our brothers." He challenged the assumption that European colonial governments, the German government in particular, were the legal authority over non-European people. And Africans who resisted European domination—people whom the papers of Berlin, London, or Paris called rebels and who could justifiably be shot—Zahn portrayed as "brave men who defend their country and freedom."

In 1888 he wrote to one of his missionaries, "I am against colonies anyway, and naturally, that is enough today for one to be branded a traitor to the Fatherland. But if a missionary enters into politics, and through his influence supports the German colonial acquisitions and motives—then, whatever he may think otherwise, I regard this as a grave mistake, not to stay a crime."

A Product of Prussian Pietism

Who was this theologian and controversial missionary thinker? For nearly four decades (1862–1900) Zahn led the small Bremen Mission, which had its one and only mission field on the "Slave Coast" of what is now Ghana and Togo.⁵ He had never been to Africa. But he was to remain longer in charge of a mission society than any of his colleagues, and mission was part of his life. In fact, he made the Bremen Mission what it was; in a way, he was the Bremen Mission.

The North German Mission (the Bremen Mission's official name) was a private society, constituted under civil charity law.⁶ Comprising Reformed and Lutheran Christians, it experienced no competition from other societies in the Togo area for decades. Bremen businessmen provided the economic backbone of the mission. Preeminent among these was Friedrich Martin Vietor, whose firm was involved in the tobacco trade and in the transport of European emigrants to the United States. His company had additionally opened up trade with Africa in 1856, "simply and solely in the interests of mission," and it is a historical fact that throughout the entire nineteenth century Vietor family members remained the vital financiers of the mission. The Cal-

vinistic piety and aristocratic self-awareness of such overseas entrepreneurs gave the Bremen Mission administration a special character in the nineteenth century and helps to explain the later resistance of the Bremen Mission and its businessmen supporters to German colonial enthusiasm.

No less distinctive was the approach with which Michael Zahn directed the mission's activities. He was a product of Lower Rhine pietism and, as will be seen, from a strong pedagogic tradition. The Zahn family residence was a place where influential people from points as distant as Berlin and Switzerland got together, including Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia. Zahn himself was married to an Irish woman, Anna Crooks (1837–1923) from Sligo.8 The spirit of the Zahns was well known for its blend of aristocratic convictions, civil self-confidence, cultural and social awareness, and a feeling of humane biblicism. One of Michael's brothers was Theodor Zahn, a famous New Testament scholar and author of several standard works. Michael Zahn never denied that his background was the open-minded pietism of a Prussian upper-class upbringing. Many of his contemporaries admired and feared Zahn because of his inexhaustible humanistic deeds, on one hand, and, on the other hand, his scholarly defense of what was understood as the "old faith." Zahn, himself a man of letters and a close friend of Gustav Warneck, was a supporter, and later coeditor, of the Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift (1874–1923), the leading missiological journal in Europe. His contributions to the journal included several highly profiled articles that presented his special position in the European missiological discourse.9 He rejected the increasing "ethno pathos" of his German colleagues (including Warneck), arguing that the aim of mission work was Christian congregations, not Christian nations; and he rejected too the three-self formula of the Venn-Anderson tradition, because for him mission aimed at the kingdom of God, not the church (one of several examples of his ambivalence). Zahn was the cofounder of the Continental Mission Conference (from 1866), which brought to Bremen the leading Continental missiologists and mission directors at regular intervals. In 1885 he became secretary of the

> Many contemporaries admired and feared Zahn because of his humanistic deeds and his scholarly defense of the "old faith."

Ausschuss (council) of the German Protestant Mission Societies; however, in 1890, he stepped down because he was not willing to support the procolonial line of his colleagues.

Theologically Zahn was influenced by the biblical orientation of the Erlangen school of theology (J. C. K. Hofmann: "Scripture's evidence," "Heilsgeschichte"). Pedagogically, however, the ideas of his father were dominating. In 1832 his father, Ludwig, had become director of Moers teachers' seminary. ¹⁰ There, and later on at nearby Gut Fild, he was able to realize his dream of an original "pedagogic province." Prompted by the ideas of the educational reformer Pestalozzi, Ludwig Zahn and his colleagues were concerned with the question of how Christian truth could again become the "mother" of all education. ¹¹ The key educational concept in their program of "national education" was "educational limitation." Instead of releasing a flood

of social expectations by "overeducation" in the lower classes, the basic material should be concentrated and integrated and aimed at sharpening up the mental, spiritual, and patriotic awareness of the student, always reinforced through and through with the Bible. One consistent framework of interpretation—namely a biblical-Christian one—should be presented to the lower classes through church, school, and regularly published printed materials. Through "concentration" so defined, and in particular through the biblicizing of the whole material, the lower classes would be educated for independence, self-sufficiency, and "character formation" according to the norms of the Gospel.

Ludwig Zahn's intention came into direct collision with the firmly state-oriented aims of the Prussian educational bureaucracy. His understanding of Christianity as "education for freedom" corresponded to lines of emancipation contained in pietism, which was perhaps underestimated in Berlin. In 1857 Ludwig Zahn resigned from the Prussian service as he criticized the government's educational program as well as the Prussian expenditure for the arms industries, and devoted himself entirely to his private institution in Gut Fild. His son Michael not only grew up in Gut Fild but also worked there as a teacher from 1856 until 1858; later, with only minor changes, he applied his father's concept of "national education" in his African missionary work.

In 1863 Michael Zahn drew up a teaching plan for the education of African mission workers, a document that governed the educational practice of the Bremen Mission until 1914. The key concept of this design was self-sufficiency. Although one could definitely not speak of a congregation yet, for Zahn it was a matter of leading the emerging African Christianity out of missionary tutelage and into "manhood in Christ." This would happen through an educational process directed by Europeans, which should lead to the attainment of that self-sufficiency. Completely in line with classical-romantic philological science, in the sense of its progenitor, Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Ewelanguage, the national spirit, and the "soul of the people" should have the central place.

Zahn was the first to energetically defend the right of the Ewe to their own language, doing so against the views of the colonial authorities. He got his way. But the missionary appropriation of the Ewe language was accompanied by an attempt to control the direction of cultural change. The missionaries set a close watch over the influence of education in the Ewe language and the contents of the language. They made sure that European forms were not transplanted to Africa, or if so, only in very specific cases. Mission Christians who were taught only in the Ewe language and almost exclusively on biblical texts, in Zahn's perspective, were "unspoiled by bad education."

Zahn also advocated a program—unique in the Kaiserreich—of sending Africans to Germany, where they could be educated as church leaders. This was triggered by a severe lack of European missionaries for the work in West Africa. A stay in Europe with the prospects of enhanced status was attractive to many Africans and made mission service itself more attractive. Set up as a three-year program, the "Ewe School" enrolled twenty-one Ewe students from 1884 to 1900.¹⁸

A Record of Unintended Results

Both Zahn's "national education" approach in Togo and the Ewe School program in Germany demonstrate the unpredictability of historical developments and the danger of unintended conse-

quences. The "national education" program carried with it the seeds of African resentment, for nineteenth-century African leaders charged the missionaries with withholding some of what they knew. They had tried to conceal the great crisis into which Christianity in Europe had been thrown since the eighteenth century. Alternatives to the single, monopolistic interpretation were never explored. Africans came to see that the withholding of information undercut their demand for equality. In the end, the African church became capable—when it had freedom and knowledge of possible options—of deciding its own path.

In the case of the Ewe School experiment, Zahn attempted to transfer missionary methods to Africa that in Europe were aimed primarily at reclaiming secularized and unchurched groups that had been lost to the church during the German restoration and revolutionary periods. His goal of an African nation rooted culturally and religiously in the Bible can be understood as an attempt to achieve a prepluralist Christian monoculture. Such an effort amounts to projecting onto Africa a European utopianism, a universal eschatology rooted in pre-Enlightenment idealism. Many of the German-educated Africans, who theoretically should have been protected from the "disaster" of secular education by the strict discipline of the Ewe School, were involved sooner or later in anticolonial resistance.

