Mission Legacies in Earthen Vessels

This issue of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH marks the beginning of the twenty-fifth year of the Mission Legacies series. The first in the series, “Henry Venn’s Legacy,” appeared in April 1977, written by Contributing Editor Wilbert R. Shenk. To date, including the present issue, 123 legacy essays have appeared. A few years ago Orbis Books published a collection of 75 of these as Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement (1994); the volume has met with such appreciation that it is now in its fifth printing.

Academic journals are not known for sustained interest in biography, and in that regard the BULLETIN is something of an exception. Missiology must in the very nature of things focus on the messengers engaged in Christ’s mission. By placing two legacy articles as the opening features of this issue, we emphasize the personal element in mission.

The Good News of God’s forgiveness, reconciliation, and hope came to the world by way of incarnation; Jesus, the divine son, was clothed in an earthen vessel, “yet without sin,” as the writer to the Hebrews reminds us (4:15). Those who have heard his call to mission know the crucial importance of incarnation, no less so for the Lord’s messengers than for the Lord himself. And they too arrive in earthen vessels, but with all-too-human flaws and cracks. The Apostle reasoned, “We have this treasure in clay jars, so that it may be made clear that this extraordinary power belongs to God and does not come from us” (2 Cor. 4:7).

A friend of Orlando Costas, whose legacy—written by Samuel Escobar—follows in these pages, once observed that Rose, Orlando’s wife, “steadied him, carried out research, typed and retyped his manuscripts, handled all of his correspondence, managed the office, kept track of his busy schedule, endured his explosive temper and Latin machismo.” A little “clay” is evident in that affectionate and candid vignette. Eric Sharpe, the author of the second legacy piece, writes of the saintly Bengt Sundkler, “Everyone knew that he was impulsive, that he could be erratic and bad-tempered, and that the black dog of depression sometimes ran him into a corner.” More “clay.”

Bengt Sundkler died in 1995, at the age of eighty-five. (Sharpe, his legacy biographer, former student, and colleague, himself died last year—see “Noteworthy” in the January IBMR.) Orlando Costas was taken in 1987 in mid-career, age forty-five. Writes Escobar, “The man who had crossed so many borders as a missionary crossed the final border to meet his Lord.” At the last reunion, all the weaknesses of earthen vessels will be forgotten. In the meantime, the legacies of Sundkler and Costas (to use Escobar’s words) stand as “a vibrant and continuous challenge for all of us.”

Other features in this issue refer one way or another to every region of the globe. As a result of two millennia of checkered history and earthen-vessel ministries, the word of hope for broken humanity has reached the far corners. Praise God for the legacies of earthen vessels.
The Legacy of Orlando Costas

Samuel Escobar

Orlando Costas left the church universal an invaluable legacy by his short but intense missionary life (1942-87). He lived passionately every stage of his missionary pilgrimage in contrasting worlds: the United States and Latin America. He conceived and developed lasting missionary institutions, and he discipled a generation of activists and thinkers in Christian mission. In most of his writings Costas engaged in what Latin American theologians have called "reflection on praxis." This continuous conversation with himself and dialogue with his interlocutors provide significant milestones through which we can trace his missionary involvement and evaluate his missiological legacy.

In an autobiographical piece written for the Lausanne-sponsored Consultation on Gospel and Culture, held in 1978 at Willowbank, Bermuda, Costas outlined what he called his three conversions. The first took place in 1957 during the Billy Graham New York Crusade, when he crossed the frontier of saving faith in Jesus Christ, coming out of a restless and turbulent youth. The second was the rediscovery of his Hispanic American cultural roots and a renewed awareness of the importance of the church, which took him out of Bob Jones University into a pastoral ministry and university studies in Puerto Rico. The third was his "conversion to the world," when as a student in Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, ministry with a Spanish-speaking congregation in Milwaukee got him involved in social activism on behalf of his parishioners. His missiological work was an effort to incorporate every aspect of these conversions into a holistic perspective that can well be described by the title of one of his books, The Integrity of Mission. He did not view these conversions as accomplished facts; rather he sought to grow in depth in each one of them, incorporating his new experiences and reflections into a deeper understanding of his vocation.

Stages in a Missionary Pilgrimage

Orlando Enrique Costas was born in Puerto Rico, June 15, 1942, in the God-fearing Methodist family of Ventura Enrique Costas and Rosaline Rivera. He was twelve when his father immigrated to the United States, and Orlando experienced the traumatic uprooting of thousands of Puerto Ricans who have moved from the beautiful landscapes of the "island of enchantment" to the Hispanic ghettos of large U.S. cities. His conversion to Christ came in the middle of the identity crisis and rebelliousness that so many Hispanic young people experience. Twenty years later Costas recalled, "That night something strange occurred in my life . . . something unique did happen on June 8, 1957, in Madison Square Garden, and has been happening ever since." His sensitivity to the painful transition experienced by youth of ethnic minorities in U.S. society is matched by his emphasis on the transforming power of the Gospel that he experienced that night. This experience is probably the origin of his deeply held commitment to the centrality of evangelism for the life of the church. The church and its evangelizing task was the theme of his first book in 1971, and it was also the central thrust of his last and posthumous book Liberating News: A Theology of Contextual Evangelization.

The year after his conversion Costas found himself as a student in the well-known center of American fundamentalism, Bob Jones University in South Carolina. He credited his time there for the discovery of evangelism and the importance of preaching. Through the example of a Puerto Rican student colleague he developed "a passionate concern for the communication of the Gospel." But he also recalled a disturbing experience: "I came face to face with Anglo-Saxon culture in its worst form . . . the puritanical value system . . . the shameless defense and justification of racism . . . and the triumphalistic belief in the divine (manifest) destiny of the United States." He also became aware of the Latin American world and of what he called "my hidden Latin American identity."

Back in Connecticut and New York, at the age of nineteen, Costas became pastor of a small storefront church of the Disciples of Christ. He was an enthusiastic evangelist and a gifted musician whose voice had been professionally trained, but he became convinced that he needed biblical and theological training, for which he enrolled at Nyack Missionary College. While doing practical work at an Evangelical Free Church in Brooklyn, he met—and married—Rose Feliciano. Their marriage formed a decisive partnership. Costas's friend Guillermo Cook had this to say, "Certainly Orlando could not have functioned as he did without his lifelong lover, companion and executive secretary, Rose Feliciano Costas. She steadied him, carried out research, typed and retyped his manuscripts, handled all of his correspondence, managed the office, kept track of his busy schedule, endured his explosive temper and Latin machismo—and somehow found time to be an efficient wife and the mother of two lovely daughters, Annette and Dannette."

During a summer evangelistic tour of Puerto Rico, Costas became convinced that in order to minister to Latino people he needed to work and study in a Latino country. Thus he returned to his native Puerto Rico with Rose and their first daughter to be a student at the Inter American University and a pastor of the Yauco Baptist Church, where he was ordained February 13, 1965. Out of that formative experience he recalls the development of two of the most important convictions that shaped his missiology. First, he says, "I discovered the church as an institution; that is, as a complex system of distinctive beliefs, values, rites, symbols and relationships which maintain a line of continuity with the past and through which the Gospel is communicated and lived." Second, he declares, "These studies led me to rediscover my Puerto Rican identity, to affirm my Latin American cultural heritage, to begin to question the political hegemony of the United States in Latin America and to consciously break with its culture." In one of his books he recalls that at this stage he traveled to the Dominican Republic and experienced firsthand the 1965–66 crisis, when U.S. marines invaded that country to support a military coup against an elected president that the
Mission to Latin America

In February 1970 Orlando, Rose, and their daughters arrived in Costa Rica as a missionary family with the Latin America Mission. He was commissioned to teach in Biblical Seminary, San José, and to work with the Evangelism in Depth (IINDEF) team. By that time the main components of Costas’s missiology were in place. This is evident in his first book published in Spanish in March 1971, a little over a year after his arrival in San José. The book outlines the evangelistic mission of the church in four “dimensions”: biblical, theological, historical, and practical. This fourfold approach became characteristic of Costas’s missiological reflection. Two chapters in the final section explore the meaning of the mission of the church in a post-Christian age, a theme emphasized eleven years later in one of his most quoted books. In a period of intense evangelistic and educational activity between 1970 and 1974, Costas had a chance to develop his missiology in depth, as he responded with action and reflection to the demands of the Latin American context.

The list of positions Costas held during the 1970s reflects the versatility of his gifts but also the heavy demands of missionary life in one of the crucial decades of missiological creativity in the twentieth century, not only in Latin America but also around the world. He lived intensely this decade as witness or participant in the flourishing of liberation theologies, the foundation and development of the Latin American Theological Fraternity, the launching and growth of the Lausanne movement, the develop-
ment of the church growth movement, and the return of evangelism to the agenda of both the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. At the seminary in Costa Rica he was successively or simultaneously professor of communications and missiology, academic dean and coordinator of studies, and chair of the Department of Religious Communication. Beginning in 1972 he became active in the Latin American Theological Fraternity (LATF), and in 1977 he was elected to its Executive Committee. He became one of the prime movers of CLADE-II, the Second Latin American Congress on Evangelism (1979) called by the LATF. He wrote in 1984, “My theological reflection has been linked to the itinerary followed by the Fraternity.” At INDEF he was secretary of theological studies, later on secretary of research and communications, and then secretary of studies and publications.

Costas’s intense activism is reflected in a vast amount of written material: articles, reports, interviews, and chapters of books. One of the important ministries that he practiced was to encourage his colleagues to write and publish. After two years in Costa Rica he edited a volume in Spanish about the theology of evangelism, with contributions from eight of his colleagues. He had imposed on himself a discipline that many of his colleagues envied. He tried to write every one of his sermons, lectures, or presentations, later on adapting them for publication. In this way he kept a continuous reflection on praxis, relating his new insights with the ideas he had expressed earlier. A course on preaching that he taught in 1970 was published in 1973, and it continues to be one of the few textbooks on preaching written originally in Spanish that is at the same time practical and theologically informed. His first book in English appeared in 1974 and is based on the course “World Mission of the Church” that he taught in January 1973 at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. The book was saluted enthusiastically in a foreword by Paul Rees from World Vision: “What makes this book arresting and timely is that it springs from the informed mind and the aroused conscience not of a European or a North American but of a Latin.” Peter Wagner, of Fuller Seminary School of World Mission, stated that the book was “a substantial work on missionology,” and he warned readers, “Parts of it will irritate ecumenists to the core. . . . Costas’s material is not missiological Pablum, it is strong meat and must be read and studied as such.”

Costas believed that to publish was a way of carrying on an ecumenical and global dialogue, involving the submitting of one’s ideas to the purifying process of criticism and evaluation from others. His ideas were being developed within an atmosphere of confrontation, debate, and turmoil. Costas recalled, “No sooner had we begun to take a few steps toward the development of a Latin American theology and a contextual missiological reflection than we began to feel the heat from North America, particularly the United States. Since I was one of the most vocal of the San José LAM-related theologians, I began to be quoted and misquoted. . . . I decided to take the bull by the horns. I started to put in writing some of my developing missiological insights.” Intentionally, then, the book *The Church and Its Mission* was addressed to the evangelical missionary community in the United States. “But it was situated in the experience of a Puerto Rican Christian who, having been helped by the Anglo-American church earlier in his life, now felt constrained to minister prophetically to it.”

Research, reflection, and publishing in both Spanish and English were important aims of an institution that Costas designed and founded in 1973, the Latin American Center for Pastoral Studies (CELEP). According to Guillermo Cook, Costas was asked by several Latin American students and faculty of Biblical Seminary to create the evangelical equivalent of the Catholic Instituto de Pastoral Latinoamericana, which Cook described as “a think tank to which a number of the early liberation theologians belonged.” Through CELEP, Costas started two periodicals, one in Spanish (Pastoralia), the other in English (Occasional Essays, later Latin American Pastoral Issues), which became sources of information about missiological developments in Latin America and the world. Costas directed CELEP for six years.

Within the volatile social and theological ferment of that decade, Biblical Seminary became the focus of a bitter controversy at the center of which was liberation theology. Costas’s reading of the situation in his autobiographical notes identified three groups that were at odds with each other. One identified wholeheartedly with the new theology, one was open to interact critically with it, and one was diametrically opposed to it. Costas says that he was part of the second group, but he felt that the social and ecclesiastical context pushed toward polarization, and it was increasingly impossible to take a middle-of-the-road position. Finally there was a painful break with the seminary, though he says that the reasons for his leaving were more administrative and personal than theological. It was also a bitter disappointment: “The dream we had of making the Seminary an Evangelical institution committed to the Latin American context and independent from American missionary power centers had been frustrated (at least for me).”

Amsterdam and Back to Latin America

At the end of his first missionary term in Costa Rica, Costas and his family moved to the Netherlands, where he pursued doctoral studies in missiology at the Free University of Amsterdam under the famous Dutch missiologist Johannes Verkuyl. Here he wrote his doctoral thesis *Theology of the Crossroads in Contemporary Latin America*, which is a massive survey of missiological developments in mainline Protestantism in the period 1969–74. His trips through Latin America during his first missionary term in Costa Rica and his insatiable curiosity had enabled him to become familiar with the vast amount of literature generated within mainline Protestantism, especially in the ecumenical world. The thesis is a good source of historical and bibliographical information for anyone interested in understanding events, personalities, and movements from Latin America that had a decisive influence in shaping the agenda of Protestant ecumenism worldwide. Like other writings, his thesis reflects Costas’s commitment to take seriously the thinking of other theologians and missiologists, even if he might be critical of them.

From Amsterdam Costas’s family moved to Birmingham, England, where Orlando carried on research and taught as a William Paton Fellow at the well-known missionary training center in Selly Oak Colleges.
For his second missionary term in Costa Rica (1976–79) Costas was commissioned by the United Church Board for World Ministries. He recalled with a measure of pride and joy that he and Rose were commissioned in the same Congregational Church of Salem, Massachusetts, where Adoniram Judson had been commissioned 163 years earlier. In this new period Costas’s missionary work focused on the direction of CELEP, and he traveled extensively for short-term teaching and lecturing assignments all over Latin America. He was also active in the board of the Latin American Theological Fraternity. At this point he had been able to systematize his understanding of the mission of the church, and between 1975 and 1978 he completed The Integrity of Mission, which was published in 1979 simultaneously in English and Spanish. The introduction gives an idea of the audiences for whom the material was originally prepared: missionary and pastoral conferences of several mainline denominations in the United States. Costas states that he intended “to provide a popular interpretation of mission combining my evangelistic, theological, pastoral, ethical and liturgical interests with a holistic view of mission and a contextual biblical methodology.”

Back to the Hispanic Margin

During his second term in Costa Rica, Costas was in constant demand as a speaker and teacher not only through Latin America but also in other parts of the world. Invitations from Hispanic churches in the United States provided an opportunity to experience again the difficult but fertile transitions that these growing evangelical communities were experiencing. “During that period,” he recalls, “it became clear to me that I had an important ministry to fulfill as a minority, Hispanic missiologist.” He felt there was a need to interpret the Christian mission “from the periphery,” from the perspective of those Christians from ethnic minorities in North America who had not been the main actors of the missionary enterprise—Asians, blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans.

His return was made possible in the fall of 1980 by an invitation from Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania, to become the Thornley B. Wood Professor of Missions. Costas interpreted his missionary work in Latin America as a time in which he had been developing his perspective from the Latin American periphery. His return to North America did not mean a change of locus or perspective, “I came back . . . not to be one more professional in the growing American ‘missiological market’ but rather to continue to do missiology from the periphery—this time the periphery of the American metropolis.”

In his installation address at Eastern, February 20, 1980, Costas reflected about the seminary’s motto “The whole Gospel for the whole world,” inverting the terms of the famous phrase to “The whole world for the whole Gospel.” He stressed his contextual concern in order to take seriously the conflictive world in which mission was to take place in the 1980s, involving its culture, institutions, and structures. At the same time, he affirmed his evangelical conviction that had been deepened and enriched with a holistic thrust during his Latin American missionary experience. His words were an agenda of what education for mission should be: “If we can enable Christian women and men to see the billions who have yet to hear the good news of salvation, to commit their lives to their integral evangelization, and to acquire the necessary analytical tools and communication skills to facilitate such a task; if we can enable them to have prophetic courage and confront social institutions with the demands of the gospel; and if we can foster in them a ‘spirituality for combat’ we shall have been indeed faithful to the whole Gospel and sensitive to the fullness of the world to which God has sent us.”

At Eastern, Costas found a community that had been moving toward the recovery of an evangelical legacy of holistic mission. The seminary had a theological tradition that included openly evangelical theologians such as Bernard Ramm and Culbert Rutenber. Ronald Sider, activist theologian and founder of Evangelicals for Social Action, became one of Costas’s colleagues. Sider had written the foreword to The Integrity of Mission. The student body at Eastern has a significant African-American presence, and the seminary was committed to ethnic pluralism and integration also at the faculty level. Besides thriving in his teaching activity, Costas established links with the Hispanic communities in the northeastern region of the United States, and as a result of his initiative Eastern created a department of Hispanic ministries, offering courses and conferences in Spanish. An important collection of books in Spanish and about the Hispanic world was developed intentionally in the library and named after Santiago Soto Fontánez, a well-known American Baptist from Puerto Rico who had done missionary work in New York. For theological education with a special emphasis on laypeople from minorities, Costas designed the Eastern School of Pastoral Care. At Eastern, Costas became a moving force behind two conferences of evangelical mission

Costas reflected powerfully on the incarnation as the key for a contextual missionary practice.
theologians from Africa, Asia, and Latin America in 1982 and 1984. Thus the International Fellowship of Mission Theologians from the Two Thirds World (INFEMIT) was formed and has continued to foster dialogue, education, and publications. His commitment to a North-South dialogue got him involved also in the consultation “Conflict and Context: Hermeneutics in the Americas,” sponsored by the Theological Students Fellowship of InterVarsity in the United States and by the Latin American Theological Fraternity. Costas also developed some analytic tools that guided the research and projects of several Doctor of Ministry students at Eastern.

In 1984 Costas was invited to take the position of dean and the Adoniram Judson Chair of Missiology at Andover Newton Theological Seminary, Newton Centre, Massachusetts. He expected to use his administrative position for the development of projects and institutions that would express his missiological convictions, just as he had done at Eastern. He was also optimistic about summarizing his missiology in a three-part book about contextual evangelization. He took with him the manuscript of the first volume when, in February 1987, he and Rose traveled to Israel for what was to be a three-month sabbatical. After a few weeks he did not feel well. A medical examination showed that he was affected by terminal cancer, and they returned to the United States. With the strength and persistence that had characterized their missionary life, Orlando and Rose began a battle that would last only a few months. After an operation he was able to fulfill a dream, to speak at the 1987 biennial meeting of American Baptists, his own denomination. Orlando was able to bring his message of hope and faith in the resurrection when he spoke about glorifying God by death or by life. His theme was partnership, and he reflected on the fact that his sickness had allowed him to experience the partnership and solidarity in prayer and concern from hundreds of brothers and sisters around the world. On November 5, 1987, at the age of forty-five, the man who had crossed so many borders as a missionary crossed the final border to meet his Lord.

A Missiological Legacy

In spite of his short life Costas left a valuable missiological legacy. It was valuable partly because he was a prolific writer but also, as several colleagues and scholars have observed, because he was consistent in his reflection about his pilgrimage and about the missiological agenda that we must pursue, especially in the Americas. Plutarco Bonilla summarized well the fivefold stance that was the trademark of Costas’s missiology. His was a missiology that was done from the ground of commitment to the church; it made sense because it started with commitment to Jesus Christ; it was grounded in the human reality in which the church was immersed; it was carried on within the frame of ecumenicity; and it was done from a stance of commitment to those to whom Jesus Christ himself was committed. In what follows I outline some aspects of Orlando Costas’s legacy that in my opinion are suggestive guidelines for missiological work in this new century.

By vocation and practice Costas was essentially a missiologist whose activity set the agenda for his writings. He defined his missiology that was done from the ground of commitment to the church; it made sense because it started with commitment to Jesus Christ; it was grounded in the human reality in which the church was immersed; it was carried on within the frame of ecumenicity; and it was done from a stance of commitment to those to whom Jesus Christ himself was committed. In what follows I outline some aspects of Orlando Costas’s legacy that in my opinion are suggestive guidelines for missiological work in this new century.