There is another consideration, namely, the fact that the first congregations did not arise through the missionaries and their pedagogical skills but through the initiative of African laity and mission workers. The reality that the formation of congregations took place through African initiative and "outside the [mission] centers" was registered as such by Zahn, but it failed to produce a redirection of his missionary methods and theology.

Tragically, the Bremen Mission felt compelled to understand the Gospel from the perspective of the reestablishment of a monopoly.²² The simple belief that the "old Bible faith" was the foundation of the mission's method was naive.²³ Right at the center, there was also the demand of modern consciousness for autonomy and hegemony. Religious and cultural pluralism were part of the reality of life in West Africa no less than in Germany—

and not only on the coast, where the Sierra Leonians, Brazilians, and other returned black exiles were pained by a noticeable mixing of traditions.

Zahn's mission work was conducted in the framework of an extraordinary high-profile concept that was at the same time very specific to the cultural context of Western Europe. Seen in theological terms, the structures of the Zahn missionary undertaking could be understood as a reflection of distrust in the effectiveness and trustworthiness of the Holy Spirit, as if the coming of the kingdom of God was in danger without the supportive corset of European pedagogical leadership.

The aim of Zahn's missionary labors in bringing about a truly African church was not in the establishing of the church, not even of an African church, but in the "formation of the heart,"

Zahn's mission programs demonstrate the danger of unintended consequences.

and finally the "future, complete reign of God." For Zahn, churches—European or African—in comparison to God's kingdom were nothing more than preliminary and immanent structures, prone to perish one day. His emphasis underestimated the importance of ecclesiology, and he was not aware of the danger that a rigorous focus on God's absolute sovereignty would carry with it the risk of elevating the missionary teacher to a god-like position. Nevertheless, like no one else before, Zahn insisted that mission work must disavow governmental influence by "gifts, aiding and abetting." Time and again he warned his friend Warneck not to accept financial aid to mission from the government, as this would lead to the "bondage of the church." Zahn was afraid that his friends would "sell out freedom for some peanuts." Zahn's successor, and some others, did just that.

Notes

- 1. Zahn to the Board of the North German Mission Society, Bremen, October 19, 1891, Staatsarchiv Bremen, Depositum 7, 1025.
- 2. A comprehensive non-Western, African history of Christianity among the Ewe has not yet been written. There are, however, some general standard works written from an African perspective like O. U. Kalu, ed., The History of Christianity in West Africa (Harlow/Essex: Longmann, 1980); L. Sanneh, West African Christianity: The Religious Impact (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1983) and Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1989); J. Kofi Agbeti, West African Church History, vol. 1, Christian Missions and Church Foundation, 1482–1919; vol. 2, Christian Missions and Theological Training, 1842–1970 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986; 1991); both volumes contain chapters on the Bremen Mission.
- The thirty-year period of German colonial history in Togo (1884– 1914) is well covered in Peter Sebald, Eine Geschichte der deutschen "Musterkolonie" auf der Grundlage amtlicher Quellen (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1988).
- Zahn to A. J. Spieth, February 15, 1888; first quoted by E. J. Hahn, "Die Geschichte der Norddeutschen Missionsgesellschaft" (Th.D. diss., Tübingen, 1943), p. 153.
- 5. The missionary aspect has been dealt with recently. See Martin Pabst, Mission und Kolonial politik: Die Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft an der Goldküste und in Togo bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges (Munich: Verlagsgemeinschaft Anarche, 1988); W. Ustorf, Die

- Missionsmethode Franz Michael Zahns und der Aufbau kirchlicher Strukturen in Westafrika: Eine missionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1989).
- 6. See J. Aagaard, *Mission—Konfession—Kirche*, 2 vols. (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1967).
- 7. Articles of Association or Declaration of the Firma Fried. M. Vietor Söhne, July 8, 1856, Basel Mission archives, Schr.11/4, 21.B.I.
- 8. Their only child, Anna Margarete, born in 1870, was disabled due to hydrocephalus.
- 9. See the bibliography, where some of them are mentioned. Zahn chose not to finish his own book on missiology when he learned that his friend Warneck was ready to publish the first part of his *Evangelische Missionslehre*.
- On Zahn's father, F. L. Zahn, see H. G. Bloth, "Der Pädagoge F. L. Zahn und seine Amtsenthebung durch F. Stiehl," Monatshefte für Evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes 24 (1975): 163–202.
- 11. F. L. Zahn's educational principles can be found in the issues of the journal he founded, *Schulchronik*. See D. Horn, *Gesammelte Schriften von F. L. Zahn* (Gütersloh, 1905); here pp. 16, 274, 318.
- 12. H. Titze, Die Politisierung der Erziehung (Frankfurt, 1973), pp. 129-30.
- 13. Horn, Gesammelte Schriften, p. 117.
- 14. See Bloth, "Der Pädagoge F. L. Zahn."
- 15. Zahn, "Der Seminarplan von 1863," in Zahn, Überschau über unsere Schulen, July 15, 1886, pp. 20–38; Staatsarchiv Bremen, 7, 1025.

- 16. Zahn addressed this point at the Sixth Continental Mission Conference, Bremen 1884, saying that "Renan's writings and things even worse than this" must be kept far from the mission (*Evangelisches Missions-Magazin* [Basel], 1884, p. 312).
- 17. Zahn to Colonial Office via Secretary of State A. D. V. Jacobi, July 25, 1894, Central State archives, Potsdam, RKolA Nr. 4078, Bl. 156–57f.
- 18. The Ewe School, located in the Württemberg pietist villages of Ochsenbach and then Westheim, was discontinued after Zahn's death. See Ustorf, *Die Missionsmethode Franz Michael Zahns*, pp. 257ff.
- 19. For Zahn's discussion of the concept, see *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen der Kontinentalen Missionskonferenz zu Bremen* (9.–12.5.1893), Gütersloh (n.d.), p. 17.
- 20. Especially Andreas Aku and Robert Kwami. See Sebald, Eine Geschichte der deutschen "Musterkolonie."
- 21. Zahn, "Missionsrundschau," *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, 1898, p. 89.
- 22. See W. Ustorf, "Anti-Americanism in German Missiology," *Mission Studies* 2 (1989): 23–34.
- 23. The memoirs of a prominent committee member of the North German Mission are illuminating. See C. R. Vietor, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, published privately by his widow, H. Vietor (Bremen, 1897).
- 24. Zahn to Warneck, January 13, 1894; Staatsarchiv Bremen, 7, 1025.

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Book Reviews

Mission in Bold Humility: David Bosch's Work Considered.

Edited by Willem Saayman and Klippies Kritzinger. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1996. Pp. viii, 184. Paperback \$20.

Does a missiologist merit a second Festscrift? Yes, if his name is David Bosch, the noted former dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of South Africa (UNISA). In 1990 members of the Southern African Missiological Society honored their founder-president with a first Festscrift, entitled Mission in Creative Tension: A Dialogue with David Bosch. This second Festscrift complements the first. Following Bosch's untimely death in 1992, the editors, his longtime colleagues in the missiology faculty at UNISA, gathered appraisals of his work by distinguished missiologists outside South Africa.

It contains three types of essays. Six are appraisals of Bosch's work. Remarkably, they contain little duplication. The editors assess Bosch as a South African church leader. Frans Verstraelen summarizes and critiques his writings—in English, Dutch, and Afrikaans—for content and relevance to Africa. Those by Willem

Saayman, John Pobee, and Christopher Sugden evaluate the importance of his thought respectively for South Africa, African theology, and that of the Two-Thirds World. Emilio Castro adds a personal reflection on Bosch as an "ecumenical personality" (pp. 162–66).

In three essays contributors develop important themes raised by Bosch: eschatology (Jacob Kavunkal), the mission dynamic—*missio Dei* (Wilbert Shenk), and theology of religions (Gerald Anderson).

The third group—essays on themes neglected by Bosch—are creative in opening up neglected edges of the discipline. Dana Robert researched the symbiotic linkage of American and South African women as trainers and missionaries in South Africa's Dutch Reformed missions. William Burrows proposes a "radical Catholic inculturation paradigm" (p. 122) to add to Bosch's six. Margaret Guider applies Rob-

ert Kegan's analysis of adult psychological development to missionary formation. Curt Cadorette surveys mission and liberation themes in Latin American Catholicism. A union bibliography of citations and of works by Bosch are helpful aids for further study, but a subject index is lacking.

Does Bosch deserve a second Festscrift? Yes, and perhaps a third, if the editors are right that "the true value of David's legacy will only become visible" (p. 7) if the voices of his younger colleagues and postgraduate students are heard.

-Norman E. Thomas

Norman E. Thomas, the Vera B. Blinn Professor of World Christianity at United Theological Seminary in Dayton, Ohio, is the editor of Classic Texts in Mission and World Christianity (Orbis 1995), a reader's companion to Bosch's Transforming Mission.

Truth and Authority in Modernity.

By Lesslie Newbigin. Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1996. Pp. ix, 83. Paperback \$8.

There are (at least!) two features in the writings of Lesslie Newbigin that I am extremely grateful for: his insistence on the faith character of Christian faith, and his capacity to show the "respectability" of the Christian analysis of reality in the midst of all kinds of scientific and wouldbe scientific arguments. Also in this classic publication these points come clearly to the fore. On the very first page he starts his argument in the same way as he did at the recent Salvador World Mission Conference: "If the reality we seek to explore . . . is the work of a personal Creator, then authority resides in this one who is the Author." This "if" shows from the beginning that Christian faith is concerned with faith, not with any "neutral" mathematical formula. This axiom, however, does not mean that Christian faith is excluded from the epistemological discussion in (Western) culture. On the contrary. Newbigin shows that every "scientific" analysis starts (and ends) with a particular form of faith. Or, Christian faith is a valid partner in the search for truth and authority in Western culture. It even may come up, in the end, with the answer: the story of Jesus Christ.

As we have seen him do before, the author very ably depicts the limitations of science and scientific research. The basis of modern science, the trust in reason, is critically studied. Truth, Newbigin says, is discovered at a deeper level of human life, namely, where experience, reason, tradition, and Scripture meet each other. In short, it is through faith that humanity may know the truth—and enjoy it.

Newbigin is an impressive writer (and speaker!). His analysis of the limited function of science and reason has been widely accepted today. On that basis, we in the West can start to tell the story again. Not the big triumphalist story of Christendom, but the story of the little man from Nazareth. Newbigin has realized a tremendous mission: to help the church in

the West to regain confidence in the Gospel.

-Jan van Butselaar

Jan van Butselaar is General Secretary of the Netherlands Missionary Council in Amsterdam. His missionary experience was shaped by work in Rwanda, in Mozambique, and in his own country, the Netherlands.

Teología y misión en América Latina.

By Rodolfo Blank. St. Louis, Mo.: Recursos Étnicos, 1996. Pp. 318. Paperback. No price given.

Rodolfo Blank, a Lutheran theologian and pastor with more than thirty years of Latin American experience, has produced a valuable text, evidently intended as a kind of textbook to offer a bird's-eye view of the church and theological development in Latin America from the time when the first Europeans set foot on the continent to the present. Several histories of Latin American Christianity have appeared

during the last decades—some of which Blank has used—but none of them tried to explore (as this author does) the theological presuppositions that inspired and guided the missionary enterprise in Latin America and its further development. In this sense, the book is a new and welcome contribution to a better understanding of Latin American Christianity.

Teología y misión en América Latina is very rich and reveals an excellent knowledge of the sources, trends, strengths, and limitations of mission and theology. The first chapters, in particular, offer an excellent introduction to theology and missionary methods in the early stages of the conquest and evangelization of the continent. In this sense, it fulfills also a critical function and stimulates a necessary discussion about Latin American Christianity. It is here, however, where one would have liked a more balanced and nuanced discussion. The somewhat rigid application of strictly Lutheran orthodoxy leads to some one-sided interpretations, for instance, of popular religiosity, Pentecostalism, and liberation theology. This reviewer also found the discussion of early Catholic missionary theology and action too stereotyped. These critical comments are by no means a disqualification of the book, which will certainly be a very useful instrument to introduce the study of Latin American missionary theology and action.

—José Míguez Bonino

José Míguez Bonino is Professor of Systematic Theology at the Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos, Buenos Aires, and an ordained minister of the Methodist Church in Argentina.

Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion.

By Kwame Bediako. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books; and Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1995. Pp. xii, 276. Paperback \$25.

Kwame Bediako is director of the Akrofi-Christaller Memorial Centre for Mission Research and Applied Theology in Akropong-Akuapem in Ghana. His argumentation is rooted in the need to ascertain "Africa's significant place in Christianity's resurgence in the present century [against the background of] an increasing perception of Africa as marginal to major world affairs" (p. ix). This need seems to be the principle around which the book is organized. The fourteen chapters are divided into three parts. Part 1 is entitled "Christianity in African Life: Some Concerns and Signs of Hope." In the five chapters of this section Bediako

wrestles with questions such as "Is Christianity Suited to the African?" (pp. 3–16) and "How Is It That We Hear in Our Own Languages the Wonders of God?" (pp. 59–74). He also examines the problem of African identity and Christianity (pp. 17–38).

In Part 2, "Christianity as a Non-Western Religion: Issues Arising in a Post-Missionary Setting," the author deals with broader missiological concerns. Here the focus is less on Africa.

Bediako returns to African concerns

in Part 3, entitled "Into the Twenty-First Century—Africa as a Christian Continent: The Prospects and Challenges." The four chapters of this section represent the most engaging reflections in the book. In "The Making of Christian Africa: The Surprise Story of the Modern Missionary Movement," "The Place of Africa in a Changing World: The Christian Factor," and "Christian Religion and African Social Norms: Authority, Desacralisation, and Democracy," Bediako courageously faces the issues of Christianity in contemporary Af-

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rica. In so doing, he suggests, with Lamin Sanneh and Andrew Walls, that "African Christianity may well have entered upon a universal vocation" (p. 207).

An aspect of the universal vocation of African Christianity is that African Christian theologians are calling other Christians to recognize "the character of theology as Christian intellectual activity on the frontier with the non-Christian world, and hence as essentially communicative, evangelistic and missionary" (p. 259). Whether one agrees with Bediako that this implies "the vernacular primacy...of the Word of God for African academic theology" (p. 72) is another matter.

Bediako's book deserves careful reading. It indicates hope in Africa and African Christianity. It communicates confidence in God and the Gospel. It does so with passion and from the perspective of a new generation of African theologians. Some may find Bediako's optimism about Africa and African Christianity unwarranted, especially at a time when despair, deprivation, and frustration are taken for granted in matters related to the continent. But in a day when so many are making money and acquiring fame by portraying Africa's misery, Bediako's book is a welcome voice of positive dissent. Christians, especially those interested in mission, gain nothing in joining hands with those who rejoice in Africa's marginalization.

—Tite Tiénou

Tite Tiénou is President and Dean of the Faculté de Théologie Evangélique de l'Alliance Chrétienne in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, and the Director of the African Theological Initiative. He is a citizen of Burkina Faso.

Inkulturation in Tranquebar: Der Beitrag der frühen dänischhalleschen Mission zum Werden einer indisch-einheimischen Kirche (1706–1730).

By Daniel Jeyaraj. Erlangen: Verlag der Ev-Luth. Mission, 1996. Pp. xiv, 367. Paperback. DM 60.

The missiological significance of this new study of the first Indian evangelical indigenous church at Tranquebar, South India (1706–30), by Tamil missiologist Daniel Jeyaraj is not to be underestimated. The story of the Danish-Halle mission at Tranquebar, with its unique ecumenical connections with the Royal Mission Collegium in Copenhagen and the SPCK in London, has already been told by Arno Lehmann, Erich Beyreuther, Hans-Werner Gensichen, and others. But now the story

has been freshly researched by a spiritual descendant of the nearly 300-year-old Tranquebar mission, Daniel Jeyaraj of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church. The new research makes intensive use of the archives of the Francke institutions (Franckeschen Stiftungen) in Halle, now part of Halle University, and containing rich resources for the study of mission in South India, North America, and the Halle diaspora.