Galilee and Macedonia

A sustained creative engagement with the biblical text is at the heart of Liberating News. Each chapter expounds a Bible passage in search for images and paradigms that allow Costas to develop a theology of evangelization from what he calls a “radical evangelical tradition” characterized by “a stream of evangelical theology and spirituality with a burning passion for world evangelization.” This reference to theology, spirituality, and evangelistic passion represents a departure from the traditional Anglo-Saxon evangelical emphasis on orthodox doctrine. This shift is confirmed when Costas refers to his four theological principles: “Scripture as a rule of faith and practice, salvation by grace through faith, conversion as a distinct experience of faith and a landmark of Christian identity, and the demonstration of the new life through piety and moral discipline.” By the explicit reference to truth and life, to theology and piety, to doctrine and missionary practice, Costas is underlining what evangelicals from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as from black and Hispanic churches in the United States, have emphasized: “Taking its missiological concern and theological principles to their roots and ultimate consequences.”

His Latin American pilgrimage had made Costas aware of the historical and social conditioning of the missionary enterprise. In one of the most forceful chapters in Christ Outside the Gate, he denounced the perennial alliance between the missionary enterprise and Western imperialism. “It was not by accident that mission work took an entrepreneurial shape. It occurred because the modern missionary movement is the child of the world of free enterprise.” He went on to say that the missionary movement had been an instrument for legitimating and preparing the way for agents of liberal economics or politics. That relationship explained why mission societies adopted entrepre-
neural strategies. Later in his career, however, as seen for instance in *Liberating News*, the tone of denunciation moved toward a more nuanced appreciation of the historical and missiological significance of “world formative” missionary movements such as those of Wesley, Carey, and the Moravians.

In his search for biblical light about the historical facts of mission, Costas takes us to a creative reading of the Gospel of Mark, in which he finds “the evangelistic legacy of Jesus.” Focusing on the many references to Galilee as a starting point for mission, Costas concludes “that Galilee is a ‘key’ not only to understanding Mark but also to recovering and interpreting Jesus’ evangelistic legacy. I see in Mark a model of contextual evangelization from the periphery.” He believed he had found a hermeneutical key that allowed him to understand better what mission will be in the twenty-first century, when it will be based in the churches of the poor and the periphery of the nations. Instead of a mission based in Jerusalem, the center of power that can easily co-opt the missionary enterprise, Costas visualized a Galilean model: “But if we take Galilee as a serious evangelistic context, our praxis will never be alienating, dull, static or without challenge. For we will be forced to ask, Where is our base, who is our target audience and what is the scope of our evangelistic praxis? These are the types of questions that help us recover the prophetic, liberating, holistic and global apostolic legacy in the tradition of Jesus, our Messiah and Lord, Savior and Teacher.”

The socioreligious analysis of the United States as a mission field was also one of the issues that Costas pursued after his return from Latin America. The changing ethnocultural panorama of the nation is described critically in *Christ Outside the Gate*, where he placed under his missiological lens the crisis of church and theology in mainline Protestantism. One of his chapter titles is especially apt: “A New Macedonia: The United States as a Mission Field for Third World Christians.” More than a simplistic denunciation of the plight of minorities, here Costas offers an appraisal of the tremendous missionary possibilities of incoming minorities for a true conversion of American Christianity to Jesus Christ. Costas hears a Macedonian call coming from the critical American situation and sets a missionary agenda for Third World Christians in North America: they can serve as a mirror for the critical self-understanding of American churches; they can offer models of authentic contextualization; they can provide meaningful paradigms of dynamic, liberating church leadership in contrast with the highly clericalized American church; and they can offer a partnership for radical discipleship.

**Missiology Within a New Ecumenicity**

His missionary experience and his participation in Evangelism in Depth gave Costas an acute awareness of the deep divisions that separate Christians in Latin America. He tried to develop a bridge-building ministry fostering and provoking dialogue between Protestants related to the World Council of Churches, evangelicals, and Pentecostals. Costas was active in CLAI, the WCC-related ecumenical movement in Latin America, and also in the World Evangelical Fellowship. He was one of the evangelicals who participated in the Evangelical–Roman Catholic Dialogue on Mission (ERCDOM, 1977–84). He could not always convince all his Latin American colleagues that they should cross the borders he crossed, but all sectors acknowledged the authenticity of his commitment to have fellowship and partnership with whoever shared his pressing sense of missionary obligation. This commitment accounts for the recognition of his missiological work in a wide diversity of circles. Besides his disciplined reflection and his administrative gifts, this ecumenical stance was also his valuable contribution to the Latin American Theological Fraternity. When we look at the sources of his thought beginning with his first book in 1971, we find all kinds of Catholic and Protestant thinkers.

Being a Hispanic theologian raised in the United States was an advantage for Costas; it explains in part his ecumenical spirit and vocation. On the one hand, he did not have that deep sense of being part of a religious minority discriminated against by Catholics, which is part of the experience of evangelical thinkers in Latin America. On the other hand, his way of understanding the Hispanic heritage was a polemical one because he had an acute sense of being part of a Hispanic minority within a predominant Anglo-Saxon culture. As a Puerto Rican who grew painfully into an awareness of his Latin heritage, he had come to perceive insensitive conservative Protestantism as part of the oppressive structure under which that minority lives. I think this awareness explains the promptness with which Costas adopted some of the categories of liberation theologies and their persistent anti-U.S. rhetoric. It is an experience that historian Justo L. González has described aptly. The other advantage Costas had as a Hispanic from North America was to be an American Baptist, a member of a pluralist denomination in which there is room for a truly contextual theological position.

Besides his fertile reflection and writing, Costas’s legacy is also evident in the work of his disciples. In spite of the hurried pace of his trips, his administrative duties, and his missiological involvements, he spared time to give guidance and encouragement, especially to many young theologians who saw in him a mentor and a teacher. His advice and academic counsel were accompanied by efforts to create opportunities for the younger generation in missiological debates and publishing ventures. In that regard his passing left a deep vacuum in the Hispanic world of the northeastern region of the United States.

I have been able to trace Costas’s influence in a variety of persons who acknowledge their debt to their teacher. Rev. Luis Cortés, whom Costas invited to work with him at Eastern Baptist Seminary, has developed Hispanic Clergy—Nueva Esperanza, a well-respected institution in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Its work of advocacy, job-training, nonformal theological education, and evangelism serves the growing Hispanic community as an expression of the “integrity of mission” that Costas championed. In Argentina, Dr. Norberto Saracco, who was Costas’s student in Costa Rica, leads FIET, a church-based theological formation-by-extension program that embodies the ideals of what Costas tried to do in CELEP. Guillermo Cook wrote, “Probably the greatest gift that Orlando had was that of discipleship. He poured himself into the lives of others and, more often than not, caused their creativity to bloom.” Cook recalled his own experience: “Orlando recognized some theological instincts in a discouraged and poorly equipped missionary (which my North American leaders had failed to detect) and encouraged, nudged, and bullied me into advanced studies. And in the process he opened me up to a whole new way of understanding and practicing theology—from the perspective of marginalized people.” The result was Cook’s book *The Expectation of the Poor*, a classic study about the Christian base communities.

More than a decade after his departure, the missionary legacy of Orlando Costas is a vibrant and continuous challenge for all of us at the beginning of a new century. It is a legacy that illustrates well the decisive paradigm shift that missiology requires of the new generation.
Notes


2. La iglesia y su misión evangelizadora (Buenos Aires: Editorial La Aurora, 1971).


15. Christ Outside the Gate, p. xiii.


17. Costas wrote, “It was from this platform that I carried on my missiological reflection during my second period of service in Costa Rica (1976–1980),” “Teólogo en la encrucijada,” p. 29.

18. Ibid., p. 31.


22. Christ Outside the Gate, p. xiii.

23. Ibid., p. xiv.

24. Ibid., p. 172.

25. Predicción evangélica y teología hispana (San Diego: Publicaciones de las Américas, 1982).


33. Liberating News, pp. 49, 70.

34. Christ Outside the Gate, pp. 71–85.


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The Legacy of Bengt Sundkler

Eric J. Sharpe

When Bengt Sundkler died in Uppsala, Sweden, on April 5, 1995, at the age of eighty-five, he left behind two incomplete manuscripts. One was his long-promised book A History of the Church in Africa (since completed by Christopher Steed and published in 2000 by Cambridge University Press). The other was to have been an autobiography. Although not yet ready for publication, the text—partly written at the very end of his life, partly compiled by a close friend from articles, letters, diaries, and personal reflections—is both informative and moving. Especially in his last years, the only thing Bengt Sundkler really wanted to do was to write. He wrote constantly, almost always with a fountain pen in a none-too-legible longhand on small sheets of notepaper. Another indispensable item of equipment was the 3 x 5 inch index card, of which he must have filled many hundreds of thousands during the course of his writing career.

In a letter written in 1982 Sundkler confessed that to him writing was a therapeutic process not unlike prayer. But citizen of the world and accomplished linguist as he was (how many European and African languages he read and spoke with ease and fluency no one will ever know), his mother tongue was Swedish, and it was in Swedish he expressed himself best. All his professional life he was somewhat at the mercy of translators and tidiers-up where his English texts were concerned; in one case the process almost spoiled an important book altogether. In Swedish he was, like his mentor Nathan Soderblom, clear, crisp, and lucid.

Sundkler, the Family Name

Bengt Gustaf Malcolm Sundkler was born on May 7, 1909, in the little town of Vindeln, in the north of Sweden, not far from the Gulf of Bothnia. His father, Gustaf Fredrik Sundkler (1881-1958), owned an all-purpose store; his mother, Lilly, née Bergman (1883-1963), came of a large and cultured family. The family name “Sundkler” sounds slightly odd to most Swedes, and it sounded odder in the years before Swedish surnames could be changed. Bengt was the illegitimate son of Count Carl Gustaf Sinclair, and in 1919, greatly daring, he had changed his family's name to something like Sinclair, namely, Sundkler.

Also in 1919 the family moved to the coastal town of Umeå, where Bengt attended high school and developed a passion for the history of literature in general, and Scandinavian literature in particular. The family home had been in a district in which pietist revivalism had taken firm root, though the family had held fast to its links with the Lutheran Church. Bengt in these early years gained an instinctive understanding of “vernacular religion,” the intense, deeply felt faith of the ordinary people of Sweden—and in due course, of Africa. This gifted young man soon began to carry off prizes and to assume a leadership role in the local student Christian movement. It had been decided by this stage that he would study theology at the University of Uppsala, with a view to a career in the ministry of the Church of Sweden. What else the future might hold, he had not the slightest idea.

Student in Uppsala

Early in 1929 we find Sundkler already well established in Uppsala (he may have arrived in the previous fall) and deeply immersed in biblical studies. The book that influenced him the most, he afterward wrote, had been the Dane Johannes Pedersen’s massive and masterly Israel (2 vols., 1920; in English 1926; 2nd ed., 1934). Then came a wholly unexpected invitation to lodge in the home of Professor Anton Fridrichsen (1888-1953), Norwegian by birth, professor of New Testament exegesis in Uppsala since 1928.

These days, the name of Fridrichsen is barely known to non-Scandinavians, and there is little enough that can be done here to explain his position in the “biblical theology” movement. This much, however, must be said: Fridrichsen had left Norway disillusioned with meaningless squabbles between ultraconservative and ultraliberal factions, neither of which understood the other’s position, each of which, trying to avoid error, had simply fallen into the opposite error. Fridrichsen’s way was to emphasize the centrality of the church in the New Testament, together with the centrality of mission as a function of the church, and not merely the concern of a few enthusiasts. In reading about these early Uppsala years, one has to keep constantly reminding oneself that Bengt Sundkler was still a very young man in the early 1930s, immature, impulsive, and unsure of his future. But it had been decided that having graduated, he should go spend a year studying in France (Strasbourg and Paris). News of this decision reached Archbishop Nathan Soderblom, and Sundkler, then twenty-one, was called in for an interview. This was in March 1931, and although no one could have known it at the time, Soderblom had only a very few more months to live (he died in July 1931). Soderblom’s idea was that Sundkler should study ecclesiastical law, with a view to a teaching post in that field. Fortunately for missiology, the subject proved unappealing. On his return to Uppsala, Sundkler became Fridrichsen’s personal assistant and, with the older man’s support, launched into a lifetime of publishing. His first book—his “only best-seller”—he wryly called it—was on infant baptism in the New Testament. Then came “Jésus et les païens,” of which more in a moment. First, though, a brief word about “the forgotten revival.”

The Oxford Groups

For a couple of years in the mid-1930s, Sundkler was deeply involved in, and indeed a leader of, the Oxford Group movement (subsequently Moral Re-Armament) in Uppsala. The movement had been founded in 1921 by an American Lutheran minister, Frank Buchman (1878-1961), as a program of world renewal based on individual commitment to four absolutes—absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love. It believed in...
the confession of sins publicly and the bearing of testimony to one’s “change,” that is, conversion, also in the reality of “guidance”—divine instruction communicated individually. It was Oxford policy to meet not in churches but in “house parties” in an entirely informal milieu. Intense one-to-one contacts between the “changed” and the merely curious replaced the normal Christian pattern of worship.

In later years, many of those who had been involved in the movement in the 1930s tended to be reluctant to admit it, often as much for political and cultural as for religious reasons. On the political front, Buchman’s people were passionately anti-Communist in the 1930s, anti-Nazi in the 1940s (nowhere more so than in occupied Norway and Denmark), anti-Communist again in the cold war years. Buchman himself many Scandinavians found unimpressive; his American helpers they regarded with little or no respect. William Temple put his finger on a theological weak spot when he pointed out that “the Groups” simply could not be substituted for the church, since they had no place for “worship in the sense of adoration” and left no room for “the social reference of the Gospel.” But that the Oxford Group movement served in the Scandinavia of the 1930s as something between an emetic and a tonic is beyond question.

Bengt Sundkler, for his part, slipped out of the movement at the time of his missionary candidature and in later years had little to say about it.10

Early Publications

All his life Sundkler was a productive, indeed a compulsive, writer. His earliest published production, written under the benevolent shadow of Anton Fridrichsen, was his work on infant baptism. Then in 1937 appeared the two works that marked the end of his academic apprenticeship, one huge, the other tiny. The massive tome was his doctoral dissertation, “Svenska Missionssällskapet, 1835–1876,” 614 pages long and a masterpiece of old-style historiography in all its Gründlichkeit. It was remarkably plain in point of style, being written in the kind of Swedish of which Nathan Soderblom had been a master: short sentences, no labyrinthine syntax or chains of subordinate clauses. Being an “inhouse” study, it was not in any sense aimed at a world readership. It was far other with “Jesuetselaïens” (Jesus and the Gentiles), an essay less than 40 pages in length, first published in a Strasbourg journal in 1936 and reprinted in Uppsala in 1937, though still in French. Why no one has thought to publish an English translation remains something of a mystery.11 Here we have an outstanding essay in the biblical theology of mission, centered on the question of the relationship between “particularism” and “universalism” in the mission of Jesus and the early church: Was the opening of “a door of faith for the Gentiles” (Acts 14:27) more or less an accident, or was it intended from the first? And could such a shift in focus take place without serious consequences for the future? That these questions, bequeathed to the world by the young radicals of the history-of-religions school, still have not been settled, is a sign of their continuing importance. And at a time when conservative theologians were playing by one set of rules, liberals by another, and historians, exegetes, sociologists, and anthropologists by others again, to publish an article like this was a bold venture—though what is youth for, if not to take risks? Sundkler’s suggestion was that the particularism-versus-universalism question might find a resolution in the idea of the omphalos—the navel or center of the earth, first used of Delphi, but here applied to Jerusalem. “From there, remaining there, you can move the world.”12

Into Africa

Bengt Sundkler did not remain, as he might well have remained, in his own Jerusalem, moving the world by the power of his pen. Before 1937 was out he had married (on September 18) and set sail with his new bride for South Africa. Concerning Ingeborg Sundkler, née Morén (1907–69), much might be written. Born in Johannesburg, beautiful and gifted, she was really happy only in Africa; in Sweden she often felt isolated and neglected. Had there been children of the marriage, things might have been different; unfortunately there were not.

That the Sundklers found themselves in Natal was not the result of a classic missionary call of the “rescue the perishing” kind. “In my case,” wrote Bengt later, “the call was presented to me by a mission secretary, representing the Church, suggesting that I take on an international task where I was needed.” The task was meant to be theological education, the field Zululand. But routine pastoral work, first in the coal-mining town of Dundee, in northern Natal, and then in Ceza, northern Zululand (a so-called reserve), was his first priority until 1941, when he was finally able for a few weeks to teach at the Ronke’s Drift Theological Seminary as a replacement for a teacher who had been bitten by a green mamba! He lost no opportunity to develop and refine his knowledge of the Zulu language, in which he became exceptionally proficient. He was given an honorific Zulu military title, Phondolwendlou, “elephant-tusk,” of which he was always immensely proud.

In 1938/39 Sundkler published his first “Africa book,” a sixty-eight-page account of life in a Zulu Christian congregation, Makitika, a Ceza outstation where the Sundklers had spent some time in the course of their language studies in 1938. Entitled En ljushård (A light-center, or beacon), this little book centers on the encounter between Christian mission and African traditional religion, seen against the background of a rapidly changing Africa. “What I most of all wanted during my time in Makitika,” he wrote, “was to get as realistic a picture as possible of our Christians and our congregation there, their everyday lives and everyday problems. These everyday problems are not roaring lions and slinking leopards. But they are problems of adaptation in a difficult situation.” Here we have the first preliminary sketch of a work that was to occupy him for the rest of his active life, and the methodology that was to sustain it—observant, realistic, personal, historically and not least sociologically focused. To this list we must add “theologically.” Sundkler had by this time outgrown “Oxford” and its house-parties and was settling firmly into a theological position later sometimes called High-Church pietism (hochkirchlicher Pietismus), in which evangelistic zeal and social concern were accompanied by a deep love of the church and its liturgical and doctrinal traditions. One might also speak in this connection of Lutheranism, with a parallel to Anglo-Catholicism, with which it indeed enjoyed close connections.

Sundkler’s ministry exhibited evangelistic zeal, social concern, and a deep love of the liturgical and doctrinal traditions of the church.
Bantu Prophets

Sundkler’s international reputation as an Africanist was secured by the publication in 1948 of *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (2d ed., 1961), his first substantial book in English. In his memoirs he afterward recorded how in the late 1920s he had come across a doctoral dissertation about radical pietists in the north of Sweden. In Zululand he was literally surrounded by radical pietists, charismatics, each group usually led by a prophet or a prophet-ess. In the end he opted for the name “Zionists” for these people. Most had once been members of mainstream mission churches but had opted out. Why? A clue was provided at a Lenten service by a young pastor to apologize: “You announced hymn number 154. But that hymn is so strong that when I begin to sing it, I start to shake.” Sundkler’s wise response was to apologize for his church’s woodenness and lack of sensitivity: “Mame—my Mother—this church house is not my building. It belongs to God and to you. If you must shake, do so here. You are free.” This was the beginning of the long road that led, eight years later, to his pioneering study *Bantu Prophets* and, later still, to its sequel, *Zulu Zion* (1976).

First, though, there was practical missionary work to be done, this time in what was still Tanganyika, more precisely Bukoba in the north of the country, on the western shore of Lake Victoria. German missionaries previously working in the area had been interned at the outbreak of war; the Church of Sweden Mission had been asked to provide assistance, and the Sundklers volunteered. There were two new languages to be learned—Swahili and Luhaya—a Bantu language like Zulu but quite different phonetically, Swahili the lingua franca of the region. There was traveling, administration, negotiation, and observation. Again a by-product was a book, *Ung kyrka i Tanganyika* (Young church in Tanganyika; written in 1943 but not published until 1948). In his memoirs many years later Sundkler wrote that, at the time, this was “the first mission book with a theological direction, until the publication of *Bantu Prophets* in 1948). In his memoirs many years later Sundkler.
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Bukoba and dressing on solemn occasions in Anglican style.\textsuperscript{21} Not that he was taking his ease in an equatorial Zion; once more he was the working missionary, doing what he had always done best—meeting and talking to people, traveling, observing, and taking notes. Why had an African church chosen a Westerner as their bishop just then? Certainly not as an extension of an outworn colonialism (for which Swedes in the early 1960s had a profound loathing). This period in Bukoba may perhaps be seen as similar to that of a pilot aboard a soundly built but untried vessel on its way to an uncertain voyage on the high seas. When the time came—as it did very soon—the expatriate bishop simply handed things over to the crew.

Sundkler’s ecumenical commitments (which very few in Uppsala either understood or appreciated) grew steadily in these years. Most significant of the many meetings he attended, by this time as vice president of the IMC, was the 1961 General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi, where he succumbed to a bout of severe food poisoning, though not before he was able to sum up fifty years of IMC work at the council’s last conference.

Return to Uppsala

Too soon Sundkler was back again in Uppsala, “out of the swing of the sea” but, workaholic as he was, writing as frantically as ever. After New Delhi 1961, the WCC had chosen Uppsala as the venue of its next general assembly, in 1968. Why not seize the opportunity to celebrate the life and work of Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, one of the founders of the ecumenical movement in the 1920s, but sadly neglected since (especially in an ungrateful Sweden)? Sundkler’s Söderblom study was in part vintage Sundkler, in part (though only a small part) hurried, but, compared with other ponderous ecumenical biographies, fresh and above all personal. There followed a smaller volume of Söderblom essays in Swedish, which is even better in some ways. It was in Sundkler’s mind to embark on a full-scale Söderblom biography in Swedish, which however, was not to be. In any case, there had to be a final rounding-off and summing-up in one volume of almost half a century of work on the history of Christianity in Africa.

At first he was in two minds about whether to assemble a team of historians to tackle it, or whether to go for a solo performance. In the end, Roland Oliver advised him against the team approach: “That kind of thing will not work. One person should write it. I suggest that you do it.” Many were afraid that like Stephen Neill in similar circumstances, he had left it too late, and it was far from complete at the time of his death; but thanks to Christopher Steed, this fitting tribute to the life and work of a great missiologist is now available.

The Missiologist

There remains to say a few words about Sundkler’s last years as a teacher of missiology.\textsuperscript{22} The present writer left Uppsala in the summer of 1965, after which time our contacts were irregular, though not before the appearance of my English translation of Sundkler’s textbook Missionens Värld (1963) as \textit{The World of Mission} (1965). Thereafter Sundkler was immersed in researching and writing his Nathan Söderblom biography. Thirty years on, it is apparent that the year 1968 marked a watershed in ecumenical and missionary affairs, as in politics and so much else. The words “mission” and “missionary” fell so totally out of favor as to be almost banned from polite conversation in some quarters. The danger was now that they were coming to be so far identified with a discredited colonial past that the missionary record was either ignored altogether or distorted beyond all recognition. Now all the talk was of dialogue, liberation, contextualization, empowerment. Very early in the 1960s, Sundkler was saying to his graduate students that it was now or never, as far as the writing of responsible missionary history was concerned. How right he was none of us quite realized at the time; if fair history were not written, unfair history certainly soon would be. Hence the sense of urgency with which he labored on, even after the devastating blow of Ingeborg’s death from cancer in November 1969.

What manner of man was Bengt Sundkler? Others know far better than I, but everyone knew that he was impulsive, that he could be erratic and bad-tempered, and that the black dog of depression sometimes ran him into a corner. His capacity for sustained work was phenomenal. On one occasion toward the end of his life he called himself “God’s little sleepwalker,” and on another, he wrote in his diary, “I am carried by angels, softly, softly. They are so kind to me.” Over and over again, in my mind’s eye, the images of Nathan Söderblom and Bengt Sundkler merge into one (their photographs look down on me as I write), and I remember Söderblom’s epigraph: “When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, ye are unworthy servants: we have done that which was our duty to do” (Luke 17:10).

But it was Bengt Sundkler the Zulus called \textit{Phondolwendllovu}. How good to be remembered like that!

Notes

1. I should like to record my gratitude to Christopher Steed and Marja-Liisa Swantz for letting me see various versions of the text (though I have not quoted extensively from them). Two Festschriften were published, in 1969 and 1984, the second of which contains more biographical information than the first. Both include fairly full Sundkler bibliographies.


3. In his autobiography Sundkler makes particular mention of having read a doctoral dissertation that dealt with radical Pietism in eighteenth-century Sweden. It was Emanuel Linderholm’s “Sven Rosén och Hävd insats i frihetstidens radikala pietism” (1911). In the interwar years Linderholm gained a certain notoriety as an extreme but wholly unoriginal liberal.

4. There is little by or about Fridrichsen in English. See, however, Fridrichsen et al., \textit{The Root of the Vine: Essays in Biblical Theology} (London: Dacre Press, 1953).


6. \textit{Hur gammalt är barnodopets sakrament?} (How old is the sacrament of infant baptism?) (Uppsala, 1933).


8. Sven Stolpe, \textit{Stormens är Memoarer} (Years of storm: Memoirs), vol. 2

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There is a touch of bitterness in references in the manuscript. Major Works by Sundkler denotes twenty-six titles on a wide variety of subjects, a fair proportion of them academic dissertations, written to a greater or lesser extent under Sundkler’s supervision. Sundkler, however, was not the type of professor who was intent on creating a “school” made up of copies of himself; he enthused his students, but it was my impression that he did not really train them beyond a certain point. At an academic dinner in 1965 I dared to apply to him a text from Job, “Yet man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward.” If the mark of a good supervisor is the capacity to strike sparks, then Bengt Sundkler was one of the best.

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*1948 Ung kyrka i Tanganyika (Young church in Tanganyika). Stockholm: SKDB.


**Major Works by Sundkler** (other than in Swedish)


**Festschriften**


The Current State of Religious Freedom

Paul Marshall

During the late 1990s and into the new millennium, the overall situation of religious freedom in the world has deteriorated. It is particularly bad in the larger Asian countries such as China, India, Pakistan, and Indonesia and in other large-population countries such as Nigeria. Western Europe has also become less religiously free because of widespread concern over “cults.” Some areas, such as Latin America, have improved. Others such as Africa, the former Soviet Union, and the Middle East have remained fairly stable, the latter two at a low level of religious freedom, and the last having one of the poorest records of the world.

Another important feature is the increasing religious element in conflict. The fighting between Israel and the Palestinians reflects much more religious rhetoric, identification, and claims than did the intifada of the late 1980s, and more than the overtly secular/nationalist struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. Similar tendencies have been manifest in Kashmir, Nigeria, and Indonesia.

The Spread of Religious Freedom

Religious freedom and religious persecution affect all religious groups. A variety of groups—Christians and animists in Sudan, Baha’i in Iran, Ahmadiyas in Pakistan, Buddhists in Tibet, and Falun Gong in China—are now perhaps the most intensely persecuted, while Christians as a group are the most widely persecuted. But there is no religious group in the world that does not suffer to some degree because of its beliefs. Religions, whether large, such as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism, or small, such as Bahá’í, Jehovah’s Witness, or Judaism, all experience some degree of repression. In many cases restrictions come from people who are members of the same general religious group but who are part of a different subgroup. Thus non-Orthodox Christians in Russia, Greece, and Armenia suffer discrimination from the Orthodox, while Shi’ite Muslims in Pakistan and Afghanistan suffer persecution and even death from some of the dominant Sunni groups.

Religious freedom is also not confined to any one area or continent. There are relatively free countries in every continent (see figure 1). South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, South Africa, Botswana, and Namibia are freer than France and Belgium. Latin America also has relatively high scores. There are absolutely no grounds for thinking that religious freedom is an exclusively Western concern or achievement.

Some Westerners and Third World leaders in China and Vietnam emphasize “economic rights,” “Asian values,” and “cultural relativism” and denigrate civil rights, such as religious freedom, as quasiliuxuries that need be advanced, if at all, only when more basic needs such as food and shelter have been achieved. Proponents of these views should be challenged with the fact that several Asian countries, such as South Korea and Taiwan, which have a background of poverty and exploitation, and with Confucian traditions as strong as China and Vietnam, both value and successfully defend religious freedom, and that desperately poor African countries can do the same. Religious freedom is desired throughout the world and has been achieved throughout the world. It is a moral travesty of the highest order to pretend that because people are hungry and cold it is legitimate to repress and persecute them as well.

Regional Variations

While high levels of religious freedom occur in every area, there are still large regional variations. The Western European and North Atlantic area countries covered in this survey all score from 1 to 3 and thus show a high level of religious freedom. (This survey covers seventy-five countries, which contain approximately 90 percent of the world’s population. Following Freedom House practice, I will call countries with a score of 1–3 “free.”)

Figure 1. Religious Freedom by Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Freedom Rating</th>
<th>Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe</th>
<th>North Africa and West Asia</th>
<th>Western Europe and North Atlantic</th>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Sub-Saharan Africa</th>
<th>Latin America</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Estonia</td>
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<td>Finland</td>
<td>Russia</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Azerbaijan</td>
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<td>Uzbekistan</td>
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<td>Turkmenistan</td>
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There is a deterioration of religious freedom and an increased religious rhetoric in regional conflicts.

4–5 “partly free,” and 6–7 “not free.”) The countries of Latin America also score well; all those listed are “free,” except Colombia, Mexico, and Cuba. A similar pattern occurs in sub-Saharan Africa, where several countries score “free”; Nigeria (“5”) and Tanzania (“4”) score “partly free.” In the African case, however, we cover relatively few countries, and it is probable that other countries (such as war-torn Angola, Congo, Liberia, or Sierra Leone) would not rate well. Yet, given the fact that several African countries are “free,” one must conclude that there is nothing endemic to the continent preventing other countries from doing as well.

The countries of eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union cover a very widespread, from Estonia, rated a 1, to Turkmenistan, rated a 7. There are countries at each level, with those bordering the Baltic (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland), as well as Hungary, Romania, and Ukraine, rated “free.” Most countries (ten out of nineteen) are at the intermediate levels of 4 and 5. Other Freedom House surveys indicate that these countries are in transition, cannot remain at an intermediate level, and are likely to move to higher or lower levels.

Asian countries also show a wide spread, though with more countries at the “partly free” and “not free” levels. East Asian countries (Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, and the Philippines, as well as Mongolia) score best for religious freedom. The poorest scores are registered by Communist powers (China, Tibet, North Korea, and Vietnam) and East Timor, where chaos rules. The only other “not free” countries surveyed are Burma and Bhutan.

The area from northern Africa through the eastern Mediterranean to East Asia exhibits a nearly complete range of scores. Israel (excluding the occupied territories) scores a 3, Lebanon and Greece and Morocco a 4, and Egypt and Turkey a 5. The other countries score 6 (Mauritania, Pakistan) or 7 (Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Iran). These findings (as well as those for other areas) are consistent with the general area findings for all political rights and civil liberties contained in Freedom House’s general survey “Freedom in the World 2000” (available at http://www.freedomhouse.org/survey/2000, which also explains the criteria for assigning the scores 1–7).

**Religious Variations**

There is similar variation in the religious background of religious freedom. This is obviously a complex matter, since current regimes may reflect comparatively little of a country’s religious background. China, Tibet, and Vietnam all have a largely Buddhist background, but current religious repression comes at the hand of Communist regimes, which profess to be atheistic materialists. Turkey has an Islamic background, but the present government is an aggressively secular one that represses peaceful Muslim expression. Similarly, largely Catholic East Timor had, until the fall of 1999, been under Indonesian occupation, and the current lack of religious freedom reflects the damage and chaos left in the aftermath of Indonesian military withdrawal rather than explicit faults in the current administration. A survey taken thirty years ago would have found many traditionally Christian countries in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union “not free,” since they were ruled by Communists. Nevertheless the overall patterns can be revealing (see figure 2).

Historically Christian countries tend to score well in religious freedom, with an average rating of 3. This result parallels other Freedom House findings, which indicate that traditionally Christian countries have tended to score well on political rights and civil liberties. Of the thirty-four countries covered in the survey that can be rated as religiously “free” (i.e., scoring 1–3), twenty-nine are traditionally Christian. Conversely only one of the forty-two traditionally Christian countries surveyed (Cuba) registers on the “not free” end of the scale. Within Christianity, Protestantism tends to score better than Catholicism, and both score better than Orthodoxy.

The other religiously “free” countries surveyed are Israel and four countries of largely Buddhist background—Japan, Mongolia, South Korea, and Taiwan. This finding suggests that a Buddhist tradition also has had a tendency to produce relatively high religious freedom. The Buddhist countries with markedly poor scores reflect the Communist regimes in China, Tibet, North Korea, and Vietnam. If these four are excluded, the remaining countries, except Bhutan and Burma, score relatively well. These patterns are also congruent with the findings of “Freedom in the World.” There is, however, some difference with respect to Hindus. Whereas both India and Nepal have relatively free elections, they have tended to score lower on civil liberties generally and, in this survey, score even lower on religious freedom. In Nepal the difference is not great, but in India the difference reflects the upsurge in India within recent years of a militant and intolerant Hinduism, coupled with violent attacks on religious minorities, especially Christians.

The religious areas with the largest current restrictions on religious freedom are the Islamic countries. This finding parallels problems with democracy and civil liberties, but the negative trend with respect to religion is even stronger. No traditionally Islamic country surveyed is religiously “free,” while half of those
surveyed are “not free.” Four countries (Iran, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Turkmenistan) score a 7, the lowest category for religious freedom. This situation may ultimately show some improvement, since Indonesia, the country with by far the world’s largest Muslim population, appeared to become freer following its 1999 election, and Nigeria, which is about half Muslim, may also be establishing itself as a democracy. In both these cases, however, the transition to democracy is coupled with large-scale regional religious violence (in northern Nigeria and in Ambon in Indonesia) that has been exacerbated by a minority of Islamic radicals.

It is clear from this survey, as well as State Department reports and other surveys, that violations of religious freedom worldwide are massive, widespread, and, in the last five years, increasing. Moreover, with the collapse of Communism, any regime looking for an alternative to “Westernization,” “globalization,” or “capitalism” is now more likely to look to religious traditions as a source of legitimacy or national unity. Many of these regimes are now also governed by leaders who, unlike earlier elite generations under colonialism, have not been exposed to Western education.

These trends suggest four other conclusions. First, that religious repression in the world is likely to increase. Second, that attention to and action on religious freedom has been comparatively weak. Third, that the important role of religion in conflicts and in political orders has been comparatively neglected. Fourth, that both of these situations are now beginning to change, a change we hope this present survey will accelerate.

Cultural Encounter: Korean Protestantism and Other Religious Traditions

James Huntley Grayson

The emplantation of Christianity in Korea over the last two centuries, and particularly of Protestantism from the late 1800s, has resulted in the creation of a Christian community that accounts for about a quarter of the population of the Republic of Korea. Missionary and local Christian involvement in the creation of schools, hospitals, the independence movement, the movement for democracy, fair treatment for workers, equality for women, and other important social and political issues is well known and is widely discussed. This involvement in contemporary affairs attests to the dynamism and vigor of Christianity as a significant element in Korean society.

One aspect of this engagement with Korean culture has received little attention, namely, the impact that Protestant Christianity has had on the other religious traditions of Korea, including Roman Catholicism. I propose to examine the formal and informal influence Protestantism has had on these other religious traditions, an impact that would not have been possible apart from the successful emplantation of Protestant Christianity in Korean culture.

The process of transmitting a religion from an alien culture to a new cultural context requires a three-stage process of development if it is to become truly emplanted in the soil of the new culture: (1) contact and explication, (2) penetration, and (3) expansion. In the first stage, exponents of the new religion are principally concerned with the primary explication of the tenets of their faith in terms that are comprehensible in the cultural norms of the receptor culture. In the second stage, it is recognized that the new religion has become established, at however small a numerical level, as a feature of the host culture and society. In the third stage, the new religion has become a major feature of the culture and society and enters into a stage of contention with other religious traditions that may lead either to a state of preeminence over the other traditions or a state of complementary equilibrium.

Research on Protestant church history in Korea has demonstrated that Protestantism achieved a state of penetration in Korean culture by the middle of the twentieth century. It reached the point where it had become a dynamic religious force within modern Korean culture, and it has now entered into a stage of growth and contention with the other religious traditions of Korea.

The influence Protestantism has exercised on the other religious traditions of Korea is threefold: (1) competitive stimulation, (2) emulation and modeling, and (3) the acceptance or utilization of distinctly Christian religious concepts. By competitive stimulation, I refer to the rapid numerical growth of Protestant Christianity acting as a stimulus to the other religious groups to create proselytization movements to increase the size of their own membership. By emulation and modeling, I refer to the use by leaders in non-Protestant religious groups of the forms of Protestant worship, activities, and evangelistic movements in their own religious practice and proselytization. The third form of Protestant influence on other Korean religious traditions refers to the extent to which particularly Christian or indeed Protestant theological concepts have been adopted. This influence may be evidenced at a purely formal and superficial level or at a deep, inner level resulting in the restructuring or reformulating of beliefs. Of the three forms of influence, the third type represents the most profound level of cultural impact. Although all three of these forms of religious influence may be shown to have affected non-Protestant religious traditions, not all traditions have been influenced by Protestantism in all three ways.

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Protestant Impact on Roman Catholicism

Having begun in the late eighteenth century, the history of Roman Catholicism in Korea is considerably longer than Protestant history. For nearly half of its history the Roman Catholic Church suffered severe government repression as a socially and politically subversive body. The severity and duration of the suppression had two interrelated effects. Beginning with the first major suppression of Catholic Christians in 1800, the character of the church changed from being principally the religious practice of certain members of the elite sector of society to being a religious movement among the poorest and most rejected members of the late Choson era (1392–1910). Second, the suppression created a ghetto mentality among the membership, a deeply ingrained sense of the need to hide or cover up adherence to this proscribed religion. Consequently, many early Catholics literally hid themselves by fleeing to remote mountainous parts of the peninsula or disguised their true class status and religious beliefs by becoming members of one of the despised orders of society.4

The first seventy-five years of Catholic history, dominated by repression and the fear of persecution, influenced the development of the church well into the middle of the twentieth century. When, in the late nineteenth century, the Christian community was finally freed of the fear of governmental suppression, the Roman Catholic Church in Korea did engage in missions and evangelism, but significant numerical growth did not take place until the late 1950s and the early 1960s. From the 1890s onward, records show both a steady increase in the membership of or adherence to the church and the absence of any significant periods of decline in membership. Nevertheless, the proportional representation within the national population remained constant at 0.5 to 0.6 percent from 1914 to the late 1950s. These figures contrast with those for Protestants during the same period, which, while giving evidence of at least two periods of disaffection, show that Protestantism tripled its proportional representation within the national population, from 1.2 percent to 3.7 percent. By the end of the 1960s, this figure had nearly doubled, to 6.0 percent. To use my terms of analysis, the Protestant community in Korea had achieved a position of penetration within Korean culture and society sometime in the early 1950s, from which point it began a very significant period of percentage growth within the national population that lasted well into the 1980s. It was during this period of remarkable Protestant growth that the Roman Catholic Church for the first time began to show both numerical and percentage growth. In my view, these two facts are closely related.5

One factor that I believe hindered the growth of the Roman Catholic Church was its ghetto mentality. By the 1960s three factors had come together to break down this ghetto mentality and create within the Catholic community fervor for evangelism that continues today. In fact, recent statistics show the Roman Catholic Church in Korea growing at a somewhat faster rate than Protestantism as a whole. The three factors are (1) the visibility and acceptability of Protestant Christianity, (2) the effect of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, and (3) the onset of rapid urbanization and industrialization.

The significantly increased size of the Protestant Christian community in the 1950s, Protestantism’s clear relationship to patriotic issues, and the dominance of Protestant Christians on the political scene (however one evaluates their character and the effect of their work) made Christianity not only distinctly visible in the nation but acceptable in a positive sense. This factor must have given many Catholics the sense that it was all right to be Christian and to want to express and share their faith. At the same time, the Second Vatican Council dramatically changed the Tridentine Catholic view of the world, especially the church’s view of other Christian denominations and other religions. The views of the Second Council led to a greater ecumenicity and a desire to be involved with other Christian groups. These two factors came together to create an ethos that made significant national evangelism an acceptable and desirable goal.

Concurrently, the nation began its race to become one of the major industrial states of the world, changing from an essentially rural nation to one that is urban, from an agricultural nation to one that is industrial. This change meant massive dislocation of the population from a rural to an urban setting and impoverishment of large parts of the population. The dispossessed urban proletariat provided a major field for national evangelism for the Roman Catholic Church, as it did also for the Protestant churches. I would only point out in passing that, to the shame of many of the Protestant churches, the Catholic Church has never lost the memory of its origins among the dispossessed members of society and has made evangelism and ministry among the poor a primary focus of the work of the church.6

From my perspective, the influence of Protestantism on Catholicism has been principally at the level of competitive stimulation—the sense that if members of one branch of Christianity could openly and vigorously work to expand their membership, Catholics could too. One might also argue that developments in style of worship—instrumental and vocal music, alternatives to the traditional emphasis on the Mass, more deliberate approaches to evangelism—owe more to Protestant models than Catholic origins. Nonetheless, the principal Protestant influence on Roman Catholicism has been stimulus through example, the breaking down of the ghetto mentality that in turn has led to the significant and ongoing growth of the church.