Amazingly, Jeyaraj developed the facility for reading not merely Germanand English-language reports and letters from missionaries and mission secretaries, but even those texts handwritten in German Gothic script by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and others and preserved on over 35,000 individual palm leaves. These texts deal with Indian higher religions and folk religion, Tamil language, Scripture translation, observations about caste, details of colonial administration, the place of women, and other subjects. As the fruit of his own valuable research, Jeyaraj has made hundreds of new discoveries about the inculturation of Christianity and the rise of the first indigenous Protestant church in South India.

This book was presented at the fall 1996 meeting of the German Society for Missiology in Halle commemorating the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the first regular chair for missiology on the European continent. The chair's incumbent was the well-known father of modern missiology, Gustav Warneck. German missiology continues to produce a considerable amount of high-quality research, this study by Jeyaraj being an example. Unfortunately, much of this work is not well known or appreciated in the English-speaking world. It is to be hoped that Jeyaraj will find the opportunity to publish an English-language version of his important study, which would be of immense benefit to Indian Christians and to the English-speaking world.

—James A. Scherer

James A. Scherer is Emeritus Professor of World Missions and Church History at the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago.

Incarnational Ministry: Planting Churches in Band, Tribal, Peasant, and Urban Societies.

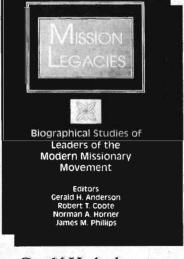
By Paul G. Hiebert and Eloise Hiebert Meneses. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1995. Pp. 405. Paperback \$19.99.

Hiebert and Meneses have given us an excellent, ministry-focused introduction to cultural anthropology for missionaries.

The book opens with a chapter on theoretical foundations that sets forth key definitions of society and culture, and their interrelationships. The remainder of the book utilizes a classic anthropological typology of societies—band, tribe, peasant, and city—as a framework within which to understand the symbiotic relationship between social and cultural systems. The authors develop each of the four anthropological types, focusing on the significant variables in their social and cultural

systems. They follow each sociocultural description with a chapter evaluating the implications of that social and cultural system for church planting. The chapters presenting the anthropological types are well written and provide a systematic and helpful overview of the significant social and cultural variables of importance to the outside observer. For cross-cultural workers interested in applying anthropology to their ministry task, these chapters should be very helpful.





Gerald H. Anderson Robert T. Coote Norman A. Horner James M. Phillips editors

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ow the very best of the IBMR "Mission Legacies" are gathered in this attractive, durable hardback from Orbis Books. Included are the founders and most prominent leaders of the Christian missionary movement from the late 18th century to the present: John R. Mott, Pope Pius XI, Ruth Rouse, William Carey, Francis X. Ford, Roland Allen, Hendrik Kraemer, Stephen Neill, E. Stanley Jones, Joseph Schmidlin, Wilhelm Schmidt, Alan R. Tippett, Max Warren, Helen Barnett Montgomery, Lucy Waterbury Peabody, John Philip, David Livingstone, Charles Simeon, and many more. Authors of these biographical sketches are a veritable "who's who" of church historians, including Dana Robert, John C. Bennett, Karl Müller, SVD, Lesslie Newbigin, A. Christopher Smith, Eric J. Sharpe, and Jean-Paul Wiest. With biographical and bibliographic information available nowhere else, Mission Legacies belongs in every theological library and on the bookshelf of every student of World Christianity and mission.

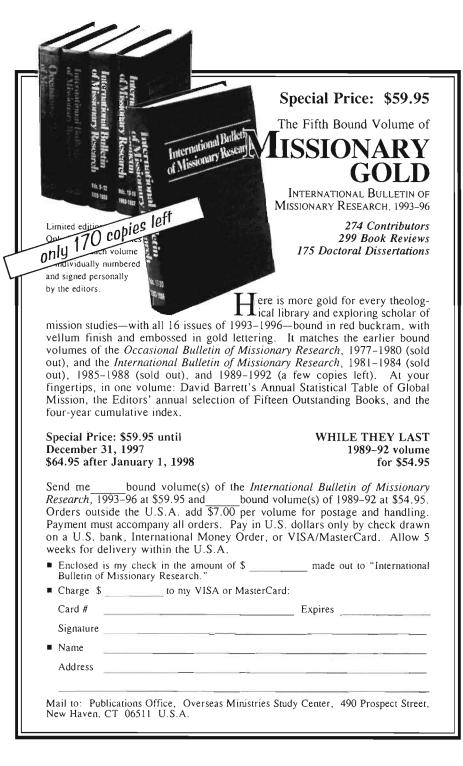
The chapters on church planting were, to my mind, less satisfactory. Because of the limitations of space in the volume, these chapters tend to be rather generic in content, and little reference is given to a vast literature of missionary effort in each of the social systems. However, this deficiency in the text can be supplemented in a course with additional readings. This may be an advantage, in fact, because it allows the professor to tailor the course around supplemental readings and specific issues of church planting of interest

to the class and the professor.

This is a very valuable introductory book, providing a well-designed overview of social and cultural types that are relevant for developing effective incarnational, cross-cultural ministries.

—Sherwood G. Lingenfelter

Sherwood G. Lingenfelter is Professor of Anthropology and Provost and Senior Vice President at Biola University, La Mirada, California. He has done anthropological fieldwork in Micronesia, Brazil, West Africa, and Surinam.



John Stott: A Comprehensive Bibliography.

By Timothy Dudley-Smith. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1995. Pp. 156. Paperback \$12.99.

Authentic Christianity: From the Writings of John Stott.

Chosen and introduced by Timothy Dudley-Smith. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1995. Pp. 426. \$22.99.

John Stott has profoundly influenced mission studies through his various roles as statesman-theologian of the worldwide evangelical movement, pastor, evangelist, strategist, expository preacher, and author. He has been writing for over fifty years and has published "well over thirty books and some hundreds of pamphlets, articles and chapters in symposia. Basic Christianity alone has appeared in some fifty languages, with a further twenty-two in preparation" (Authentic Christianity, p. 9). It is therefore expedient to have available now these two books compiled and edited by a fellow Anglican evangelical, the former bishop of Thetford and wellknown hymn writer, Timothy Dudley-Smith, who is also preparing Stott's biography.

The bibliography continues up to 1994 and is certainly detailed and comprehensive, including also references to a few prayers, poems, and hymns. It is fascinating to trace the long gestation period of Stott's major books, often first preached at his base in London, All Souls Church. He is a moving target for such a study and is currently preparing a book on 1 Timothy and Titus.

Stott's style of writing is precise, with a regular use of amplifying brackets. "Our evangelism tends to be too ecclesiastical (inviting people to church), whereas Paul also took the gospel out into the secular world; too emotional (appeals for decision without an adequate basis of understanding), whereas Paul taught, reasoned and tried to persuade; and too superficial (making brief encounters and expecting quick results), whereas Paul stayed in Corinth and Ephesus for five years, faithfully sowing gospel seed and in due time reaping a harvest" (Authentic Christianity, p. 329).

The anthology has a traditional structure of systematic theology that, though useful for searching for subject matter, may have "straightened" the choice of passages, especially since Stott is most at home in biblical commentary mode. This shape to the book also precludes manifesting a concept of "development" in his thinking. I found myself always looking at the date of a passage! Stott's growing sense of the importance of issues of social

justice in the early 1970s is a case in point.