Protestant Impact on Buddhism

Buddhism, established in the Korean peninsula in the era of the Three Kingdoms (fourth to seventh centuries), had by the end of the Choson period begun to atrophy. This decline was due largely to the general policy of suppression and control of Buddhism implemented from the beginning of the dynasty in order to eliminate heterodox teachings and to create a thoroughly Confucian state and society. At several points during the long history of the Choson state, there were outright attempts to eradicate Buddhism entirely. The effect of five hundred years of anti-Buddhist policy was the general decline in the standards of monastic discipline and knowledge of Buddhist teachings, and the effective elimination of intellectual leadership from within the Buddhist community. Whereas under the Koryo period (918–
1392) the leadership of the Buddhist community came from the elite sector of society, in the Choson period Buddhist monks were grouped together with butchers and prostitutes in the untouchable class. Sympathetic foreign observers of Korean Buddhism at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries felt that its situation was so dire that Buddhism would disappear at some point in the not too distant future.

Buddhism, however, has not disappeared from Korea. The most recent census statistics show that at least 30 percent of the Korean population claims adherence to Buddhism or one of its syncretistic sects. Anyone acquainted with Buddhism in Japan and Korea will be familiar with the fact that in Korea traditional monastic Buddhism is more vigorous and active than its Japanese counterpart. What factors are to account for this volte-face?

The example of the work of the Protestant laity seems to have inspired Buddhist leaders in the twentieth century.

in the condition of Buddhism in Korea? Although the dramatic and rapid growth of Christianity in Korea has become the subject of much academic and popular discourse, the reversal in the fortunes of Korean Buddhism has gone practically unobserved by the academic world.

In the recent century of Buddhism in Korea, I see three principal factors at work: (1) assistance from the Japanese colonial government (1910–45), represented by the Government-General of Chosen; (2) an indigenous reform movement for the revival of monastic Buddhism; and (3) the development and growth of lay Buddhism and lay Buddhist movements.

The Japanese colonial regime was clearly worried about the numbers of Protestant Christians involved in patriotic and nationalistic movements and by the continued growth of the Protestant Christian community. It became a policy of the colonial government to promote Buddhism as a countervailing force to the growth of Protestantism and Christianity in general. Various measures were undertaken, including the institutional reorganization of the Buddhist “church” to regularize and standardize bureaucratic procedures. Aside from the proclaimed purpose of regularizing organized Buddhism, these institutional reforms had the twofold effect of making it easier for the regime to control the Buddhist community and making it comparable to Buddhism in Japan, thus creating greater homogeneity throughout the empire. To ensure that the Buddhist community had financial and capital security vis-à-vis Protestant Christianity, the colonial government gave large tracts of lands to the monasteries, ensuring that these communities remained wealthy down to the present day. These two factors alone, institutional reorganization and the donation of significant tracts of land, regenerated institutional Buddhism so that it was able to reclaim a physical state it had not possessed possibly since the fifteenth century.

Japanese colonial support of Buddhism was not only at the institutional or organizational level. Many of the Buddhist movements and institutions that were prominent in the push for the modernization of the religion had the overt or covert financial support of the colonial regime. For example, many of the Buddhist magazines and journals of that era, including those associated with the nationalistic and modernizing monk Manhae (1879–1944), were funded by the Japanese colonial government.

The factor of the support of the colonial government alone would not, and cannot, explain the sustained revival of Buddhism in Korea. This revival is the result principally of two factors internal to Korean Buddhism: the revival of orthodox monastic Buddhism and the appearance of lay movements. The purification and revival of monastic discipline, practice, and the intellectual study of Buddhist doctrines can be attributed in part to the efforts of the monk Kyongho (1849–1912). However, although one can talk at great length about what he did to revive Buddhist monastic life, and however important monastic life is to an understanding of traditional Buddhism, I believe the revival of Buddhism in Korea is principally due to the emergence of lay movements beginning from the second decade of the twentieth century. The influence of Protestant Christianity is to be found here particularly. One of the major differences between the Protestant and Roman Catholic forms of Christianity is the emphasis placed on the work of the laity in administering the churches and in carrying out the ministry of the church. Protestant churches are essentially lay-run institutions. However important the ministers are in the scheme of things, deacons, elders, and others in lay leadership play an essential role in the life and ministry of the church. In addition, parachurch institutions, such as the Young Men’s Christian Association, have grown up to provide Christian fellowship and promote evangelism.

It was the idea of the laity that seems to have most inspired the Korean Buddhists early in the last century. From the second decade onward, the history of Buddhism in Korea is filled with the creation of various Buddhist youth movements and lay groups and the holding of Buddhist lay conferences. These developments testify to the emergence of an organized lay Buddhist community that existed separately from the monastic communities that formerly were centers of Buddhist practice and life. As lay Christians focused Christian life in contemporary society, so too did the participation of the Buddhist laity shift the focus of Buddhist life from the confines of the monastery to contemporary society. With the stabilization and regularization of institutional monastic Buddhism, early twenty-century Korean Buddhists must have sensed an element of competition with the rapidly developing new religion, Protestant Christianity. This sense of competition would have been a stimulus that caused them consciously or unconsciously to model their program for the advance of Buddhism along the lines of the two most distinctive features of Protestant Christianity—the idea of the laity and lay movements.

The extent to which monastic and lay Buddhism has been influenced by Protestantism is striking. The development of the laity as the principal bearers of Buddhism is an obvious example, but specific examples of influence on religious practice can also be described. The use of hymns with tunes borrowed from Protestantism, prayers used in daily life, for instance at mealtimes, may be cited, along with youth and high school student associations that meet under the tutelage of a monk at precisely the time on a Saturday afternoon when local Christian youth meetings are held. Protestant Christian models continue to provide a source of inspiration for the Buddhist leadership, perhaps the most notable of which was the creation of the Buddhist Broadcasting System in the early 1990s along the lines of the Christian Broadcasting System established in the 1950s. Thus, not only was the movement for a modernized Buddhism stimulated by the presence of a strong laity and vigorous lay movements within Protestant Christianity, but also many of the very
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forms of modernized Buddhist religious practice and evangelism can also be shown to have been derived from or modeled on Protestant Christian practice.10

Protestant Impact on the New Religions

The first modern syncretistic religion in Korea is Ch’ondo-gyo (Teaching of the heavenly way), which was founded in the 1860s as the result of a vision that the founder, Ch’oe Che-u (1824–64), had of the Ruler of Heaven. It became an important nationalistic and nativistic movement before the collapse of the Choson state and during the Japanese colonial period. Originally called Tonghak (Eastern learning), from its inception the religion contained certain elements of belief and practice borrowed from Christianity. It is not surprising that nativistic types of syncretistic movements should emerge promising a revival in national fortunes at a time of national crisis. Internal corruption and the threat of invasion by foreign powers made nineteenth-century Korea a fertile ground for nativistic movements. For the intelligentsia of the time, among whom Ch’oe Che-u must be counted, growth of the proscribed religion Roman Catholicism must have been seen to be an aspect of foreign imperial power and a threat to the Confucian traditions of the nation. When Ch’oe was brought before a magistrate to explain his heterodox (by Confucian standards) teaching, he defended himself by saying that what he taught was not sokak (Western learning = Roman Catholicism) but tonghak (Eastern learning). Thus, from the beginning of the modern era, new religious movements in Korea consciously or unconsciously compared and contrasted themselves with the emergent Christian movement. Even at this early stage in the development of Christianity, an element of borrowing by Tonghak from Christianity can be demonstrated. Although the great being who revealed himself to Ch’oe Che-u was usually called Sangje, a usage deriving from ancient China (Chinese Shang-ti, Ruler on high), the divine being was also sometimes called Ch’onjju (Chinese T’ien-chu, Ruler of heaven), the Roman Catholic term for God in China and Korea. Although not a major influence on the doctrinal teaching of the sect, the adoption of this term shows that the influence of Christianity on Tonghak in its early stages was not just negative stimulation.11

The effect of Protestantism on Tonghak/Ch’ondo-gyo was even greater, as illustrated by its influence on both the architecture of the sect and its religious practice. In Chosen-no riujishukyo (The pseudo-religions of Korea), a survey of popular religion in Korea published by the Government-General in 1935, the architecture of the Ch’ondo-gyo places of worship shows a strong similarity to Protestant churches of the same period. The central ecclesiastical building of Ch’ondo-gyo, although built in a Japanized version of baroque architecture, resembles a Protestant church in both its architectural elevations and its interior layout. The plan for the main room in the central hall is laid out like a Korean Protestant church, including a large raised and recessed area at the back where the principal celebrant or ceremonial leader would conduct the ritual.12 The sect’s “church” in P’yongyang in northern Korea is even more clearly modeled on Protestant lines. The exterior of the building with its sharp rectangular shape is indistinguishable from the provincial Protestant churches of the time. The picture of the interior showing the congregation seated on the floor also demonstrates another feature that betrays missionary influence—the leaders of the ritual are seated on Western-style chairs and speak from a podium. This usage of ritual space is identical to that of early Protestant churches such as Chong-dong First Methodist Church in Seoul, built in the 1890s: the congregation sat cross-legged on the floor, the celebrants sat in chairs. Further Christian, if not Protestant, influence can be seen in the architectural form of the central “church” of a break-off of the Ch’ondo-gyo movement, the Sich’on-gyo sect (Religion of serving heaven), which is closely modeled on the Roman Catholic cathedral in the Myong-dong area, Seoul.14

Ch’ondo-gyo ritual usage follows a Christian, and particularly a Protestant, pattern. Services are now held on Sundays, use hymns often set to music drawn from Protestant hymnals, have periods of private prayer, and include an exposition of the Ch’ondo-gyo scripture, the Tonggyong taejon (Great compendium of Eastern scriptures). As is obvious from the list of ritual features given above, Ch’ondo-gyo possesses both a canonical scripture and a book of hymns that are used for the purpose of worship and study. This multidimensional Protestant influence exerted itself, despite the possession by Ch’ondo-gyo and other sectarian groups of a highly nationalistic and nativistic system of beliefs.15

This influence on the formal, overt aspects of the new religions of Korea does not seem to have been translated into significant influence on the doctrines, teachings, and beliefs of these new sects. Chungsan-gyo, which developed at the very end of the last century, is an amalgam of many different religious traditions and is markedly different in one respect from many of the new religious movements of the past century. Unlike most of the new religions, in which the founder claims to have had a vision of a celestial being, the founder of Chungsan-gyo, Kang Ilsaun (1871–1909), claimed that he himself was the Ruler of the Nine Heavens, the supreme being. This concept parallels an essential Christian teaching, the incarnation of Christ, and may reflect either Catholic or Protestant teaching on the subject. The idea of incarnation propounded in Chungsan-gyo is linked to a messianic idea that Kang had descended to earth to restore the affairs of the world and to restore Korea to its rightful position in the world. Although this doctrinal element is probably derived from Christianity, it is not described in Christian theological terms but is expressed in nativistic terms. Thus, in the early stages of the growth of these new religions, Christian influence was at the level of the adoption of formal elements without on the major theological views of Christianity.16

The Chosen-no riujishukyo divides the new religions of the first third of the twentieth century into six types: the Tonghak tradition, the Chungsan tradition, the Buddhist tradition, the Confucian tradition, cultic traditions worshiping a particular spirit, and a miscellaneous group. In the 1930s there were no new religious movements that claimed to be a Christian denomination or that had a significant number of beliefs that were closely patterned after Protestant Christianity.17 By the 1950s, when Protestant Christianity had become a substantial religious force within Korean society, this situation had changed dramatically. The new religions that emerged or became strong after the

From the beginning of the modern era new religious movements in Korea have borrowed variously from Protestant churches.
liberation of Korea from Japanese rule were “Christian” new
religions. In fact, these groups so closely resemble orthodox
Christian groups that in theological terms they must be called
heresies. Typical among these many groups are the Chondo­
gwan Church (known in English as the Olive Tree Church) and
the Unification Church. The founders of both groups had at one
time been members of a Presbyterian church. The founder of
the Chondo-gwan movement, Pak Taeson, a former elder in a Pres­
byterian church in Seoul, claimed that his hands had the power
to heal through massaging the head of a diseased person. The
movement claims to be a Christian church, and its buildings
resemble Protestant churches and are easily distinguished be­
because of the large red crosses used to adorn the tower over
the entrance to the building. The form of worship, the terms used
to talk about their beliefs, and the beliefs themselves are all Chris­
tian. Although it does seem to have a strong basis in Korean folk
religion, with an emphasis on magical healing, all of the formal
structures of the group are modeled on Christian patterns.18

Similarity to a Christian denomination becomes even stron­
ger when we examine the Unification Church. It not only claims
to be a church, it claims to be the fulfillment of Christ’s ministry on
earth. The full name of the sect is the Holy Spirit Association for

It appears that Protestantism may lose much of its former
dynamism to influence other religious movements
of Korea.

the Unification of World Christianity, which indicates that the
sect claims to be the means by which the unfinished work of
Christianity will be brought to completion. The central teaching
of the sect is that Christ was unable to fulfill his ministry on earth,
namely, the spiritual and physical salvation of humankind. In­
stead, his early death provided only spiritual salvation. Physical
salvation would come from another One, the Lord of the Second
Advent. This group not only claims to be a Christian denomina­
tion; it claims to be the true fulfillment of all Christian groups.19

A key difference between orthodox Christian churches and
these Christian-derived syncretistic groups is in the Christology
of the sects. Otherwise, it is not immediately apparent that these
two sects are not authentically Christian. In more recent years,
other new religious groups, also Christian in nature, have
emerged. In 1992 there were several eschatological sects that
proclaimed the end of the world on a specified date. The leader
of one of these groups, the Tami Missionary Church, urged all his
followers to gather together in the church to await the end. He
collected large sums of money and was arrested when he at­
ttempted to leave Korea.20 Other than the fact that such groups
have been created in Korea, they are in no way different from
similar sects that emerged during the same period in North
America or Europe. Thus, by the end of the twentieth century, the
influence of Protestant Christianity on the creation of new reli­
gions was not simply as a stimulus or model; Protestantism
actually provided substantial elements of the theology of these
sects as well. Influence at the level of belief, the most substantive
form of influence, illustrates that Protestantism has become fully
implanted in the cultural soil of Korea.

Protestant Contention with Other Traditions

It is my view that Protestantism during the first two-thirds of the
twenty-first century was the most dynamic force within the reli­
gious culture of Korea, evidenced both by the rapid numerical
growth in church membership and by the extent to which it
influenced the development of the preexistent religious tradi­
tions and of new religious movements of the nation. This influ­
ence may have been at the level of competitive stimulation to
cause the other traditions to grow or revive, as was the case with
Roman Catholicism and Buddhism; at the level of providing a
model for outreach and religious practice, as was the case with
Buddhism and Ch’ondo-gyo; or at the level of providing reli­
gious concepts, as is the case with the contemporary new reli­
gions.

Protestantism in Korea has now entered into the third phase of
the process of emplantation—contention with other religious
traditions. Buddhism, in my view, will prove to be the principal
rival in this cultural encounter, both because of the ecumenical
rapprochement of the principal Christian traditions (except for
the most fundamentalist Protestant bodies) and because the new
syncretistic religions tend to follow Protestant practice. Since the
late 1980s and early 1990s, there has been a noticeable increase in
the tensions between Protestantism and Buddhism. There have
been accusations of Christian harassment of Buddhist ceremo­
nies and the destruction of Buddhist religious buildings. What­
ever the truth of these accusations, they point to the fact of
increased tensions between Christianity perceived as a mono­
lithic religious institution and Buddhism as a similar monolithic
entity. Further examples of the perceived competition between
these two groups may be seen in the extent to which the principal
Buddhist order, the Chogye-jong, and other groups have en­
gaged in extensive programs of local “evangelism” and have
conducted well-planned programs of overseas missions to spread
the teachings of Buddhism in both North America and Europe.
It is also seen in the creation of such institutions as the Buddhist
Broadcasting System to increase Buddhist knowledge among the
laity and extend the membership of the Buddhist community.

Based upon historical precedent, the model for emplantation
would predict that there are three possible outcomes for this
process of contention:

1. significant extension of the membership of Protestant groups,
so that Protestantism achieves a state of numerical and spiri­
tual dominance over the religious culture of the nation; or
2. a state of numerical and spiritual equilibrium between Protes­
tantism and Buddhism, where both reach the greatest extent
of their numerical expansion; or
3. loss of momentum by Protestantism, which begins a period of
numerical (if not spiritual) decline, resulting in a stabilized
position of subordination to Buddhism and its related sects.

It is hard to judge what the ultimate historical outcome will
be, but it is worth noting that Buddhism is vigorously pursuing
a policy similar to church growth and that since the late 1980s
Protestantism has ceased to grow in percentage terms within the
national population. This may be an indication that Protestant­
ism has reached the upper limit of its growth potential. On the
other hand, Roman Catholicism continues to grow. What lies
ahead is unclear, but it would appear the Protestantism may lose
much of its former dynamism to influence the other religious
traditions and movements of Korea.
Notes

3. The ideas presented in this article were first developed in a paper entitled "The Interaction of Buddhism, Christianity, and the New Religions," presented at a seminar held at the School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London, February 11, 1988. It was elaborated and published as "The Impact of Korean Protestant Christianity on Buddhism and the New Religions," Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies 1 (1991): 57-73; see especially pp. 58-62. The present article reflects my further thinking on the degree and type of impact Protestant Christianity has had on the religious culture of Korea.
4. Don Baker of the University of British Columbia discusses the issue of Catholic isolation from mainstream nineteenth-century Korean society in "From Pottery to Politics: The Transformation of Korean Catholicism," in Religion and Society in Contemporary Korea, ed. Lewis R. Lancaster and Richard K. Payne (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 1997), pp. 127-68. On pp. 135-36 he concludes that the effect of these severe persecutions was to create a siege or ghetto mentality. Previously I have used the term "ghetto mentality" (Grayson, Early Buddhism, p. 98; Grayson, Korea: A Religious History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 208) to describe the inward-looking attitude of the early Korean Catholic community that was the result of their suffering and persecution.
5. Grayson, Early Buddhism, p. 126.
6. Don Baker attributes the radical change in the attitude of the Catholic Church from the 1960s to the 1990s to the advocacy of social involvement enunciated at the Second Vatican Council, the Koreanization of church leadership, and the urbanization of the laity (Baker, "From Pottery to Politics," pp. 159-64). I concur with those observations but would add to those factors the example and stimulus of the large and active Protestant community.
7. A description of the policies pursued by the Choson government may be found in Grayson, Korea, pp. 151-54, 172-76, 221. A contemporary, early twentieth-century commentary may be found in Charles Allen Clark, Religions of Old Korea (1932; reprint, Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1962), pp. 41-43.
9. The importance of lay movements in modern Buddhism is emphasized by Robert E. Buswell, Jr., in "Monastic Lay Associations in Contemporary Korean Buddhism: A Study of the Puril Hoe," in Lancaster and Payne, pp. 101-26. In particular, Buswell stresses the importance of the Christian model as being the source for the Buddhist lay associations, for which there is no precedent in Buddhist history. See pp. 116-18.
10. These comments on Buddhist accommodation are based on numerous personal experiences and observations. Buswell, "Monastic Lay Associations," pp. 117-18, describes modern Buddhist lay songs that are based on Christian hymnody.
12. These comments are based upon personal observations. For a photograph, see Government-General of Chosen, Chosen-no riui shukyo (Seoul, 1935), photograph 1.
13. Ibid., photographs 2 and 3.
20. During 1992 several pseudochurches predicted the imminent return of Christ. For instance, the Daverra Church predicted the end for October 10; the Tami Missionary Church, October 28. The leader of the latter group was in his late forties; the Daverra Church was led by an eighteen-year-old high school dropout. The history of the last months of these groups may be traced in Korea Newsreview 21, no. 34 (August 22, 1992): 11; no. 35 (August 29, 1992): 10-11; no. 38 (September 19, 1992): 32; no. 40 (October 3, 1992): 11; no. 42 (October 17, 1992): 11; no. 43 (October 24, 1992): 11; and no. 45 (November 7, 1992): 8-9. An op-ed comment appears in no. 46 (November 14, 1992): 33.

Evangelism and Proselytism in Russia: Synonyms or Antonyms?

Mark Elliott

Missionary faiths such as Christianity and Islam strongly enjoin their adherents to witness to their convictions for the purpose of converting unbelievers.1 In this propagation they are both aided and restricted by modern human rights covenants, namely,

1. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948);
2. The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950);

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3. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); and
4. The Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (1981).2

The 1966 U.N. International Covenant, for example, protects one’s right to "impair information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers."3 But international human rights accords also have set limits on the expression and propagation of beliefs where they infringe on “the right of individuals to hold a belief of their choice without impairment.”4 These covenants circumscribe proselytism, the act of converting an individual from one faith or church to another, by specifically disallowing coercion,
material inducement, violation of privacy, and prechaments to captive audiences.\(^5\)

The first important U.N. examination of change of religion, Arcot Krishnaswami’s Study of Discrimination in the Matter of Religious Rights and Practices (1954), differentiates between the freedom to manifest a religious belief and the sometimes contending freedom to maintain a religious belief.\(^6\) Similarly, Natan Lerner, an Israeli scholar of international law, identifies this “tension between the right to try to convince others in matters concerning religion . . . and the desire to protect identification with a particular religion against any intrusion.” He argues, “The determination of what is legitimate, and what is illegitimate, within the parameters of that tension is of great importance in the world today.”\(^7\)

Some parties will insist on the existence of a legitimate right to unfettered religious expression for the purpose of persuasion and conversion. Others, conversely, will insist on the right to be free of all unwanted religious proclamation, not just that which is coercive, invasive, or manipulative. In such cases of rigid single-mindedness, no meeting of minds is possible, and juxtaposing advocates of such uncompromising positions produces diatribe instead of dialogue. But if one concedes both a right to free religious expression and the legitimacy of restrictions upon abuses of religious expression, then there is a basis for discussion.

**Continuing Issue of “Rice Christians”**

The 1944 Hollywood production The Keys of the Kingdom recounted the story of a Catholic missionary priest from Scotland, played by Gregory Peck, who arrived at his station in China only to discover pseudo-Christians who had been bribed with rice to join Catholic ranks.\(^8\) The issue over “rice Christians” is still with us. According to the Russian Orthodox Church, Catholics, Protestants, and cults are expanding their ranks in the former Soviet Union by precisely this means. The issue of inadmissible material inducements in evangelism and missions, what Natan Lerner calls “evangelistic malpractice,” deserves serious consideration.\(^9\) Keston Institute director Lawrence Uzzell states categorically, “Missionaries should not buy converts. Giving a provincial Russian a free Bible as an inducement to attend a religious lecture or worship service is the equivalent of paying an American fifty dollars or so for that purpose.” And “offering brand-new converts or prospective converts . . . a free trip to America . . . can easily become just a holiday, shopping opportunity, or springboard for permanent emigration. . . . Conditioned by Madison Avenue, American missionaries too easily forget that Jesus said, ‘Take up thy cross and follow me,’ not ‘Take advantage of our new special offer.’”\(^10\)

At the same time, Christian proclamation without concrete acts of compassion for the poor, the destitute, and the suffering rings hollow. Longtime mission researcher and mission practitioner Anita Deyneka has written guidelines for evangelical missionaries in Russia that underscore the need to “proclaim the Gospel in word and deed.” She quotes veteran missionary Paul Semenchuk, who explains, “The former Soviet Union is in such severe economic circumstances that it seems ‘sinful’ to go and work there without providing some sort of practical assistance.” To avoid any hint of manipulation, Deyneka recommends, “Humanitarian aid as a part of the Christian mission should be given without coercion to convert to any religious confession.”\(^11\) In the same vein Lawrence Uzzell explains, “There is nothing inherently wrong with giving away goods or services free of charge. But missionaries should make such items available to all who are in need, not just to participants in the missionaries’ own programs. . . . Free soup kitchens or food parcels should be targeted to all who are hungry, not just those willing to sit through Protestant sermons.”\(^12\) Sad to say, this writer attended a church in Moscow in July 2000 in which elderly women were provided tickets for a free meal in exchange for their presence in the service.

Increasingly the xenophobic Russian Orthodox Church sees not only such manipulative charity but all Western Protestant compassionate ministries and communications as illegitimate material inducements. Moscow Patriarchate Department of External Relations representative Alexander Dvorkin, whose U.S. citizenship serves as a rather odd accoutrement for a staunch Russian nationalist, deplores all manner of Western Christian ministry in the former Soviet Union, including “the furnishing of humanitarian aid, English lessons, education, and employment . . . the use of television, newspapers, and other mass media to propagate the faith and the organization of loud and insensitive crusading carnivals.”\(^13\) In 1996 Metropolitan Kyrill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad bitterly complained to a World Council of Churches Conference on World Mission and Evangelism meeting in Brazil about the “hordes of missionaries” in Russia who “came from abroad with dollars” in a “crusade . . . against the Russian Church,” preaching on radio and television “in order to buy people.” Metropolitan Kyrill contended, “This work is not Christian mission, it is spiritual colonialism.”\(^14\) Similarly, throughout the 1990s Patriarch Alexis II decried the “massive influx” of “well-organized and well-financed” missions of “foreign proselytizing faiths,” “zealots” in search of “new markets.”\(^15\)

**Objecting to Missionary Presence**

Undoubtedly, it is hard to draw a clear, precise line between legitimate expressions of Christian compassion, on the one hand, and material enticements offered to effect what must be superficial conversions, on the other. But such points of discernment do not concern the Russian Orthodox Church because, as Emory legal scholar John Witte notes, “The Patriarch is not only complaining about improper methods of evangelism—the bribery, blackmail, coercion, and material inducements used by some groups; the garish carnivals, billboards, and media blitzes used by others. The Patriarch is also complaining about the improper presence of missionaries.”\(^17\) Patriarchs and archbishops of fourteen Orthodox churches, including Alexis II, who met in Istanbul in March 1992, signed a joint message castigating new Catholic and Protestant initiatives in eastern Europe. The assembled Orthodox hierarchs expressed consternation that Catholics and Protestants were treating their territories as terra missionis (missionary lands), whereas, they noted, “in these countries the Gospel has already been preached for many centuries.”\(^18\)

The Orthodox position derives in part from long historical conditioning that in the Byzantine and Russian Empires meant state preferences for established Orthodox churches and an absence of religious pluralism. In addition, definitions for “Chris-
tian" and "Christian nation" figure prominently in disparate Eastern and Western understandings of what constitutes proselytism. First, Orthodox understand their community to consist of all those baptized in the faith, regardless of the adult profession or practice of the baptized. Indeed, since "Russian" and "Orthodox" are taken as synonyms by conservative churchmen and nationalists, evangelism conducted by Westerners among any Russians is regarded as proselytism. Finally, since Russian culture is permeated with Orthodox influence and the established church historically thought of the motherland as Holy Russia, Russian territory in toto is perceived to be off limits for non-Orthodox, seventy-plus years of Communism notwithstanding.

What should we make of the argument that the witness of one Christian confession in a territory already the home of another Christian confession is illegitimate? If one were to accept the view that a majority Christian confession by rights should have territorial prerogatives, then, for example:

1. Saints Cyril and Methodius should not have begun their work in Moravia, where missionaries from Rome were already in evidence;
2. Orthodox conversions among Estonian and Latvian Lutherans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should not have occurred; and
3. Orthodox who have been interlopers in every U.S. state except Alaska, should not have mailed unsolicited packets of information on Orthodoxy to Episcopalians priests across the country.19

Thus, proselytism and legitimate proclamation of the Gospel can be contentious in the West as well as in the East. Consider a volume of essays edited by Martin Marty and Frederick Greenspahn entitled Pushing the Faith: Proselytism and Civility in a Pluralistic World. In his closing remarks, after a succession of chapters awash with broad condemnations not only of proselytism but of practically every conception of evangelism, Marty concludes that if the arguments of his contributors were taken to their logical conclusion, it would be a rare occasion when it was ever proper to share any personal spiritual reflection outside church walls. The politically correct Western Christian today seems determined to make an idol of tolerance, defined in such a way as to make almost every profession of conviction an affront and an offense. If everybody really left everybody else alone, says Marty, "it would be a more comfortable but probably comatose world."20

As noted, many Orthodox Christians believe that Protestants have no place in Russia. In particular, they see recent missionary activity from abroad as an unwelcome intrusion into a spiritual landscape nourished by a thousand years of Byzantine Christianity. Western missionaries working in countries with long-standing Orthodox traditions definitely need to apply themselves to a study of history and culture in order to understand this legacy. However, even as evangelicals come to appreciate Orthodoxy, the exceptional achievements of Russian culture, and the remarkable perseverance of a long-suffering people, they should not feel constrained to abstain from, or feel apologetic for, sharing the good news in Russia.21

Evangelical ministries are motivated by a desire to support a movement of some three million indigenous Protestants whose origins in the Russian Empire now date back well over a century.22 Also, evangelicals by definition seek to evangelize non-believers, and a June 1996 survey revealed that as many as 67 percent of Russian men and 38 percent of Russian women do not identify themselves as religious believers.23 Thus evangelicals have ample room to minister to millions of Russians who are spiritually adrift, without ever engaging in proselytizing.24

In closing, two distinct and seemingly antithetical propositions deserve consideration, one legal, and one theological. Legally, freedom of conscience, to be genuine, must concede the possibility of culturally insensitive, even patently obnoxious propagation, as long as it falls short of the aforementioned coercion, material inducement, invasion of privacy, and preaches to captive audiences. Thus in 1993 a European Commission on Human Rights court ruled in favor of Minos Kokkinakis, a Jehovah's Witness on the island of Crete, against a Greek law on proselytism, avowing that "freedom of religion and conscience entails accepting proselytism even where it is not respectable."25 Theologically, however, legal scholar John Witte makes the telling point that a Christian must keep in balance the imperative of the Great Commission (Matt. 28:19–20) and the imperative of restraint and respect for others implied in the Golden Rule (Matt. 7:12).26 Thus, paradoxically, genuine champions of religious liberty must defend professions of faith they consider false and ingracious, and genuine followers of Christ must champion witness that is winsome and gracious.

Notes

1. The present study draws heavily upon and reacts to findings in two major studies on proselytism in the former Soviet Union produced by the grant project "The Problem and Promise of Proselytism in the New Democratic World Order" (1996–99), funded by the Pew Charitable Trust and directed by Prof. John Witte, Jr., director of the Emory University Law and Religion Program. In addition to the two volumes on the former Soviet Union, other studies derived from the project are Pluralism, Proselytism, and Nationalism in Eastern Europe, a theme issue of the Journal of Ecumenical Studies 36 (Winter–Spring, 1999); Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na’im, ed., Proselytism and Communal Self-Determination in Africa (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1999); and Paul E. Sigmund, ed., Religious Freedom and Evangelization in Latin America: The Challenge of Religious Pluralism (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1999).
6. Ibid., p. 504. Debate over change of religion is "part of the larger controversy between the universal character of modern human rights and 'cultural relativism.'" Spokespersons for cultural relativism argue that human rights law is strictly a Western institution and, therefore, not applicable to other cultures or societies. Accordingly, these spokespersons contend that particular cultures or religions have to be protected against external intrusions likely to disadvantage indigenous cultural or religious identity. This approach, however, clashes with the view expressed by most scholars, which stresses the universal validity of human rights." Ibid., pp. 478–79.
A new history of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was published in October 2000, in time to mark the tercentenary in 2001. This article is a first reflection on how, with only just over two years at our disposal, the writing of this book—Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1701–2000—was addressed.¹

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) was founded by royal charter in 1701, the oldest and indeed the only mission agency formally established by the Church of England, approved by Convocation, approved and supported by Parliament, its charter giving all diocesan bishops ex officio membership and requiring that it report itself annually to the lord chancellor. While the archbishop of Canterbury and the English, Irish, and Welsh bishops have been closely involved in the society’s work through most of its first three centuries, the guiding personality in its foundation was Thomas Bray, a parish priest and the bishop of London’s commissary for Maryland. Two years previously, in 1699, he was instrumental in setting up a less formally constituted Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), largely concerned with providing education, books, and libraries for English and American parishes. SPG’s concern was with recruiting and sending missionaries, clergy, and schoolteachers, and with the associated funding.

The classic High Church Anglicanism represented by SPG’s founders and early leaders gave the society its own distinctive understanding of its missionary vocation, entailing an episcopally governed church working in close collaboration with, and supported by, the colonial power, and a parochial system with an ordered liturgical and sacramental life and systematic education and catechesis. The society’s name consciously echoed the Roman Catholic Propaganda Fide of 1622 and pointed to the European colonial rivalry intensifying during this period.

Missionary Thrust in Colonial America

A problem relating particularly to the eighteenth-century part of the history arises from an evangelical missiology that seems to be obliged to say that nothing of significance happened before William Carey dawned upon the British mission scene at the end of the eighteenth century, and that SPG must therefore have been merely some sort of colonial-church society. Several misconceptions, theological as well as historical, are wrapped up in this notion. Sufficient to say by way of example that the precise records preserved in the SPG missionaries’ twice yearly returns, the Notitiae parochiales, make it clear that as many nonwhites, Native Americans, and slaves were brought to Christian faith in the eighteenth century through the SPG’s mission to North America as were reported a century later by the many evangelical missions from Britain. At the same time, the work undertaken...

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among the colonists, laying the foundations of the Episcopal Church of the U.S.A., was certainly seen as a missionary endeavor, what we would now call reevangelization. Hence, the title “Three Centuries of Mission,” not “a century building a colonial church followed by two of mission.” An analysis of a sermon by Bray entitled “Apostolic Charity” and preached at the ordination of a group of missionaries provided me an opportunity to explicate his thoroughly integrated and carefully worked-out theology of mission.

Though the society continued to function among indigenous peoples and beyond the imperial frontiers, the nineteenth century saw its reevangelization of colonial settlers prosecuted on a much expanded scale. Besides sending missionaries, the society increasingly concerned itself with funding, not least to resource bishops and endow dioceses. This means that a history of the society has to take in a good deal more than the work of the missionaries it recruited. At the same time, the huge British and

European colonial migrations brought great exploitation and suffering to colonized peoples and filled the missionary task among them with contradictions. Bishop Samuel Wilberforce in the mid-nineteenth century came to the conclusion, nevertheless, that the society was functioning within this “godless colonization” as “an Angel of Mercy.”

The late eighteenth century on also saw a fragmentation of Church of England missionary efforts, first with the formation of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799 under evangelical influence, later with the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in 1857, and other smaller bodies reflecting the concerns of the Oxford Movement. This last half century has seen some amalgamations, most notably that of SPG and UMCA, creating the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) in 1857, and other smaller bodies reflecting the concerns of the society in 1965. It is a complex story, both as the domestic context and constitution of the society changed and as missionary ambitions expanded within and beyond British colonial and imperial regions, and later, during and after decolonization.

The first historical account was published in 1730, written by the secretary at that time, David Humphreys, and covering the first three decades, in the Caribbean in a small way, but chiefly in North America among native Americans, slaves, and settlers, and hopeful that the “mighty English Empire . . . should be Christian.” Further accounts followed. Most noted of these was C. F. Pascoe’s Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., published in 1901, running to 1,800 closely printed pages and perhaps one million words, expanding his slightly earlier digest of the society’s records.

Pascoe worked for SPG in London for fifty-seven years, and his account is the fruit of many years of painstaking study. In all sorts of ways it is a production of its times, admiring of empire, liable to overlook the contribution of laypeople and women—easy to disparage today, but impressive in its mastery of detail and a moving product of devotion and dedication. Listing some 115 languages used by the society’s missionaries, detailing their many hundreds of publications in these, and naming the more than 3,300 ordained missionaries by this time (about 8 percent of them indigenous), Pascoe clearly intended to demonstrate a church gradually taking root throughout and beyond Britain’s imperial possessions. The invisibility on the whole of the several thousands of indigenous teachers, catechists, lay readers, and Bible women funded by the society reflects his firmly clerical view of the church and obscures vital aspects of this rooting.

The subsequent major history, H. P. Thompson’s Into All Lands (1951; 760 pages covering the period 1701 to 1950, but with an emphasis on the fifty years since Pascoe), does not help in this last regard. Much less fully documented, though with a smoother narrative flow, it indicates that Thompson was determined to mention every society missionary from Britain after 1901 but was less interested than Pascoe in indigenous participants in the history. By basing his account largely on the society’s published annual reports, he provides a double guarantee of an official interpretation, for the annual report was a London-edited selection of what the missionaries chose to put in their formal reports.

The sense of the changing context of mission evident in Thompson, writing after World War II and Indian independence, found an even more central place in a spirited “concise history” by Margaret Dewey in 1975, The Messengers, the most recent of a long series of popular accounts of the society. Increasingly global tumult as the context for mission, about which we were all so much more aware through the looming communications explosion, pointed to a further complexity in any subsequent history of the society.

An added complication was the merger referred to above, of SPG and UMCA, in 1965. The latter had its own three-volume, 1,100-page history covering the century up to the merger. The two bodies had to some extent related, if uneasily, from 1857, so there was a case for some treatment of UMCA prior to 1965, the perspective being one of convergent streams of mission history merging in response to new African realities.

The society’s decision in 1997 was to publish a new history covering the three hundred years, but with an emphasis on the most recent half-century. A considerably shorter book than Thompson’s provided its own imperatives, so that, for example, alongside a very abbreviated summary of the society’s history run accounts of a selection of interesting and exemplary individuals and developments. While the summary kept one more or less at the level of the annual reports, the selection necessitated periodic dives into other levels of the vast data represented by the society’s archives. Thus, for example, the disastrous venture in the modern period known as the Anglican-Methodist Project in Latin America in the 1970s, and the impressive advocacy role in regard to the anti-apartheid struggle in 1980s South Africa, could be described and evaluated only after a careful plunge into these deeper layers of data.

The two years allowed for the writing provided added imperatives, not least the sharing of the writing with others, and this factor provided what was to me an essential additional dimension to the project, a pluralism of perspectives, referred to below.

An interesting feature was the role of the advisory group established by the society to oversee the project. Brian Stanley describes how his commission in 1985 to produce an official volume for the Baptist Missionary Society entailed the submission of each chapter that he wrote to a working group appointed by the BMS, and how relieved he was that his “worst fears of ideological censorship were not realised.” In my case, the advisory group chose the more risky path (more risky for them, liberating for me) of giving initial advice and then leaving me to
Christianity's World Mission would be less intimidating and more manageable if everyone spoke the same language, followed the same customs and viewed life the same way. That idyllic world, however, is not the world Christ calls us to engage.

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

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it, though I had the good fortune of an association with the society going back some thirty-five years, and I was free to turn to individual members of the group throughout the writing process, which I periodically did, in particular to members with special knowledge of the society during recent decades and with academic and non-Western perspectives.

**Fourteen Diverse Perspectives**

Very important, however, was the group’s agreeing to my request to include in the second half of the book a series of fourteen essays by women and men able to bring fresh and diverse perspectives on the society. Thus, for example, for the eighteenth century, it was possible to include an account of SPG’s work among the Mohawk by a Native American historian, Owannah Anderson, who has previously published on “America’s holocaust,” and a study of the society’s handling of the extraordinary issue of its slave plantations in Barbados by a West Indian church historian, Noel Titus. There was the opportunity also for a much more thorough account and evaluation than hitherto of the place and role of women, for example in Deborah Kirkwood’s study of the experience and contribution of the wives of male missionaries, and Rosemary Fitzgeraldd’s of pioneering women’s medical work in and around Delhi in North India.

An irony of the history is that a secretary of the society particularly supportive of the role of women in its work, H. H. Montgomery, was also one of those most enthusiastic to capitalize on the imperialist fervor of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain, as is made clear in Steven Maughan’s essay. Several essayists look at successes and failures in indigenization. Thus, Vincent Kumaradoss’s account of the ways in which Nadar women and men in the nineteenth century effectively appropriated the Gospel in Tirunelveli, in South India, and Sara Sohmer’s exploration of the characteristically Anglican theology that encouraged the mission in Melanesia to “christianize without civilizing.” In contrast, colonial attitudes (as in much CMS work) gradually got the upper hand in central Africa, stifling indigenous development, as Jerome Moriyama demonstrates in his essay on UMCA in the later nineteenth century. Two other essays on the church in Africa give some indication of the establishment of local churches, not without a struggle in the case of the “spiky high church” in Ghana, studied by John Pobee, but, in the case of Zambia in Musonda Mwamba’s essay, to the point where the society is a valued but essentially marginal friend to a church that has found its place and mission within the nation.