What I missed from both the bibliography and the anthology was official mention (apart from on the dust jacket of the latter) of Stott's major contribution to mission studies—his deft, concise drafting of key integrative statements, which are models of lucidity. There is the problem of anonymity, but mention should have been made of Stott's drafting of the following: Lausanne Covenant (1974), Willowbank Report on Gospel and Culture (1978), Grand Rapids Report on Evangelism and Social Responsibility (1982), Evangelical-Roman Catholic Dialogue on Mission (1987), and Lausanne II Manila Manifesto (1989). Only the 1987 statement is mentioned in the bibliography (as a coauthored work). Strangely, there are only twenty-six pages on ethics, which has been a key concern of recent publications, and less than forty on mission.

The anthology as a whole, however, does faithfully reflect the character of a writer who lives in the Wisdom tradition of the Scriptures—confidence in God, deep humility, and scribal clarity. It is certainly worth buying and fulfills its aim in encouraging an expectant rereading of the

originals.

—Graham Kings

Graham Kings, a contributing editor, is the Henry Martyn Lecturer in Missiology in the Cambridge Theological Federation, Affiliated Lecturer in the University of Cambridge, and Director of the Henry Martyn Library. Previously, a CMS mission partner, he was vice-principal of a Kenyan theological college.

The Friars Minor in China (1295–1955), Especially the Years 1925–55.

By Arnulf Camps and Pat McCloskey. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University; and Rome: General Secretariate for Missionary Evangelization, General Curia, Order of Friars Minor, 1995. Pp. xviii, 318. \$28.

To mark the seven hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first Franciscan missionary, John of Montecorvino, in Khanbaliq (Beijing) in 1294, Fathers Arnulf Camps and Pat McCloskey have written an information-packed volume on the work in China of the Order of the Friars Minor (O.F.M.), commonly known as Franciscans. This book is, for the most part, based on forty-four scholarly monographs of the twenty-eight mission territories entrusted to the Order of the Friars Minor in China. The original monographs, kept in the General Secretariate of the

Order of the Friars Minor in Rome, were parts of an eleven-year study (1980–1991) entitled *Twentieth-Century Franciscan Missions in China Project*, headed by Fathers Bernward Willeke and Domenico Gandolfi, O.F.M.

The first two chapters of the book provide a summary of the Franciscan presence in China before 1925. The following five chapters organize data on each of the twenty-eight Franciscan missions between 1925 and 1955 according to four headings: leadership, personnel, founding of local

congregations (i.e., Christian communities), and apostolic works. The final chapter presents information on other O.F.M. accomplishments in China such as a language school, a hospital for lepers, and the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* of Beijing for the translation of the Bible into Chinese. The usefulness of the book is further enhanced by clear tables, numerous maps, detailed indexes, and an excellent list of sources and bibliography.

Arnulf Camps, a past president of the International Association of Mission Stud-

FACES OF LATIN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM

José Míguez Bonino

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ies and a professor emeritus at the Catholic University of Nijmegen (Netherlands), is coeditor of the journal *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue*. Pat McCloskey is trained in Franciscan studies and has written extensively about the history of the Franciscan Cincinnati province.

This easy-to-consult book deserves a place in most seminary and university libraries. It provides a good overview of the work of evangelization by one of the oldest and most active Roman Catholic orders in China.

-Jean-Paul Wiest

Jean-Paul Wiest is Research Director of the Center for Mission Research and Study at Maryknoll, New York. He is the author of Maryknoll in China (1988)

History and Belief: The Foundations of Historical Understanding.

By Robert Eric Frykenberg. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996. Pp. 377. Paperback \$27.

This book offers a learned meditation on the nature, limits, and possibilities of historical knowledge. The author is professor of history and South Asian studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Its "central question" is "exactly how ideology, or religion in a broad sense, has served to inform the historiography of each major civilization" (p. 2). It approaches this question through a series of chapters that link aspects of historical understanding with historiographical discussion, for example, the possibility of redemption in human history with the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. Frykenberg best captures the dynamic of history-writing by combining a stalwart belief in the possibility of knowledge about the past with careful diffidence about the limits of such knowledge.

The highlight of the book is its treatments of Indian history, historical writing about India, and Indian consciousness about the past. Frykenberg's lifetime of attention to the Indian subcontinent pays rich dividends, for instance, when he shows how concepts of dharma/karma have predisposed Indians to regard social order as transcendently timeless and so removed some of the motive for inquiry about the past found in other societies. A particularly effective chapter on the rhetorical practices of history, linked with a discussion of postmodern historiography, allows Frykenberg to critique the practitioners of "orientalist" and "subaltern" history. His most devastating comment about those who interpret Indian history as a consistent record of Western hegemony is that they practice a thoroughly Eurocentric mode of historical reasoning. By contrast, those who attend both to evidence and to Indian points of view find a much more complicated calculus of integrity and exploitation in the Western interaction with India. History and Belief is not always easy reading, for its subjects are quite complex. But patient attention to these pages will, in fact, make for clearer belief, more exact historical understanding, and a better grasp of the relation between the two.

—Mark A. Noll

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OMSC welcomes into residence for the fall 1997 semester Dr. Stephen Bevans, S.V.D., Professor of Doctrinal Theology, Catholic Theological Union, Chicago; his missionary experience was in the Philippines in the 1970s. He is coeditor with James Scherer of the series New Directions in Mission and Evangelization.

Dale Bruner and Graham Kings will be OMSC's Senior Mission Scholars in the spring of 1998. Dr. Bruner, Professor of Religious Studies (retired), Whitworth College, Spokane, is a former Presbyterian missionary in the Philippines. He will share with OMSC participants issues of mission as presented in the Gospel of John.

Canon Graham Kings, a former Anglican missionary in Kenya, is the Henry Martyn Lecturer in Missiology in the Cambridge Theological Federation, Affiliated Lecturer in the University of Cambridge, and Director of the Henry Martyn Library, Cambridge, England. In addition to providing leadership in OMSC's Study Program, the Senior Mission Scholars are available to OMSC residents for counsel regarding their own mission research interests.

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Mark A. Noll, McManis Professor of Christian Thought at Wheaton College (Wheaton, Ill.), studies the history of Christianity, primarily in North America.

Popular Religion and Modernization in Latin America: A Different Logic.

By Christián Parker, translated by Robert R. Barr. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1996. Pp. xii, 292. \$45.

This sociological study of popular religion in Latin America is a valuable and readable summary of the state of research and reflection in a field about which a vast amount of literature has been accumulating in recent years. Parker, a scholar from Chile, holds a doctorate in the sociology of religion from the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium and currently teaches at a university in Santiago. To his own research in his country he has added the processing of a substantial amount of material about other countries in order to provide a comprehensive overview, all from the perspective of a revaluation of popular Catholicism that has coexisted with "official" Catholicism since the sixteenth century.

Chapter 1 provides a masterful sociological summary and analysis of the mission-conquest process of establishment of Catholicism, followed by an informative chapter on developments in the sociological approach to popular culture. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the unique characteristics of the modernization process in Latin America, in its interaction with the persistence and resurgence of religions. Indicators of the context of modernization and its effects on the poor are summarized in helpful graphs in chapter 3. Chapters 5 to 7 look at the content, symbols, and function of popular religiosity, which gives meaning, celebration, and protection to the lives of the poor in their struggle for survival, thus becoming "a different logic." Chapters 8 and 9 show the way in which political processes have been affected by the religious resurgence. Parker deals with both the Catholic as well as the Protestant and other forms of popular religion, though he does not seem to be well acquainted with either the history of Protestantism or its current status.

The final two chapters offer pastoral advice. Parker seems to provide sociological ground for the current pastoral efforts of the Catholic hierarchies to revalue the validity and cultural significance of syncretic forms of popular Catholicism. The dense prose of the Spanish original text has been ably translated by Richard R. Barr, but two important sections of chapters 5 and 7, dealing with the ambiguities of statistics about Catholic affiliation, do not appear in this English version.

—Samuel Escobar

Samuel Escobar is Thornley B. Wood Professor of Missiology at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania.

Dimensions of Mission in India.

Edited by Joseph Mattam and Sebastian Kim. Bombay: St. Pauls, 1995. Pp. 216. Paperback Rs 80.