Most of these essays were entirely new, researched and written for the occasion, a few rescued from relatively obscure journals and rewritten to support our overall interest, one a case study. In conclusion, I offer a couple of observations relating to my own, and enrich the picture, which has opened up hitherto unexplored avenues of great significance. Some of these studies are already established classics in the field, like Raboteau on slave religion, for example, or Bengt Sundkler on church union in South India. Others are much less widely known as yet. Some of this research has been done by members of the churches that USPG helped to create—for example, a fine study by Jeong-ku Lee of “Architectural Anglicanism” in Korea, or the researches of Kortright Davis and Sehon Goodridge on SPG in the colonial Caribbean. But some is also available from beyond the society circle, like Professor Takako Shiri’s recent research on the crucial creative role of SPG missionaries in relation to Fukuzawa in Japan during the Meiji era, the studies by R. F. Young and A. Amaladass of the SPG missionary W. H. Mill and his achievements as a Sanskritist at Bishop’s College, Calcutta, and Terence Ranger’s account of the adaptations made by the UMCA missionary Vincent Lucas and his African colleagues, Reuben Namalawo and Kolumba Msigala, to the (male) initiatory rites of the Makua and Yao peoples of Masasi. Not all of this research is particularly edifying; of course, like Modupe Labode’s strictures on SPG’s women missionaries in South Africa, but it all makes for a much more full-bodied history. The 1990s saw the society assisting in funding fresh research by numerous younger, non-Western scholars, whose findings will be vital to any future overview. This point relates, of course, to the matter of postcolonial reflection on the colonial period. An official history of a missionary society is a very different exercise from an ideological study of mission. It is written from within the circle of faith, but if it is to have any wider credibility and interest, it must take account of ideology as well as theology and be aware of the prevailing ideologies, both those that have shaped the historical context in which the agency worked and that often had a profound influence on mission itself, and those that drive the strong antimission currents in much current writing. All mission from Europe, with very slight exception, has approached its task in close association with ideas about a civilizing mission. And yet several recent British accounts of other missionary enterprises in the past two hundred years have, by their silences or explicit disavowals, sought (absurdly) to suggest that these enterprises were largely

Nevertheless, some account of USPG’s institutional evolution during the past half century, with its dramatically changing context embodied in decolonization, in the development of First, Second, and Third Worlds, and of what Samuel Wilberforce would surely have called “a godless globalization,” is not without interest. Similarly, the changing religious and mission scene, the coming of the Third Church, and the decline of the Second, which brought a call for the conversion of England at the beginning of this period, is vividly mirrored in the society’s activities and passivities throughout it. The cluster of fourteen essayists’ perspectives add their own correctives to any lingering misconceptions about a metanarrative. If there is one in this project, it is not so much that of a society for the propagation of the Gospel as of the propagation of the Gospel itself, with all its complexities, compromises, and ambiguities during the period of the European colonial adventure and with few less of these conditionalities where new understandings of that Gospel have been emerging subsequently. **Enriched by Contemporary Research**

In conclusion, I offer a couple of observations relating to my own, first half of the book. One relates to the growing body of research available around the world that has helped to fill out, modify, and enrich the picture, which has opened up hitherto unexplored avenues of great significance. Some of these studies are already established classics in the field, like Raboteau on slave religion, for example, or Bengt Sundkler on church union in South India. Others are much less widely known as yet. Some of this research has been done by members of the churches that USPG helped to create—for example, a fine study by Jeong-ku Lee of “Architectural Anglicanism” in Korea, or the researches of Kortright Davis and Sehon Goodridge on SPG in the colonial Caribbean. But some is also available from beyond the society circle, like Professor Takako Shiri’s recent research on the crucial creative role of SPG missionaries in relation to Fukuzawa in Japan during the Meiji era, the studies by R. F. Young and A. Amaladass of the SPG missionary W. H. Mill and his achievements as a Sanskritist at Bishop’s College, Calcutta, and Terence Ranger’s account of the adaptations made by the UMCA missionary Vincent Lucas and his African colleagues, Reuben Namalawo and Kolumba Msigala, to the (male) initiatory rites of the Makua and Yao peoples of Masasi. Not all of this research is particularly edifying; of course, like Modupe Labode’s strictures on SPG’s women missionaries in South Africa, but it all makes for a much more full-bodied history. The 1990s saw the society assisting in funding fresh research by numerous younger, non-Western scholars, whose findings will be vital to any future overview. This point relates, of course, to the matter of postcolonial reflection on the colonial period. An official history of a missionary society is a very different exercise from an ideological study of mission. It is written from within the circle of faith, but if it is to have any wider credibility and interest, it must take account of ideology as well as theology and be aware of the prevailing ideologies, both those that have shaped the historical context in which the agency worked and that often had a profound influence on mission itself, and those that drive the strong antimission currents in much current writing. All mission from Europe, with very slight exception, has approached its task in close association with ideas about a civilizing mission. And yet several recent British accounts of other missionary enterprises in the past two hundred years have, by their silences or explicit disavowals, sought (absurdly) to suggest that these enterprises were largely
innocent of the great colonial offense, as if rhetoric could displace inescapable material realities. Such a posture would have been quite impossible in the case of SPG, with its origins so manifestly in an ancient regime that saw church and state as two aspects of a single national community. But that very identification invites a recognition of the complexity of the colonial encounter, which some postcolonial study misses, not least as that ancient symbiosis was breaking down in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. At the same time, post–Edward Said, we do have to read the texts with an eye for their gaps, absences and ellipses, silences and closures. This attention will sometimes turn a familiar story on its head, like, for example, that of the admired pioneer Christian ashram, the Christa Seva Sangha in western India, where a careful reading of the evidence indicates that a group of English missionaries, like self-regarding young cuckoos, formally and constitutionally tipped the original Indian members of the sangha out of the ashram. It also encourages us to look for such new “missionary heroines and heroes” as some of the women whose often striking and creative endeavors were buried in their own separate journal, the Mustard Seed, hardly ever mentioned in the society’s own official publications; or the recently reinstated “heretic,” J. W. Colenso, first encouraged into his theological reconsiderations by his equally independently minded wife, Frances; or that interesting cluster of “atheists of a recognition of the complexity of the colonial encounter, which recently reinstated “heretic,” J.W. Colenso, first encouraged into

English missionaries in the Christa Seva Sangha Ashram, like self-regarding young cuckoos, tipped the original Indian members out of the nest!

Notes

1. Published by Continuum of London and New York.
My Pilgrimage in Mission

Harry W. Williams

What a generation was mine—born on the eve of World War I, involved in World War II, living to experience the twilight of colonial empires and the subsequent transformation of nations. I served as a medical missionary with a career that spanned World War II, the war in Vietnam, and beyond. The field of medicine saw its own transformation, with the advent of antibiotics, intensive care, transplants (from skin to hearts), and a vast specialization, especially in surgery. All of this progress increased the cost of the maintenance of major hospitals, creating an impossible burden for most of the churches in the non-Western world that had inherited them.

The Salvation Army and a London Citadel

My paternal grandfather, Henry, was born in Bath in 1859, son of a master coachbuilder of a firm that made the landaus of Beau Brummel’s day. He was apprenticed to his father, but growing impatient with his lot, he walked the hundred or more miles to London. He found Christ at the famous Regency Church of All Souls, Langham Place. Had he remained a communicant of this master coachbuilder of a firm that made the landaus of Beau Brummel’s day. He was apprenticed to his father, but growing impatient with his lot, he walked the hundred or more miles to London. He found Christ at the famous Regency Church of All Souls, Langham Place. Had he remained a communicant of this church, I doubt would have become a Church Missionary Society doctor. But he heard the blare of trumpets and a booming drum around the corner in Oxford Street, where the Salvation Army of 1882 had converted a skating rink into an all-purpose mission hall. He followed the band and was soon a sergeant, preaching in the West End with his own platoon.

These were exciting days of rapid growth and intense opposition. Left lying in a gutter blinded by bleach thrown by some roughs, he was rescued by Alice Page, herself a sergeant with a posse of six young women. Six months later he and Alice were married. Thus my father, Harry Stephen Williams, their eldest son, grew up in the evangelical climate of the Salvation Army. He joined the ranks. He was not a public speaker, but he gave all the hours when not at his office in the city to the furthering of the Army’s cause.

It is germane to my story to dwell on the Citadel, that famous Salvation Army center in London’s West End. At the opening of the new millennium it still sends its soldiers to the main thoroughfares, markets, and fashionable squares. It is also the headquarters for the volunteers who share steaming soup and friendly greetings with those sleeping on the streets. The several Indian hospitals where I was later to serve as chief medical officer—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—were run on the same theological premise, to wit, that the love of God in Christ must be expressed in terms relevant to the needs of, and intelligible to the understanding of, the poorest of the poor.

At Christmas, in the cold of the Punjab at the MacRobert Hospital, Dhariwal, the outpatient hall featured a stable complete with life-size baby and his parents, the animals, the shepherds, and wise men, with a painted backdrop of the Judean hills. We repeated the nativity scene at the Catherine Booth Hospital in Nagercoil near India’s southernmost tip, where there were 350 beds and as many places in the chapel. The sides were open, and the curious could stand in the roadway and watch and listen. Sparrows rested in the thatched roof. At any time one could see a non-Christian villager kneeling before the baby and placing an egg or a chapati in the straw.

In 1913, the year of my birth, the Salvation Army was only thirty-five years old. In the 1920s, when I was a schoolboy, loyalty to the Army and a flamboyant evangelism conditioned all my activities. While at grammar school I had little time for extracurricular social events. The Citadel program was always full. It might be thought that the unpredictable nature of worship, the absence of the sketchiest liturgy, would repel a sensitive boy, often charged with being a bookworm. But I found the services exciting. Leaders were not confined to pulpit or lectern but took the liberty to stride the platform to dramatically reinforce their message. Unrehearsed testimony was invited from the congregation. I have vivid memories of some of the worthies, who sat in a group well forward, jumping to their feet and striding to the rostrum to contribute in their own idiom.

The two main worship services were a contrast. In the morning, the Holiness meeting attracted some from other churches. It was devotional in style, with biblical exposition and an emphasis on individual dedication to Christ. To the preachers of that generation, the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets were their familiars—lively role models. The evening meeting was geared to the unconverted. It was preceded by a meeting held at the largest open space at the center of the London suburb, where a crowd of several hundred would gather. The crowd then followed the forty-strong brass band along High Street, blocking the thoroughfare to traffic. There were knowledgeable comments on the flying arabesques that the bass drummer’s sticks wove above his huge drum. Many unaccustomed to church or chapel crowded in, filling the hall to overflowing.

In this constantly challenging environment, a visiting officer-cadet put me on the spot: “Are you converted?” He got no immediate response, for I was affronted. He was a stranger and did not realize that my father was a pillar of the corps! But I can remember the experience. At the Salvation Army center in London’s West End, I learned that what Christ had promised, he would fulfill.

That way proved to be an intriguing blend of strenuous personal effort coupled with a profound faith that it would be of the Lord’s doing rather than by my skill or enterprise. I had plenty of role models. The Salvation Army of my youth was full of those who had walked a similar path. Frederick Booth-Tucker, who had landed in Bombay to pioneer the Army’s work in the 1880s, was still around in my teens. I heard him preach, his open Bible (frequently rebound in Indian village leather) balanced on the palm of his hand. I learned that what Christ had promised, he would fulfill.

In today’s Salvation Army, provided that one accepts the Spartan terms and conditions, one can work as an employee or as a missionary for a short but fixed span. In 1933 there was but one

Commissioner Harry W. Williams, O.B.E., F.R.C.S.E., F.I.C.S, served the Salvation Army as an officer for forty-six years. For thirty years he and his wife were in medical mission work in India. He specialized in reconstructive surgery for the physically handicapped, in which he was one of the pioneers in its application to leprosy. For a further ten years he and his wife were engaged in international administration.
course: I must become a Salvation Army officer. After I had jumped that hurdle, I was reminded in writing that an officer's life was one of a discipline that left no choice of appointments or type of service. I even knew that there could be no guarantee that my assignment would be a medical one! I also knew that an officer was permitted to marry only another officer. Salvation Army officer personnel are severally and unitedly under orders. Nevertheless, I did marry, and from the beginning I received challenging medical assignments.

Medical Service in India

My wife, Eileen Neeve, was born in Plymouth, England, a few days my junior, daughter of Salvation Army officers. Our first appointment, in 1939, was to Moradabad, a walled Mogul city in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In accordance with William Booth's advice to the pioneers he sent to India—"get into an Indian skin"—I lost my name on arrival in India but was allowed to choose my new one. Henceforth I was Bashir Masih—Witness to the Lord. I became the assistant to an experienced surgeon. The British Raj still had eight years to run; the pattern of life was still authoritarian. A small group of competent, dedicated officers from the various imperial services ruled with acceptance as far as the majority was concerned, although the Congress Party was soon to launch its Quit India campaign. In 1941 the Salvation Army had agreed to use the hospital for the care of Indian military casualties. By 1943 the pattern became an all-out takeover, the hospital becoming the nucleus for a 2,000-bed military general hospital.

In 1943 I was drafted into the Indian Medical Service, and we moved as a family to Poona, where I was to be assigned as a surgeon in the military hospital. Each department of the hospital was commanded by an officer who had been a consultant. We were virtually a medical college, and the eighteen months I spent there brought invaluable experience. Our eldest child—Ann, born in 1941 at Moradabad—died in Poona from an anesthetic mishap and is buried there. Her grave is marked by a brass plate engraved by a Moradabad merchant who remembered her from our first years in Moradabad; he used to walk to the Salvation Army hospital with an orange tucked into the back pocket of his achkan for the doctor’s charming child.

Fleur (1943) and Jennifer (1945) were each born in separate provinces of India. For nine months of the year they were at boarding schools in the hills of North or South India. For the three coolest months they entered fully into the life of the hospital community. They still remember a little Urdu and love curries. Eventually we had to leave them in England for higher education. In the tight discipline of the day, we were not granted leave for their weddings or for our parents’ funerals.

In 1944 I was technically put on the unemployed list to permit me to take over the Salvation Army MacRobert Hospital (1944–52) at Dharriwal in the Punjab, where our responsibilities included medical care of the 1,500 employees of the woolen mills that produced cloth for military uniforms and standard-issue blankets. In our seven years on this alluvial northern plain (including the traumatic carnage that marked the first months of independence in 1947), in sight of Himalayan snows, we developed a pattern that was to be followed for the next twenty years, as we moved to the Salvation Army hospital in Anand, Gujarat (1954–59), and finally to the Catherine Booth Hospital (1960–69) at Nagercoil, Tamil Nadu, on the southern tip of India.

Since all expatriate staff received a living allowance on the same scale, and all fees went into the hospital funds, we were able to give quality care that attracted patients from a wide area. Income from donations and grants from development agencies maintained and expanded buildings and equipment as the program diversified. My wife claims that we were never free from the sound of donkeys, whose panniers were laden with bricks and cement. There was constant adaptation to meet the changing medical needs of the country. In many areas, such as the treatment of tuberculosis and leprosy, the missions pioneered, and government followed.

In 1953 I sought training in plastic surgery under Sir Archibald McIndoe. At his famous center in East Grinstead, England, he had remade the hands and faces of burned airmen of World War II. I became a member of the British Association of Plastic Surgeons. Both in Poona in 1943 and then with Sir Herbert Seddon at the Royal National Orthopedic Hospital in London, I worked at orthopedics. These skills combined in the development of reconstructive surgery. Commencing with congenital defects and the victims of accident, the program moved to the surgical rehabilitation of poliomyelitis and finally to an extensive involvement in leprosy. For facial deformities and the paralyses of hands and feet, adequate follow-up required the development of workshops to provide specialized footwear and artificial limbs.

When we arrived in India in 1939, an estimated 20 percent of all beds in the country were in the hands of Christian agencies. The field of nursing, outside the major presidency hospitals, was entirely occupied by Christians. We inherited or opened nursing schools in each of the four Salvation Army hospitals to which I was assigned. Initially these schools were supervised by a mission board in each province, which set the syllabus and conducted examinations, issuing diplomas that were registered by the state. One by one these elements were taken over by the state, usually unchanged. I lectured, examined, and, in Nagercoil, served as the president of the board, signing hundreds of diplomas every year.

The Christian Medical Association of India (CMAI) was a large and influential body, in close touch with missionary societies and government. It proved an ideal umbrella for controlling and developing paramedical education, which was springing up in various parts of the country. Increasingly, hospitals had specialist staff and facilities, which made such developments desirable. At Anand we opened the first school of physiotherapy. All of these disciplines were brought under the CMAI, which conducted the examinations and issued diplomas. Later at Nagercoil, with the development of specialty surgery, we ran postgraduate courses for nurses in these subjects, as well as CMAI courses in radiography and laboratory technology.

Reconstructive Surgery for Leprosy Victims

While staying with an old friend of medical college days, I was spurred to attempt to repair the facial deformities of leprosy. I
applied to the civil surgeon of the city of Ahmadabad for patients that might profit from reconstructive surgery. He directed me to a fort from the Mogul era that he had handed over to a group of French nuns to care for patients he directed to them. I was greeted eagerly by ravaged faces. The patients desperately hoped I would make new noses. I chose ten and converted a ward for their nursing. The staff placed a bowl of disinfectant at the door, reminding me to dip my hands after visits. There was no refusal by the nurses to treat the patients.

It was quite other, eight years later, when I set aside a whole block for the care of such patients in Nagercoil. Here the disease was known and feared by all. I had a staff revolt—a strike. For a week the expatriate nurses did extra duty. Then in the Sunday morning meeting a nurse came forward and knelt in tears. She broke the strike. Henceforth it was a joy to work with the staff and with the model patients, whose reactivated fingers were beginning to trace the Word of Life. It took longer for private patients to realize they were not at risk.

During the years that the Catherine Booth Hospital in Nagercoil was modernizing, Madras University sent a team to inspect. The outcome was the recognition of the hospital for the training of junior doctors who wished to take higher qualifications. The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh gave similar approval.

Many of the mission hospitals commanded widespread approval and support. In 1968 Shri V. V. Giri, soon to become president of India, chaired a conference of state ministers of health, at which he said:

Recently I visited the Catherine Booth Hospital at Nagercoil. This hospital run by the Salvation Army has nearly 400 beds. From outside it looks small, housed in modest buildings in a limited area. Surprisingly the hospital is one of the best in the country, with experts attending patients, and the cleanliness is something that every hospital should emulate. This only shows that the lack of finances or limited resources need not stand in the way of having a good hospital.

His wife had been a patient, along with tea planters, civil servants, poor cultivators, and leprosy cripples. There was such a stream of young patients, physically handicapped from all causes, that we first of all provided physiotherapy, then occupational therapy, and finally a chain of vocational training centers, where we taught a livelihood to men and women reactivated by reconstructive surgery. The skills ranged from the traditional ones of weaving, tailoring, and embroidery to secretarial skills and printing for women and metalwork of all kinds for men. Eventually we ran a factory for the manufacture of hospital furniture and equipment, as well as three vocational training centers.

India was an old mission field when we went there. Denominational rivalries and one-upmanship were still current. After the disastrous riots in the Punjab at independence in 1947, mission resources were pooled; relief operations settled into permanent cooperation. Ludhiana Christian Medical College became a joint venture, and eventually the Punjab government participated. In the days of the Raj, both the Salvation Army and the London Missionary Society had opened medical schools with

Noteworthy

Personalia

Died. Marcello Zago, 68, Secretary of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, March 1, 2001, after a long illness.
A member of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Zago went immediately following his ordination in 1959 to Laos and Cambodia, where he remained as a missionary for fifteen years. He was recognized as an expert in missions, Buddhism, and the place of dialogue in missions. From 1986 to 1998 he served as superior general of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and during these years his congregation founded missions in thirteen new countries. His article "Missions and Interreligious Dialogue" appeared in the July 1998 issue of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH.

Died. Peter Deyneka, Jr., 69, president of Peter Deyneka Russian Ministries, Wheaton, Illinois, missionary statesman, and former president of Slavic Gospel Association, December 23, after a six-month battle with lymphoma. He founded Russian Ministries in 1997 in response to the changes and ministry opportunities arising from the collapse of the Soviet Union. Deyneka was also chairman of the CoMission II Partnership Council.

Died. Kurien Thomas, 79, founder and director of the Itarsi Native Missionary Outreach, Itarsi, India, October 19, 2000, following a heart attack. From a single church in Madhya Pradesh state in 1948, his ministry grew to include some 1,200 congregations served by 900 pastors. Thomas also started Central India Bible College, Central India Theological College, and wrote twenty-five books.

Died. Karl Müller, 82, Catholic missiologist, February 28, 2001. A member of the Society of the Divine Word, Müller ended his career as director of the SVD Missiological Institute at St. Augustin, near Bonn, Germany, retiring in 1992. In addition to teaching missiology, church history, and theology over a period of forty years, he served as secretary of studies and formation at the SVD generalate in Rome (1962-67) and was vice superior general of the SVD (1967–77). He was one of the organizers of the International Association for Mission Studies.


Died. Kenneth L. Pike, 88, president of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dallas, Texas, 1942–1979, December 31, 2000, following a brief illness. Pike's contributions to the field of linguistics and his commitment to minority peoples around the world brought him a nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize. His autobiographical "My Pilgrimage in Mission" appeared in the October 1997 issue of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH.

the recognition of Travancore State. There was a 30 percent Christian population in this state and a keen interest in providing rural medical services. A similar school was opened by the American Presbyterian Church in Maharashtra.

After 1947 the united resources of Western missions could support only one modern college, and Vellore in Tamil Nadu was chosen. But subsequently the government found that it could support another training center at Ludhiana. The government also stepped in at Maharashtra. I served on the pioneer governing body of Ludhiana and subsequently on the central committee and executive committee of Vellore. Both the hospital and the medical college won recognition as among the best in the country. Many were committed to serve in church hospitals on graduation.

From Vietnam to International Administration

In the 1960s we were caught up in the war in Vietnam and responded to an appeal from the CMAI to provide twenty-five beds for children requiring plastic surgery because of war injuries. But the South Vietnamese government was not prepared to let the young patients leave the country. A New York organization, the Children’s Medical Relief, appealed for consultants to give three-months service in rotation, and a state-of-the-art hospital was built in Saigon. The government seconded doctors and nurses for training and invited us to visit hospitals throughout the country to choose patients suitable for special treatment. I also helped with the three hundred leprosy patients in the huge Cholon Isolation Hospital. We commenced a weekly session of rehabilitative surgery there, as well as clinics in a huge refugee camp run by the Salvation Army.

In 1969 the Army appointed me to senior administration, first in India, then New Zealand and Australia, and finally to serve as international secretary at the headquarters in London. Each appointment involved an integrated commitment to evangelism and community service, including medical programs, with an added dimension of training Salvation Army officers and soldiers. In New Zealand we became painfully aware that small was no longer beautiful. I had to close six excellent maternity hospitals. But a new field was opening. An old program in the treatment of alcoholism was expanded into a multifaceted one that included other addictions, and it won government financial support. In Australia the Bridge Program for addicts grew, again commanding government support. I found myself on two statutory committees, the Commonwealth Medical Research Council and the newly formed Health Board of New South Wales.

In Australia the command included Papua New Guinea. Here was a growing church and social work geared to the special needs of a population recently emerged from the Stone Age. Medical work demanded a new approach, small hospitals in scattered mountain situations requiring hours in a jeep from the nearest mission station. In fact, we had to use a helicopter to skim over the dense jungle. We were training indigenous officers but could not cope with the demands for instruction by Christian pastors in isolated villages. We invited villages to choose a young man who would serve them after a program of training that


Announcing

The American Society of Missiology will hold its annual meeting June 15–17, 2001, at Techny, Illinois, near Chicago. The topic will be “Missionaries for the Twenty-First Century: Their Recruitment and Training, Ministry and Roles, Care and Attrition.” Anastasios Yannoulatos, Archbishop of Tiranna, Durres, and All Albania, will deliver the keynote address, and James J. Stamoolis, chairman of the Theological Commission, World Evangelical Fellowship, will deliver the ASM presidential address. The Association of Professors of Mission will hold its annual meeting June 14–15 in conjunction with the ASM meeting. For details on either meeting contact Judy Bos, 101 E. 13th St., Holland, Michigan 49423, (616) 392-8555, fax (616) 392-7717, judy@westernsem.org.

“Godsmission.comUNITY” is the theme of a major conference on global mission being coordinated by the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton College. Some 1,500 leaders from sixteen mission networks are expected to convene in Orlando, Florida, September 20–23, 2001. For information contact the Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College, (630) 752-5918, or visit www.godsmission.com/mUNITY.

The Evangelical Missiological Society will hold its annual meeting September 21–22, 2001, in Orlando, Florida, in conjunction with the Godsmission.comUNITY mission leadership conference. Presenters will include program committee chairperson Jonathan J. Bonk, Executive Director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center and editor of this journal; Luis Bush, International Director of the AD2000 & Beyond Movement; and Todd M. Johnson, Director of the World Evangelization Research Center, Richmond, Virginia. For more information view www.missiology.org/EMS.

The World Evangelical Fellowship will hold its eleventh General Assembly May 4–10, 2001, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The speakers will include Clive Calver, President of World Relief, Joel Edwards, General Director of the Evangelical Alliance of the United Kingdom, Bertil Ekström, Director for InterAct for Latin America, and Catherine Rae Ross, Director of the School of Global Mission, Auckland, New Zealand. For details contact WEF, Wheaton, Illinois, USA, (630) 638-0440; WEF, Singapore, (65) 339-7900, or visit www.wefga.org.

included not only the Christian faith but rudimentary medical subjects, which enabled him to use a very limited pharmacopeia, which we supplied. We brought these young pastors back for refresher courses at regular intervals. Each village donated land for a meeting hall and a pastor's house as well as an allotment on which he could grow his basic food. These constructions of bamboo and thatch sprang up over a wide area.

Young men were being convicted of crimes that were considered serious in the eyes of the Western authorities but that from their cultural perspective were but peccadilloes. At the government's request we opened a remote colony where education and practical skills replaced a prison sentence. A dispensary designed for the settlement catered to all the neighboring villages. Education also had to be tailored to a country where tribes in adjacent valleys were scarcely beyond the bitter enmity of cannibal days, a country without railways and with but one road into the mountains from the northern side. Mission Aviation Fellowship flew us from the coast, landing on a grass runway.

During the six years at international headquarters, I also held the post of international medical advisor. As other references in this article reveal, the cost of medical programs was rising inexorably. Even national health services were being forced to make painful decisions. It was time to further projects of a more homespun nature in the Third World. In some African countries I watched expatriate nurses managing health centers, where hundreds attended the daily outpatient session, receiving clever teaching on public health and hygiene as they waited, followed by practical demonstration on diet as well as laboratory investigations. A dozen local aides were being trained in the process. At one Zambian hospital, a village of rondavels (African huts) provided accommodation for mothers eager to learn how to feed and care for the family. Such centers have been spread widely not only in rural settings but also in urban areas.

Lessons from India for Africa

In the later years of my service with the Army, I related lessons from one area to the needs of another, as when the expertise of one of the vocational training centers in India came to the aid of a new scheme in Ghana. My career ended with a series of seminars in every continent at which nationals of adjacent countries learned how to develop projects to expand their own missionary endeavors, using capital from Western sources. The U.S. Agency for International Development approved a grant that permitted an international team of missionary experts in education, agriculture, medicine, and organization to travel to every part of the non-Western world. In these exploits my wife lectured on opportunities for women in church and society.

The six years spent as an international secretary for the Army's London headquarters held a variety of responsibilities both in Army administration and in the universal church. I was a member of two councils that elected generals, and I chaired the Advisory Council to the general, a body of senior officers that considers changes in appointments, new developments, and responses to a changing world. On the wider front in the United Kingdom, I enjoyed the fellowship of the medical committee of the British Society for Missionary Studies. One lasting production of those years was Heralds of Health: The Saga of Christian Medical Initiatives (ed. Stanley G. Browne [London: Christian Medical Fellowship, 1985]), which records two thousand years of Christian contribution to the development of medicine. Another lasting contribution to world health has been made by ECHO, a medical supply agency, of which I was a director. It evolved from a simple initiative of the Medical Missionary Association of London in collecting, sorting, and distributing second-hand medical instruments to mission hospitals. It now deals with all forms of medical equipment from bedpans to complete hospitals. ECHO can supply medicines of a basic pharmacopeia at incredibly low prices.

During the same period, I was elected to a five-year term on the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, which gave me an experience that confirmed for me the oneness of the spirit but the diversity of gifts. Ecumenism has continued to expand on this understanding of a rich diversity of worship and administration.

Some Personal Reflections

Long years among Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims, Christians, and animists have taught me that monolithic religious disciplines are inherently intolerant. Only as minorities are they in any sense open. Animism is the exception. All over the world, such people have heard the Gospel gladly and responded. Then again, Hinduism, ancient and amorphous, has always been able to admit new "prophets" to its pantheon without change in its framework. The Dravidian gods of southern India have been lost in the religion of the Aryan invader from the north. Gandhi was happy to include Christ alongside Vishnu and Shiva and to meditate in Christian ashrams.

This immersion in an alien brew helped to clarify my Christian faith. I could learn something from all but hold to Christ as the unique self-revelation of God. It confirmed me in the fundamental, emotional relationship of discipleship to a living Lord as the vital requirement of Christianity. If the great variety of Christian denominations were to merge, the superficial differences could be accepted as reflecting what the infinite variety of personality and culture requires for an individual believer to be happy in the worship of God.

Throughout the years I have written for the Salvation Army and various medical journals. Two books were published during these years, The Miracle of Medicine Hill (1970) and Booth-Tucker: William Booth's First Gentleman (1980). Retirement has not meant a cessation of purpose. An autobiography I Couldn't Call My Life My Own (1990) was followed by a trilogy of novels (The General Has Decided, The Sons of Want, and The Chota Sahib [1994–99]), covering three generations of Christian medical service in India.

During the years spent at Salvation Army international headquarters, I was able to find the staff and funds to open a primary health and community center in a shantytown suburb of Cochabamba, Bolivia's second city. It developed into a small hospital specializing in obstetrics and pediatrics. The need for a community medical program was obvious, and in 1991, at the age of seventy-eight, I went to live in the hospital. The links I made in the community and a turnaround in administration and funding have meant that a health service is now spreading to other areas with a mobile clinic and a training program for paramedics.

On one or two occasions in the last twenty years I have visited "old battlefields." The intensity of affection and the utter irrelevance of race have taken me by surprise. The missionary urge is now two-way; the cutting edge has shifted from the First to the Third World. But the oneness of all Christians must constantly be demonstrated, within denominations as well as between them. My pilgrimage is not over, but I have found fulfillment and contentment. I quote: "I couldn't call my life my own; but what a life He gave."
FAVORITE MISSIONS VIDEOS

Lesslie Newbigin
In two of his last public addresses before his death in 1998, delivered at Samford University ("The Gospel as Public Truth" and "The Missionary Mandate"), Bishop Newbigin articulated his compelling vision for the Church and the Christian Gospel in the modern world. It was a vision that had distinguished Newbigin as one of the most incisive and insightful religious leaders of the 20th century. 90 minutes

First Fruits
This is the true story of the extraordinary devotion of young people and their role at a critical point in the history of world missions. In the 1730s a community of Moravian refugees finds a home on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Germany. See how the first two young men who went as missionaries to the slaves on St. Thomas were willing to become slaves themselves, if they had to, in order to proclaim the Gospel. 70 minutes

The Good Seed
A remarkable case study of how a remote tribe was transformed by the Gospel. Marianna Slocum and Florence Gerdel went to Mexico to bring the Tzeltal Indian tribe the Scriptures in their own language. At first they experienced heartbreak and much opposition. Then a mighty movement of the Spirit of God occurred, affecting the whole society. This film shows the life-changing results of their mission. 30 minutes

Mama Luka Comes Home
Doctor Helen Roseveare, affectionately called Mama Luka, pioneered vital medical work in the rain forests of the Belgian Congo—now Zaire. After Independence in 1964, the country was ravaged by the Simba Rebellion. Helen, caught up in the horror of the revolution, was beaten, raped and imprisoned by the rebels. Mama Luka Comes Home vividly tells her story of forgiveness and faithfulness to those she came to serve. 60 minutes

Beyond the Next Mountain
A powerful drama originally made for theatrical release. At the close of the 19th century, the British branded the Hmar people of northeast India as "the worst headhunters," a label well deserved at the time. But in 1910, a single copy of the Gospel of John reached their village and introduced them to a revolutionary "new life in Christ." This is the story of the personal pilgrimage of one tribesman's son, Rochunga Pudaite. 97 minutes

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Book Reviews

Good Citizens: British Missionaries and Imperial States, 1870 to 1918.

Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England.

These two books address important and clearly distinctive aspects of British missions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. James Greenlee and Charles Johnston seek to explain how policy makers in British missionary societies responded to the European power politics that limited or forestalled evangelical expansion overseas after 1870. Susan Thorne attempts to demonstrate that missions produced and mediated a complex relationship between British society, the British Empire, and European imperialism more broadly. Thorne is especially interested in how British ideas about race informed ideas about class, and how missionary organizations helped to promote middle-class identity and solidarity within Britain itself. In a related vein, Thorne also makes an intriguing claim that the increasing role of women in British missions after the 1860s helped to create a new dichotomy between race and class in late Victorian Britain.

While the discussions of these two books are sometimes complementary, the authors generally work at cross-purposes, exposing the roots of contentious debates that have spread in recent years from the interdisciplinary field of imperial studies into the field of missiology. These debates focus upon methods of textual analysis and the definition of “politics” as a historical category. Greenlee and Johnston choose to ask traditional political questions about institutional policies and then draw upon archival sources to reveal the objectives of policy makers and the circumstances that ultimately determined policy options, (pp. xi–xii). Significantly, this traditional political perspective excludes women, who rarely occupied positions as policy makers in missionary societies. Moreover, the authors assert that gender “had little impact on whatever passed for the official missionary mind as it confronted expansive imperial states around the globe” (p. xiii), a claim that is arguably difficult to reconcile with their acknowledgment that women composed about half of the field force of most missionary organizations at the turn of the century (p. 263). By contrast, Thorne undertakes a discursive interpretation of archival sources, arguing that missionary propaganda and organizations reflect Britain’s own social tensions based upon class and gender oppression (p. 98). In examining these issues, Thorne illuminates the grassroots organizations that supported British missions, as well as the seldom-studied relations between British missions overseas and at home.

There is common ground to be found in these books. Each focuses primarily upon England, and there is a shared emphasis upon Congregationalists. Thorne dwells exclusively upon the London Missionary Society (LMS), which was an eminently Congregational mission, even though it was officially nondenominational. Greenlee and Johnston survey the policies of several missions, but they highlight the LMS and particularly the Reverend Ralph Thompson. Both books successfully represent the factional nature of British imperialism and, more specifically, the British missionary movement.

Unfortunately, the disjointed structures of imperial regimes and missions are replicated in the weak organization of both of these studies. They do not, furthermore, address theology in any depth, overlooking the specific religious principles that prompted thousands of British men and women to undertake or support missionary work. While the authors have chosen to distance themselves from theological discussions in order to augment and, in the case of Thorne, critique the main body of missionary scholarship, these books would have been enhanced by the integration of theology into their analyses of politics and economics. For relevant examples of such integrative approaches to theology, see David Bebbington’s Nonconformist Conscience (London, 1982) or G. R. Searle’s Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain (Oxford, 1998).

—Kevin Grant

Kevin Grant is an Assistant Professor in the History Department, Hamilton College, Clinton, New York.


Not to be pigeonholed as an institutional history, this volume is a multi-layered essay on the relationships of mission, Western empires, and American, African, and Asian Christianity. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was established by royal charter in 1699 to maintain and extend the Anglican Church in the English colonies. American independence and the development of the British Empire in the nineteenth century transformed it into a missionary society in the modern sense, but always with a particular consciousness of the church’s established and official character. Its charter status underlined this. The
society's ethos was usually that of High Church Anglicanism, and Anglican evangelicals tended to support the more voluntarist Church Missionary Society, often with different missiological and ecclesiastical emphases. Further, the Anglican Church was the established church only of England, not of Great Britain, the imperial power. After World War II came decolonization and other revolutionary changes, and new ecumenical developments. A worldwide Anglican communion emerged in which the Church of England was dwarfed by churches arising from its mission work. While C. F. Pascoe's century-old history of the SPG was almost unreadable, no one will say that of this volume. Almost half of Daniel O'Connor's masterly account is a thought-provoking study of the vital period since 1947. The forty pages on the eighteenth century establish that the society's work with Native Americans and African slaves was more significant than some of us thought. Throughout the cultural, political, and theological context is considered. We see, for instance, how a society historically aligned with imperial thinking could produce the most vocally anti-imperial missionaries—Roland Allen, C. F. Andrews, A. S. Cripps. After O'Connor's outline come fourteen detailed essays by coauthors who examine critical issues from each of the three centuries, and developments in North America, Barbados, East, West and South Africa, India, Melanesia, and Australia. This is not a book to be left to Anglicans. Anyone seriously interested in the missionary movement from the West should explore it.

—Andrew F. Walls

Andrew F. Walls, a Contributing Editor, is Honorary Professor, University of Edinburgh, and Guest Professor of Ecumenics and Mission, Princeton Theological Seminary.


This book is the doctoral thesis of a South Indian historian on the faculty of the Tamilnadu Theological Seminary. It appears to have been published unedited, which would explain its repetitiveness and heavy academic style. This is a pity, because the results of the author's research are both original and fascinating in their conclusions, and the notes and bibliography reveal the enormous range of material consulted.

Jeyakumar shows how the British cunningly developed the use of memoranda aimed at restricting the activities of foreign nationals employed by mission agencies, whom they feared might work for Germany. These same memoranda became the instrument used to regulate the activities of missionaries who were involving themselves in the national struggle associated with the Congress Party and Gandhi in the 1920s and 1930s. Missionaries were required to show active support of the British government if they were to be allowed to remain in India. Jeyakumar also shows how the British attempted at times to hold missionaries and mission agencies responsible for the political attitudes and actions of those Indians employed by them.

### Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions

**Edited by Gerald H. Anderson**

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

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Jeyakumar recounts the stories of a small but significant number of missionaries who took courageous positions and stood beside Tamil Christians who were prepared to speak up on national questions. He identifies 103 such Tamils in the Who Is Who of Freedom Fighters of Tamilnadu. In his conclusion the author also shows how regulations similar to these memoranda have been used by the government of independent India to restrict the activities of missionaries wishing to enter India. The difference is that these regulations now apply to the British, who were exempt from the earlier memoranda. He ends by challenging others to a further study of how Indian Christians have behaved toward the state since 1947, particularly in the period of the Indira Gandhi emergency. Such a study would add further evidence to what is found in this book, namely, that not all Indian Christians have been apolitical as has often been thought.

—Andrew Wingate

Andrew Wingate is Principal, United College of the Ascension, Birmingham, England.

Relevant Patterns of Christian Witness in India: People as Agents of Mission.


This book is the product of a nationwide study on the crucial issue of Christian witness in a pluralistic context. The material comes out of twenty consultations and workshops, for which Athyal was the coordinator. Relevant Patterns is a peculiar volume in that Athyal is named as editor, but none of the contributors are named. The project was initiated by the Thiruvalla Ecumenical Charitable Trust, founded by M. M. Thomas; it was jointly sponsored by the National Christian Council of India, the Christian Conference of Asia, and others. The workshops produced sixty-six papers and five consolidated reports, now reflected in this volume.

Relevant Patterns provides social analysis of the national and regional contexts, offers a rereading of history from a liberation perspective, and weaves ecological responsibility into missionization. In the introduction a claim is made that the study has evolved “from the crucial mission issue of Christian witness in the pluralistic context of India.” But nowhere in the course of the study is the nature of the “pluralistic context” explained. More work needs to be done here with special reference to cultural pluralism, religious pluralism, and ideological pluralism.

The material focuses primarily on mission to the Dalits rather than mission to high-caste Hindus and the Muslims. There seems also to be an implicit assumption that the church is in mission because of the Great Commission, when in fact the Great Commission and the Great Command-ment only serve as constant reminders of the missionary nature and calling of the church. The contributions fail to adequately reflect the paradigm shift in mission from kingdom to koinonia. This is unfortunate, since with its emphasis on “identity in community,” koinonia is a much-needed paradigm in today’s context of oppression and fragmentation. Finally, the book suffers from both an overly severe criticism of church traditionalism and institutionalism and an insufficiently qualified eulogizing of missionaries and their work in the colonial era.

—Regunta Yesurathnam

Regunta Yesurathnam is an ordained minister of the Church of South India and Professor of Theology and Dean for External Studies at the Andhra Christian Theological College, Hyderabad, India.
The Lutherans in Mission: Essays in Honor of Won Yong Ji.


This second volume in the Lutheran Society for Missiology Book Series is a tribute to Won Yong Ji, since 1979 professor of systematic theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and founding editor of the society's journal, Missio Apostolica. While the editor calls the volume a Festschrift, it actually is a collection of previously published essays that, a note on the back cover informs us, Professor Ji "has found most helpful in teaching and promoting discussion of the mission of the church." As such, one could imagine the volume serving as the reading list for one of Ji's courses. The three papers in part 1, "Martin Luther and Mission," argue that there is a theology of mission implicit in Luther's writings. Part 2, "The Lutherans and Mission," provides a historical context for understanding missions from the perspective of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod. Part 3, "Theology and Mission," presents the biblical and theological basis for missions, with particular emphasis on identifying a uniquely Lutheran missiology. Finally, part 4, "Mission and Ministry in Action," includes papers that present a broad, ecumenical perspective for understanding contemporary missiological thought and practice.