This is a collection of papers that were presented and discussed in the third annual meeting of the Fellowship of Indian Missiologists (FOIM) at Bangalore, India, in 1994. It aims at promoting missiology in the Indian context.

Authors in this volume look at mis-

sion from various dimensions and treat the details with a certain profundity. "Jesus, who revealed the Father in his life, words, deeds and above all, in his death and resurrection, and who was committed to the cause of bringing about the kingdom of God on earth, is the norm and

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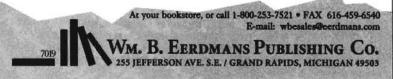
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criterion of that mission" (p. 7). This is the central thrust of the collection.

In a highly discussable chapter entitled "Mission and the Uniqueness of Jesus Christ," Geevarghese Mar Osthathis states, "The churches must unite not only the divided Christendom, but also the divided humanity by making all do the will of God" (p. 83). If that is to be achieved, we will need to go beyond the conclusions suggested by Osthathis (p. 86) and consider quite radically the other chapters of this volume such as "Mission as Liberation," by Joseph Velamkunnel, and "Mission as Dialogue," by Joy Thomas.

I would have liked to find in the volume a broad framework arising from a collective discussion and theological discernment among the members of the FOIM. A simple collection of various dimensions does not suffice. The fast-changing historical process of current India requires more indication of direction. In other words, prioritization of dimensions is also a historical and missiological task.

"In this volume, there are challenges for everyone" (p. 16), claim the editors. I agree and am happy to recommend the volume to scholars and researchers of missiology.

—Jerry Rosario, S.J.

Ierry Rosario is a Iesuit pastor and Professor of Theology in Madras, South India. He serves also as the national coordinator of Jesuit Pastors of South



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Father Peter John De Smet: Jesuit in the West.

By Robert C. Carriker. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1995. Pp. xx, 266. \$29.95.

"Come, Blackrobe": De Smet and the Indian Tragedy.

By John J. Killoren. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1994. Pp. xv, 448. Paperback \$17.95.

The best way to compare these two wellwritten but differently styled books may be to cite the respective authors. Carriker begins, "The life of Father De Smet is, in many ways, a simple story of a man who fell in love with America and its native 'inhabitants.' "Killoren writes, "The De Smet story moves beyond the dimensions of an ordinary biography [and] . . . assumes epic proportions.... In the person of the Blackrobe, De Smet's story represents a direct, firsthand report of the Indian tragedy.'

Rhetorically, each book follows its own project, Carriker with a rather conversational yet more detached narrative that reads somewhat like an interesting travelogue, and Killoren with a brooding, at times elegiac, style that breathes of epic tragedy—a style best exemplified by his epilogue and prologue. Both books deal with almost the same events, chronology, and geography (Killoren's book having some 120 pages more of text), which makes unfortunate Carriker's bibliographic remark that Killoren "emphasizes a single aspect of De Smet's life," although Killoren is indeed possessed by the catastrophe of cultural invasion. Carriker, seemingly writing for a more popular readership, has chosen not to document, offering simply five pages of bibliographic essay, while Killoren's documentation is massive, with thirty-four pages of notes and twenty-five pages of bibliography. The latter seeks to defend De Smet against charges of being a federal dupe and emphasizes much more his efforts to be realistic in the face of duplicitous American frontier policies.

The virtues in Carriker's work lie in its easy readability and, interestingly, in a somewhat more penetrating analysis of motives for the interest of native peoples in Christianity and the "power" it seemed to offer them for survival, though at times one might wish for some documentation of his judgments about motivation and character. He also draws a more thorough picture of De Smet's struggles with his own brethren, while Killoren emphasizes more the external political strife. Much of Killoren's style can no doubt be explained by his dozen or so years in the missionary field, grappling with the devastating results of Euramerican obtuseness toward native culture.

Both books offer a colorful picture of the American West, which will especially strike anyone who has traversed the vast area between St. Louis and the far Northwest with its plains, plateaus and mountains, and always the Mighty Missouri, which takes on a personality of its own. Both books are illustrated, Killoren's containing far more photos, drawings, maps, and charts. Neither book is a conscious missiology as such, but the reader can find extensive material in each one for missiological analysis of the church's relationship to both culture and political involvement.

—Carl F. Starkloff, S.J.

Carl F. Starkloff, S.J., is Professor of Systematic and Pastoral Theology at Regis College, Toronto School of Theology, Toronto, Ontario.

Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism.

By Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan D. Rose. New York and London: Routledge, 1996. Pp. 344. Paperback \$18.95.

Exporting the American Gospel examines the spread of Protestant fundamentalism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The authors of the book, who represent the disciplines of religious studies and sociology, draw extensively upon primary literature and sociological research to analyze fundamentalism's ideological characteristics that support the expansion of global consumer capitalism. Exported from America, they argue, this faith carries with it the cultural values of submission to authority, antirationalism, mystification of oppression, and consumer prosperity. Its new form has emerged from Pentecostal, charismatic, and conservative evangelical streams of American Christianity, resulting in a Pentecostal Calvinism. Particular attention in this regard is paid to the adaptation in Asia, Africa, and Latin America of the "prosperity gospel," which the authors see as continuing an earlier alliance of Calvinism and capitalism.

Unfortunately, so much of the book is spent exposing the politics of fundamentalism that a one-sided view of Pentecostalism and conservative evangelicalism emerges. The authors do not adequately address either the internal tensions among the movements they are analyzing or the authentic emancipatory tendencies they harbor. They dismiss nonfundamentalist Protestantism as a global player in the future, while holding out greater hope for Roman Catholic base Christian communities. At one point they indicate that the fundamentalism they are studying might be a superficial overlay on much more complex cultural adaptations of Christianity. Yet they ignore what these adaptations might be, a shortcoming that is especially evident in their handling of African Instituted Churches. It is somewhat ironic that in its critique of global Christian fundamentalism, the book all but suggests this as a new candidate for the world religious ruler identified as the beast in Revelation 13. Nevertheless it remains a critique that should be taken seriously.

—Dale T. Irvin

Dale T. Irvin is Professor of Theology at New York Theological Seminary, New York.

Einleitung in die Missionsgeschichte: Tradition, Situation und Dynamic des Christentums.

Edited by Klaus Müller and Werner Ustorf. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1995. Pp. 291. DM 49.80.

According to the editors of this book, the history of Christian missions has reached an important turning point. In spite of the deeply rooted, monocultural sense of sending, characteristic of Europe and the West, Christianity has assumed many different forms as it has developed in the many cultures of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The history of the development of these Third World churches, largely unknown in the West, can no longer be studied as the object or the result of the expansion of Western Christianity. This perspective has profound implications for how history is written. On the one hand, the traditional periodization of European history (ancient, medieval, modern) has little meaning for the other churches. The epochs of missions history must be reformulated to reflect the shift in focus from a monocultural Western church to the polycentric world church. On the other hand, the historian's task is one of decentralization, that is, to represent accurately the unique chronology and vitality of Christianity as

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it developed in each context.

Rather than offering just another history of mission, the editors seek to concretize the new situation by giving each culture, context, and continent an authentic voice. The book is divided into three parts. The first reviews traditional Catholic and Protestant approaches to the history of mission. Part 2 contains 14 chapters, each devoted to the local history of Christian development in various cultural/geographic contexts. Almost every region of the world is covered. The last

part draws conclusions and implications for writing mission history in the future.

Müller and Ustorf see this work as a first step in the direction indicated by the new situation. As such, it is a valuable contribution to the discipline. Of perhaps more significance, it is a pioneering effort that should stimulate further research.

—Edward Rommen

Edward Rommen is Professor of Missions at Columbia Biblical Seminary and Graduate School of Missions in Columbia, South Carolina.

The Bible Trembled: The Hindu-Christian Controversies of Nineteenth-Century Ceylon.

By R. F. Young and S. Jebanesan. Vienna: Sammlung De Nobili, 1995. Pp. 204. Paperback. No price given.

Vain Debates: The Buddhist-Christian Controversies of Nineteenth-Century Ceylon.

By R. F. Young and G. P. V. Somaratna. Vienna: Sammlung De Nobili, 1996. Pp. 235. Paperback. No price given.

The Indian Christiad: A Concise Anthology of Didactic and Devotional Literature in Early Church Sanskrit.

By Anand Amaladass, S. J., and R. F. Young. Anand (Gujarat, India): Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1995. Pp. xviii, 378. Rs 155/\$15; paperback Rs 135/\$10.

The Hindu-Christian and Buddhist-Christian encounters in Sri Lanka and South India described in these volumes occurred within contexts of colonial overlordship. All too often, missionary attempts to communicate the Gospel failed to discern contradictions between that Gospel and the cultural vehicle within which its message was conveyed or to appreciate subtle distinctions within the languages into which its message was being translated. Meanings conveyed, even if not syncretistic or superficial, could radically alter and contradict older meanings. Prior understandings within any vocabulary into which the Gospel entered could be utterly transformed or given nuances never before known. Yet, the process of calling into question previously held meanings within vocabularies with proud traditions of sophistication could be deeply disturbing. When prior understandings of reality were contradicted, especially by assertions of another culture as alien as that of Europe, all sorts of unanticipated consequences could occur. Aggressive missionary activity in South India and Sri Lanka during the early nineteenth century, often arrogantly chauvinistic and condescending, could bring results no less radical. Such intrusions, as these monographs show, led to reactions that were militant and revivalistic.

The Saiva revivalism that began in Jaffna and spread across the Palk Strait into Tamil-speaking districts of the Madras presidency (now Tamilnadu) during the early nineteenth century can never be confused with the distinct revivalist reaction to Christianity that later arose in the southern end of the island. Both movements, one Hindu and one Buddhist, were reactions against aggressive missionary Christianity. Occurring on opposite ends of the island, they were too inimical to enable closing of ranks against a common adversary. Thus, so as to avoid confusing one revivalist movement for another, treating the North (Jaffna) as a mere appendage of the South, the two movements of reaction to missionary activity are treated as virtually self-contained and as having little to do with each other.

Especially impressive is the collaborative strategy underlying these works. The best of Western Christian scholarship is allied with equally impressive scholarship of the East. Young is an American Sanskritist trained at University of Pennsylvania. His Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on Anti-Christian Apologetics in Early Nineteenth Century India (1981) is now an acclaimed classic. After stints at Bishop's College (Calcutta) and the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society (Jaffna), he has been a missionary associ-

ate and professor of Asian religions in the Faculty of International Studies, Meiji Gakuin University (Yokohama) for eighteen years, where he has published in Japanese and Chinese. S. Jebanesan and G. P. V. Somaratna have equally distinguished careers, one as a Jaffna-Tamil authority on Saivism and the other as a Sinhala authority on Theravada Buddhism. The result is an advance in understanding of interaction between Western and Eastern religions, moving away from narrowly Eurocentric mission studies toward a more global Christianity and bringing research and scholarship to a new level. The result, wonderful in breadth and depth, is an unveiling of hitherto unknown manuscript sources, taken from many languages. The result is a coming of age within the wider academy of a new awareness of Christian missionary activity within Hindu and Buddhist cultures. Superbly crafted, comprehensive, and critical studies of Christian missions are now setting a new standard for future scholarship.

Hindu-Christian encounters in Jaffna emerged out of contradictory understandings of truth. The intensity of these controversies, arising out of conflicting cosmologies and soteriologies, came from the fiery rhetoric of the protagonists themselves. Hindu/Saiva reactions against Christianity, provoked by colonially minded missionaries, were epitomized by the words of a single, extremely powerful person. Arumuka Navalar (1822–79), as he became known, devoted forty years of "breathless zeal" to the defense of the proudest achievements of Tamil culture. A Christian-school graduate, Methodist missionary's munshi, and Bible-translation consultant, he founded Jaffna's first modern Saiva school and Saiva Tamil presses in Jaffna and South India. His many publications brought him the title "Navalar" (able-tongued) from the ancient Saiva mutth (monastery) at Tiruvatuturai Atinam. Seen as the inspirational spirit behind the Tamil literary renaissance, who had rescued many Tamil classics from oblivion, as English achieved increasing sway, Navalar "almost singlehandedly turned the tables on Christianity in Jaffna."

The second monograph, a contribution no less significant, concerns an entirely different kind of reactionary revivalism—rising from reform of the Buddhist sangha. This, initially led by bhikkus of Amarapura Nikaya, generated a sustained resistance to Christianization in the South. This resistance, coinciding with the inauguration of British rule, with the rescinding of disabilities previously imposed upon Buddhism under Portuguese and Dutch rule, and with the advent of British missionaries, began after a number of monks (bhikkus) who had previ-

ously been active in the formation of the Amarapura Nikaya became Christians. Their conversion was seen as an attempt to undermine "still tentative and not yet invulnerable" attempts to reform the sangha. The "virtually unremitting and relentlessly reactionary hostility" that resulted came, not from a Buddhist decline in consequence of colonial rule, as has been argued by Sinhala nationalists, but from an increasingly self-conscious Buddhism revival.

Young is to be applauded for inspiring, organizing, and pursuing the development of these fresh understandings and for exploiting hitherto unknown and untouched Hindu/Saiva pamphlets and Sinhala/Pali manuscripts. One small caveat: Should we not now note the growth of the post-Enlightenment de-Christianization—that paradigmatic shift to an increasingly scientific and secular humanism and hostility to Christianitythat was rising in the West? This banishing of Christianity from the public square, with increasing hostility to Christian missions, had long dominated East India Company policy in colonial India, despite occasional evangelicals within its ranks. If this view is valid, then more work on the impact of colonialism upon Hindu-Christian and Buddhist controversies is needed. Increasing paganization of the West should be weighed, and prior understandings reconfigured. Whatever the case, this fresh delving into classical-language sources is a definitive contribution to our understanding of Hindu-Christian and Buddhist-Christian relations in colonial Sri Lanka and South India.

The third work evokes memory of those of Christian faith in India who, from the early eighteenth century until the late nineteenth century, produced an efflorescence of literary creativity in Sanskrit. These, both Catholic and Protestant, were individuals who sought to express Christian truth within a language they saw as a "boundless ocean unsurpassed in depth, beauty, and precision." This anthology of samples of scholarship, taken from a dozen works written by Jean Calmette, W. H. Mill, John Muir, and Brahmabandav Upadhyay, is accompanied by a scholarly preface and a comprehensive historical overview. Amaladass and Young argue that "the beauty of Sanskrit still has a firm hold on the imagination of many individuals of Christian faith living in India today" and that "the very act of seeking to express the Christian faith in the Sanskrit language contributed to a moderation of the invective that regrettably had characterized too much of missionary Christianity in India during that era." Their purpose is evangelical and irenic—to elicit further communication with Hindus on the subject of Christian faith.

-Robert Eric Frykenberg

Robert Eric Frykenberg is Professor of History and South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Many Gods, Many Lords: Christianity Encounters World Religions.

By Daniel B. Clendenin. Grand Rapids, Mich. Baker, 1995. Pp. 189. Paperback \$11.99.

Many Gods, Many Lords is a response to the scandal of Christian exclusiveness.

Four years as a visiting professor of Christian studies at Moscow State University has helped to form Daniel B. Clendenin; he is now a graduate staff member for InterVarsity Christian Fellowship at Stanford University.

This readable book surveys some two millennia of thought that inform Western theologies of pluralism. Clendenin provides a thoughtful critique of pluralisms that assume all religions are true.

Clendenin also explores the alternatives of exclusive and inclusive Christian approaches to other faiths. For example, Origen and Cyprian of third-century Egypt were exclusive. They taught, "Outside the church there is no salvation" (p. 70). How-

ever, Vatican II (1962–65) moved in a more inclusive direction; the saving grace of Christ includes those who for no fault of their own have never heard of Christ.

The last two chapters survey Old Testament and New Testament approaches to pluralism. The concluding pages reflect on Christ, the chief cornerstone, whom the builders of our cultures reject. In fact, the Gospel always confronts a culture of disbelief.

Ample documentation and excellent indexes provide accessibility to authors, other books, or concepts.

I was perplexed by Clendenin's use of two terms: "pagans" and "transcendent." He refers to people not included in Israel as "pagan"; in the Old Testament, these peoples were known as the nations.

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490 Prospect Street New Haven, CT 06511 Tel (203) 624-6672 Fax (203) 865-2857 E-mail mailbox@OMSC.org And it seems that Clendenin uses "transcendent" as a synonym of "religious"; the difficulty is that not all religions view the divine as transcendent.

I wish more were included on the distinctiveness of the Christian faith in a pluralistic world, on the one hand, and the sin of Christian arrogance, on the other. The cross is the ultimate critique of all arrogance; I would have welcomed a chapter on the power of God revealed in the foolish cross.

-David W. Shenk

David W. Shenk is Director, Overseas Ministries, Eastern Mennonite Missions, Salunga, Pennsylvania

No Other Gods: Christian Belief in Dialogue with Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam.

By H. M. Vroom. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996. Pp. viii, 174. Paperback \$18.

The work presents four neatly drawn comparative analyses of four major world religions: Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. As the author remarks in the preface, the title, *No Other Gods*, can be read in two ways: with an exclamation mark or with a question mark. Read with a question mark, the book might appear to emphasize the Christian claim for uniqueness; the exclamation mark would sug-

gest that the religions deal with the same God. The author leaves it to the reader to judge his approach. It is evident, though, that Vroom takes up the second meaning, although theological discussion of Christian uniqueness is not altogether absent.

Vroom's work is a fine example of an interreligious, dialogic approach in the present-day intercultural context, done with open mind and heart, trying to understand the other rather than criticize another person's beliefs. The author notes the four important steps of what he terms critical dialogue: examination of the content of the partner's belief, articulation of one's own belief, readiness to accept the truth of the partner, and open discussion on mutual criticism.

The author's comparison and analyses of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam are primarily on the theme of God. He discusses "No-Self and Emptiness" in Buddhism, "Many Names" in Hinduism, and "One God and Prophet" in Islam. He brings in as well a vast number of other important, connected issues like wisdom, love, compassion, and the meaning of suffering (Buddhism); world order and reincarnation (Hinduism); and Jesus, Koran, and the cross (Islam). He notes with care points of mutual understanding and mutual enrichment: "Buddhism provides answers to problems that the churches have neglected for a long time" (p. 10), notably in questions related to our basic attitudes toward world and matter. He takes pains to render difficult concepts accessible to his readers: "The term maya has been translated as 'illusion,' but then it does not concern normal illusion. 'Maya' means that the world is not as it seems; the world that one experiences is misleading as far as its true nature is concerned" (p. 57). He delves deep in noting the differences: "The difference between Islam and Christianity regarding 'God and the cross' is more than a simple question of facts" (p.

The open and generous attitude toward religions in this critical dialogue is certainly praiseworthy. But are Vroom's choices defensible? Can we really compare the Christian concept of God with non-self/emptiness of the Buddhist without speaking of the spring of happiness and compassion that is Nirvana? Is "God Has Many Names" the fundamental message of the Hindus? God is not "god" but Brahman/Atman, the source and cause of the words that people utter and the names they give. Vroom cites (pp. 60–61) the Bhagavad-gita II. 11–22, but makes no

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comment on self (atman) in it. Between Hinduism and Christianity the basic point of comparison is probably moksha (liberation) and kingdom. Vroom's dialogic synthesis rests upon psychological and social experiences in religions. This is certainly useful. But the real purport of religions like Hinduism and Buddhism is precisely to transcend this level of human existence. As Roger Garuady says, "God does not exist; he makes existence."

This is a thought-provoking work. —Anand Nayak

Anand Nayak is Professor of Missiology and Science of Religions at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. He lectures also at the Protestant Faculty of theology at Neuchâtel.

Fatalismus als missionstheologisches Problem: Die Kontextualisation des Evangeliums in einer Kultur fatalistischen Denkens. Das Beispiel Paraguay.

By Alfred Neufeld. Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1994. Pp. 558, Paperback. No price given.

The author teaches at Asunción Bible Institute for the Communities of Mennonite Brethren in Paraguay. The key question of his book is how the Gospel should be proclaimed in the Paraguayan cultural context, where, as he demonstrates, fatalism plays a prominent part. For him as an evangelical theologian, the message of the Bible has an absolute value, being of "supracultural" origin. Nevertheless, its proclamation ought to take the cultural context into critical account, as the author tries to point out in an extensive chapter on methodological foundations. From his specific theological point of view he evaluates the Christianization of Latin America and its most important fruit, popular Catholicism; in doing so, he more than once seizes the opportunity to react against any form of liberation theology

In his account of the Christianization of Paraguay, particular attention is paid to the integration method of the Franciscans and the segregation method of the Jesuits. He studies Paraguayan fatalism on the basis of social, linguistic, literary, and other data; to uncover the roots of this phenomenon, he looks at the indigenous culture, at the culture of the Spanish conquerors, and, last but not least, at the disastrous history of the Paraguayan people. The thesis that, according to the Bible, the will of God is far from any idea of fate is not difficult to prove. Yet, examples from classical and newer Protestant theology show

us a more differentiated image. In the final chapter Neufeld shows that a faith that unites full trust in God with a notion of personal responsibility will have consequences for all theological disciplines. How the Paraguayan evangelical churches have spread this joyous faith in their milieu, determined as it is by fatalism, and what has been the result of it, is a matter left out of consideration in this otherwise very interesting book

–Klaus van der Grijp

Klaus van der Grijp, a Minister of the Reformed Church, Utrecht, Netherlands, was a lecturer at the Theological Faculty Assunção, São Paulo, Brazil, from 1992 to 1995.

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A Heart at Leisure from Itself: Caroline Macdonald of Japan.

By Margaret Prang. Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press, 1995. Pp. xv, 346. \$39.95.

Caroline Macdonald (1874–1931) was a Canadian Presbyterian missionary who played a remarkable role in the formation of Japan's modern prison system and labor movement. Her career, combining evangelical fervor with a passion for social justice, was unmatched among her contemporaries and foreshadowed insights into the relation of mission to social justice. Now her biography has been written by Margaret Prang, professor emerita of history at the University of British Columbia, a well-known specialist in Canadian history and a member of the United Church of Canada.

Caroline Macdonald grew up in a family prominent in the political and religious life of the community. Active during university days in campus Christian organizations, she was employed on graduation by the YWCA, who sent her in 1904 to assist in the building of the association in Japan.

Following ten years with the YWCA, the crime of a male member of her Bible class pushed her into prison work, an activity that became central for the rest of

her life. Unlike most missionaries, Macdonald—while maintaining ties with the institutional church—worked outside it with the poor and working-class people, whom Christianity rarely touched. She then found herself involved in the early stages of the labor movement, particularly with working women. Though innately conservative in her approach to both feminism and politics, she found herself on the front line of change in both areas.

Because her approach was based on her own personal ability, she left little organization to carry on following her early death. But because her life was intertwined with movements that remain to this day in an enlightened penal system and a strong Christian influence in socialist politics, this biography makes enjoyable and profitable reading.

—Cyril H. Powles

Cyril Powles is Professor Emeritus of Church History, Trinity College, University of Toronto. He was born in Japan and spent twenty-one years there as a missionary of the Anglican Church of Canada.

Dissertation Notices

Elolia, Samuel Kiptalai.

"Christianity and Culture in Kenya: An Encounter Between the African Inland Mission and the Marakwet Belief Systems and Culture."

Ph.D. Toronto: Univ. of St. Michael's College, 1992.

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Ph.D. Sterling, Scotland: Univ. of Sterling, 1997.

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"In the Land of the Southern Cross:
The Life and Ministry of William Buck

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Ph.D. Fort Worth, Tex.: Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1995.

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Ph.D. Claremont, Calif.: Claremont Graduate School, 1995.

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