As a Festschrift, the volume would have benefited from more information about the honoree, such as a vita and bibliography of his work, as well as more information about the various authors. As an anthology of previously published works, the volume will have limited appeal beyond the audience for which it was compiled—the schools and congregations of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod.

—Paul F. Stuehrenberg

Paul F. Stuehrenberg is Librarian, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.

Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity, and Belief


This book has won awards from the American Comparative Literature Association, the Modern Languages Association, and the Association for Asian Studies. It is thus an important book, but it is not easy reading.

Gauri Vishwanathan, professor of English and comparative literature at Columbia University, brings to the study of conversion a perspective very different from those one normally encounters. Viewing conversion as one of the most "destabilizing activities" and "unsettling political events in the life of a society" (pp. xi, xvi), she sets her case studies within national, colonial, and even global contexts rather than the merely local. In doing so, Vishwanathan challenges what she calls a missionary-oriented focus that "prevails overwhelmingly in the existing anthropological and historical literature on conversions which is primarily concerned with how conversion takes place, whether or not they are successful, and what further kinds of changes were triggered in the culture by ways of a chain reaction from the original 'transformation.'" (p.42) Instead, she looks at the ways in which conversion exposes contradictions in prevailing national and cultural ideologies, civil law, official schema, systems of religious belief, and
oral agendas by which peoples are defined and classified. It is in relating specific conversions to these larger contexts that the originality of her work lies.

The focus of the book is on the British-Indian colonial nexus. Her case studies include John Henry Newman, a number of civil cases involving Christian converts in India, Pandita Ramabai, the census of India, Annie Besant, and B. R. Ambedkar. The case studies are well chosen. Although the Ambedkar chapter is weak, her point comes across. Conversion of individuals and of groups is an act of cultural criticism. Whether her approach can be applied to less famous and well-documented cases or not, she offers an important supplement to the missionary-oriented focus.

—John C. B. Webster

John C. B. Webster is a historian and diaconal worker of the Worldwide Ministries Division of the Presbyterian Church (USA). He has spent many years studying and living in India.


Religion is a significant factor in violent conflicts, but the religious situation in many countries is increasingly complex. These books face the questions raised by such developments.

Copeland is a Southern Baptist professor of Christian mission who served as a missionary in Japan. He intends “to demonstrate that one can affirm the Christian mission internationally and interculturally without diminishing either the importance of good interreligious relationships or the recognition of the worth of the major religions” (p. vii). Copeland addresses the subject of interreligious relations in broad strokes, but he provides a good survey of the issues and an introduction to the key theologians who have addressed them. He helpfully identifies fourteen questions and offers a brief statement of his own response to each one, but readers seeking a persuasive case for a perspective on the issues will need to read further in the bibliography that is provided.

Copeland suggests the following categories for the various perspectives on the religions, but he does not consider them mutually exclusive: negativism, dialecticism, confessionalism, Christocentric pluralism, theocentric pluralism, soteriocentric pluralism, paradoxical pluralism, nonrelativistic pluralism, and prescholological agnosticism. Copeland himself is sympathetic to the nonrelativistic pluralism of Jacques Dupuis but is most positive to proposals in the dialectical, confessional, and prescholological categories. His critique primarily indicates the inadequacy of negativism at one pole and relativistic forms of pluralism at the other.

Copeland helpfully offers a rationale for Christian mission and describes the spirit in which it should be conducted. His proposal regarding the manner in which Christians should relate to other religions through dialogue and cooperation is particularly worthwhile.

Ramachandra’s focus is more narrow and his proposal more groundbreaking, even iconoclastic, in his analysis of common assumptions regarding the conflict between faiths. He is regional secretary for the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students and lives in Sri Lanka.


Author of numerous books on mission, Andrew Kirk is dean and head of the School of Mission and World Christianity at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England. Kirk explains his purpose as "an attempt to present the crucial material on theology of mission in a convenient form ... intended to guide the student through some of the relevant discussion on a fairly wide range of issues" (p. 1). In conversation with David Bosch's Transforming Mission, Kirk nevertheless interacts primarily with missiological reflection within the ecumenical movement.


What is mission? Kirk gives a fivefold answer. Mission is: (1) "announcing the Good News in culturally authentic ways; (2) struggling to right the wrongs caused by economic malfunction, environmental degradation and conflict; (3) engaging with people of different beliefs; (4) establishing new communities of disciples; and (5) seeking the unity of Christians and human communities" (pp. 233-34). Many readers may disagree with the choice of issues Kirk has chosen to highlight. An additional provocative chapter is called "Sharing in Partnership." Here Kirk gives the reader much food for thought, though it is offered in small, bite-size morsels, almost in an outline form. One would wish Kirk had expanded this chapter to include a discussion of the goal of mission partnerships in our new reality of the world church, the majority of whose members are now in the South and East.

Kirk defines mission perhaps too broadly as "what the Christian community is sent to do" (p. 24). He defines theology of mission as "a means of validating, correcting and establishing on better foundations the motives and actions of those wanting to be part of the answer to the prayer, 'Your kingdom come, your will be done on earth as in heaven'" (p. 21).

Readers will be encouraged by Kirk's emphasis on the mission of the triune God, understood from a kingdom of God perspective. He is correct in his strong emphasis throughout the work that the church is missionary by definition (p. 30) and thus that "there can be no theology without mission ... no theology which is not missionary" (p. 11). Evangelicals may be dissatisfied with Kirk's somewhat apologetic approach to evangelism (pp. 57-74). Readers in church growth circles may be disheartened to see that Kirk ignores the movement's theoretical developments after the early 1980s, erroneously reducing church growth theory to issues of the homogeneous unit principle and people groups (p. 221). This book will make a helpful text for students who wish to think deeply and creatively about the mission of the church. We are all in Andrew Kirk's debt for this clear, concise, broad, challenging, and stimulating work.

—Charles Van Engen

Charles Van Engen is the Arthur F. Glasser Professor of the Biblical Theology of Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary's School of World Mission, Pasadena, California.

Transfigured Night: Mission and Culture in Zimbabwe's Vigil Movement.


Transfigured Night is a rainbowlike case study of vitality and diversity in African Christianity. After seven years as an Anglican priest and missioner, Presler engaged in field research (1991–95) at the Eastern Highlands Tea Estates in the Hondo Valley of eastern Zimbabwe near the Mozambique border. He observed numerous all-night vigils, conducted sixty-five individual and group interviews, solicited essay responses on "Christianity and tradition," and drew from archival

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One of several volumes published as preparatory study material for the Eighth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in December 1998, this volume contains papers presented at the First Harare Preparation Conference held at the Free University in Amsterdam, Netherlands, on September 19, 1998, gathered under the theme “Faith in the City.” Chapters are by Martien Brinkman (of the Interuniversity Institute for Missiology and Ecumenics [IIMO]), Ineke Bakker (Council of Churches in the Netherlands), Konrad Raiser (general secretary, WCC), Anton Houtepen (director of the IIMO and professor of ecumenics at Utrecht University), Anton Wessels (professor of musicology at the Vrije Universiteit), Margot Kassmann (general secretary of the German Evangelical Kirchentag), and Nico Gille (Amsterdam Council of Churches).

Both the title of the book and the presentations reflect a double meaning: Is there hope for the inner cities of secularized Western Europe? and, Is there still a faithful community remaining in those cities? Woven in all the presentations one finds the question, “What could be the contribution of the ecumenical movement to the credibility of the Christian faith in the secularized cities of Western Europe?” (Brinkman, p. 9). The chapters contain excellent overviews of the relationship of the older ecumenical churches to the cities of western Europe.

The book left this reviewer with four impressions. First, the presenters voice a deep and appropriate concern over the decline of the older churches in western Europe and their impact in the cities—a matter with immense implications for the future of the World Council of Churches and older forms of ecumenism. The shrinking impact of the “missionary structures of the congregation” (J. C. Hoekendijk’s program of the 1960s that affirmed the radical secularization of the church in the city) parallels the decline of the older Christian faith communities and a reduction of the church’s presence even in crucial social services.

Second, there is hope for the inner cities and there is a vibrant Christian faith community there—only it is predominately found among the strong churches made up of recent non-European sources. Presler focuses on the pungwe, an all-night vigil by which the Shona people "synthesize traditional religion and Christian gospel to meet Shona longings for spiritual encounters, communal solidarity, and liberative empowerment" (p. 14). With insight he analyzes the place of the vigils in Shona spirit religion and their adaptation by guerrillas for mass mobilization during Zimbabwe's war of liberation in the 1970s. Since independence in 1980 the vigils proliferated. The study details their continuing functions in traditional religion and their flowering in the renewal of both mission-founded and African-initiated churches. Letting participants speak for themselves, the text contains rich details that engage the reader.

Presler argues convincingly that the pungwe is an authentic Shona ritual. Guerrilla fighters did not introduce it from China or Tanzania or Mozambique; rather, they adapted it from traditional religious and church practices. Similarly, leaders of mission-founded churches found a catalyst in revivalist American Methodism, but in the vigils they discovered an indigenous means of revival. Each of the three African-initiated churches studied gave to the pungwe a distinctive expression.

In concluding chapters Presler relates his findings to missiological theory, including that of Robin Horton on African conversion and of Robert Hefner on the interactive function of ritual. Interpretation of the dynamics of contextualization would have been strengthened by use of Charles Kraft’s concept of dynamic equivalence and of Paul Hiebert’s “fourth self” interpretation of indigenous theologizing.

Transfigured Night puts flesh on the bare bones of David Barrett’s statistics on the explosive growth of African churches.

—Norman E. Thomas

Norman E. Thomas is the recently retired Heisal Professor of Evangelization and Church Renewal at United Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio. He served for fifteen years as a United Methodist missionary in Zimbabwe and Zambia; his dissertation was entitled “Christianity, Politics and the Manyika” (the Manyika are the Shona group in Presler’s study).
immigrants. The final chapter, written by Nico Gille, is a case study of Christian presence in Bijlmermeer, a poor multiethnic suburb of Amsterdam. There "Christianity flourishes," writes Gille, "as nowhere else in Amsterdam" (p. 96). One could add that such vibrant presence is found mostly in the newer, evangelistic, Pentecostal, and charismatic forms of the church.

Third, it seems that the organizations and people represented by the writers in this volume have not yet taken seriously the bankruptcy of modernity in the West and the negative impact of secularization—both on the church itself and on the church's presence in the cities of western Europe.

Finally, the state of the older churches in Amsterdam and western Europe should spark a reexamination of the initial charter of the World Council of Churches, founded in Amsterdam, fifty years before this consultation. It was affirmed then that the church's primary calling to mission and unity is so that the world may believe that Jesus is the Christ (John 17:21).

—Charles Van Engen

Charles Van Engen is the Arthur F. Glasser Professor of the Biblical Theology of Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary's School of World Mission, Pasadena, California.

Cameroon on a Clear Day.

The author, Helga Bender Henry, was born in 1915, the youngest of six missionary children. She has taught in Christian education at several seminaries and has been a spokesperson for World Vision. Her husband, Carl F. H. Henry, has written the foreword. Eighty-four years after her birth, Mrs. Henry takes us back to mission education in the early twentieth century. Cameroon on a Clear Day is an unusual book for several reasons. First, while it is a 1999 publication, it projects a message and style that recalls earlier missionary accounts. Second, Henry writes with objectivity and care for data. Memoirs of this kind are often clouded with sentimentality and idealism. Third, the story reveals much about the mentality and theology that prevailed in this important mission period. Fourth, this is a revisitation with great personalities who touched one another and who influenced her father, Carl Bender. References to Rauschenbusch, Strong, Finney, Moody, Pierson, Mott, and others light up the narrative. Fifth, Henry writes as an outsider while having all the love and respect of an insider-daughter. She refers to her father as Bender and does not use the personal pronoun, even when speaking about herself.

Carl Bender immigrated to the United States from Germany and received his mission education at Rochester Seminary. In Cameroon Bender demonstrated sensitivity to African culture while dealing with German colonialism. The missionary family theme runs throughout the book. The torturous effects of World War I are dealt with, and a missionary conference (1914) gives insight into mission thinking of the era. After eleven years as pastor in the United States, Bender returned to Cameroon, where he died in 1935. This is not just a missionary story. It is an account that needs to be taken seriously as respectable scholarship and as a careful presentation of mission history.

—Dean S. Gilliland

Answering Jewish Objections to Jesus: General and Historical Objections.

The history of disputation literature between Judaism and Christianity is a checkered and sordid one. Christian polemics have added much heat and little light to the disagreements that stand between these two great faiths.

Into this sensitive territory comes this breakthrough book from Michael L. Brown, the first of three volumes planned on the subject. Unlike much of the literature of the past, this book is both irenic and persuasive. Brown, a Jewish believer in Jesus, is able to address controversial issues as one who is an insider, a member of the Jewish community, yet as one who is thoroughly conversant with Christian theology. His scholarship is well documented and his style is personable and conversational, which makes the book accessible to a wide audience.

In the first section Brown handles objections like "A person is either Jewish or Christian . . . belief in Jesus and Jewishness in any form are incompatible." The historical section deals with more thorny issues such as the problem of Christian anti-semitism. The most helpful section is the one dealing with the painful issues surrounding the Holocaust. The

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author provides an excellent summary of various Jewish views on the Holocaust and then provides a sensitive and balanced consideration from a Christian perspective; this is some of the best writing I have seen on this topic.

What the book lacks is a cogent effort to address issues from a post-modern outlook, with its pervasive relativism. Nevertheless, this first volume is a valuable tool for Jewish people seeking answers as well as for Christians seeking to be better prepared to give reasoned answers to their Jewish friends. —David Brickner

David Brickner is Executive Director of Jews for Jesus, San Francisco, California. He has served on the staff of Jews for Jesus for twenty-three years, as the leader of the Liberated Wailing Wall, Chief of Station in the Chicago and New York branches, and Director of Recruitment.

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**Dissertation Notices**

Chan, Daniel T.
"Quest for Certainty: The Life and Thought of Chang Lit-Sen."

Chalmers, Henry.
"The Impact of Theological Education upon Church Growth in the Free Methodist Church in Malawi and Zimbabwe."

Farhadian, Charles E.
"Raising the Morning Star: A Social and Ethnographic History of Urban Dani Christians in New Order Indonesia."

Garreau, James F.
"Commandos for Christ: The Foundation of the Missionary Society of St. James the Apostle and the 'Americanism' of the 1950s and 1960s."

Grensted, Staffan.
"Ambaricho and Shonkolla. From Local Independent Church to the Evangelical Mainstream in Ethiopia: The Origins of the Mekane Yesus Church in Kambata Hadiya."

Jun, Ho Jin.
"An Evangelical Response to Religious Pluralism and Fundamentalism in Asia, with Special Reference to Indonesia, Japan, and South Korea."
Ph.D. Lampeter, Wales: Univ. of Wales, 2000.

May, Grace Ying.
"Watchman Nee and the Breaking of Bread: The Theological and Spiritual Forces That Influenced the Emergence of an Indigenous Chinese Ecclesiology."

Muturi, Samuel.
"A History of the Anglican Church in the Kiambu District of Kenya, 1900–1990."

Ngambi, Kibutu.
"Les Nouvelles Eglises Independentes Africaines (NAIC). Un phénomène ecclésial observé au Congo/Kinshasa et auprès de ses extensions en Europe occidentale."

Reeves, Virgil L.

Sundberg, Carl.
"Conversion and Contextual Conceptions of Christ: A Missiological Study Among Young Converts in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo."

Wang, Zhongxin.

Yao, Xiyi.
September 10–14, 2001
How to Develop Church and Mission Archives. Martha Lund Smalley, Yale Divinity School Research Services Librarian, helps missionaries and church leaders preserve essential records. Eight sessions. $95

September 18–21
Key Issues for Missions in the New Millennium. Dr. Gerald H. Anderson, former OMSC director, explores major issues facing the missionary community, including the uniqueness of Jesus Christ and the role of interreligious dialogue. Cosponsored by Wycliffe Bible Translators. Four morning sessions. $75

September 24–28
Nurturing and Educating Transcultural Kids. David Pollock and Janet Blomberg of Interaction help you help your children meet the challenges they face as third-culture persons. Cosponsored by Mission Society for United Methodists. Eight sessions. $95

October 1–5

October 15–19
The Eternal Word and Cultural Relativity. Dr. Charles R. Taber, OMSC Senior Mission Scholar and Professor Emeritus of World Mission and Evangelism, Emmanuel School of Religion, Johnson City, Tenn., examines the tension between divine absolutes and human limitations as it applies to effective communication of the Gospel. Cosponsored by Maryknoll Mission Institute and Moravian Church World Mission. Eight sessions. $95

October 22–26
Shaping 21st Century Christianity: Life Stories of Leaders from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Andrew F. Walls, Edinburgh University, employs biography to reveal the increasingly non-Western character of the world Christian community. Cosponsored by American Baptist International Ministries, InterVarsity Missions/Urbana, and Mennonite Board of Missions. Eight sessions. $95

October 29–November 2
Doing Oral History: Helping Christians Tell Their Own Story. Dr. Jean-Paul Wiest and Dr. Donna Bonner, Maryknoll Center for Mission Research and Study, share skills and techniques for documenting church and mission history. Cosponsored by United Church/ Disciples of Christ Common Global Ministries Board. Eight sessions. $95

November 5–9

November 12–16
Ethnic Conflict and the Gospel of Peace in Eastern Europe. Dr. Peter Kuzmic, Evangelical Seminary, Osijek, Croatia, and Gordon-Conwell Seminary, demonstrates the power of the Gospel in the context of social, political, and ethnic tension. Cosponsored by Mennonite Central Committee, World Evangelical Fellowship, World Relief Corporation, and World Vision International. Eight sessions. $95

November 26–30
Contextualizing Theology for Mission in Asia. Dr. Enoch Wan, Professor of Anthropology and Mission, Reformed Theological Seminary, Jackson, Miss., focuses on China as a case study in contextualizing the Gospel. Cosponsored by Calvary Baptist Church (New Haven). Eight sessions. $95

December 3–7
Advancing Mission on the Information Superhighway. Dr. Scott Moreau, Wheaton College Graduate School, shows how to get the most out of the worldwide web for mission research. Cosponsored by Billy Graham Center. Eight sessions. $95
Book Notes

Burce, Jerome E.
Proclaiming the Scandal: Reflections on Postmodern Ministry.

Conley, Joseph F.

Hedlund, Roger.
Quest for Identity: India’s Churches of Indigenous Origin, the “Little Tradition” in Indian Christianity.

Heim, S. Mark.
The Depth of the Riches: A Trinitarian Theology of Religious Ends.

Jacques, Geneviève.
Beyond Impunity: An Ecumenical Approach to Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation.

Kessler, Diane, and Michael Kinnamon.
Councils of Churches and the Ecumenical Vision.

La Due, William J.
The Chair of Saint Peter: A History of the Papacy.

Legrand, Lucien.
The Bible on Culture: Belonging or Dissenting?

Malek, Roman, and Arnold Zingerle, eds.
Martino Martini S.J. (1614–1661) und die Chinamission im 17. Jahrhundert.

Mercado, Leonardo N.
From Pagans to Partners: The Change in Catholic Attitudes Towards Traditional Religion.

Pollock, David C., and Ruth E. Van Reken.
The Third Culture Kid Experience: Growing Up Among Worlds.

Rickett, Daniel.
Building Strategic Relations: A Practical Guide to Partnering with Non-Western Missions.

Snaitang, O. L., ed.
Churches of Indigenous Origins in North East India.

Taylor, Michael.
Poverty and Christianity: Reflections at the Interface Between Faith and Experience.

van der Bent, Ans J.

Visser ’t Hooff, W. A.
Teachers and the Teaching Authorities: The Magistri and the Magisterium.

In Coming Issues

Christian Mission and Islamic Studies: Beyond Antithesis
David A. Kerr

Kenneth Cragg in Perspective: A Comparison with Temple Gairdner and Wilfred Cantwell Smith
James A. Tebbe

Looking for a Shortcut to Language Preparation: Radical Evangelicals, Missions, and the Gift of Tongues
Gary B. McGee

The Church in a Troubled Continent: A Review Essay of Bengt Sundkler’s A History of the Church in Africa
Lamin Sanneh

The Lesslie Newbigin/Konrad Raiser Dialogue on Mission
Michael Goheen

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Carlos F. Cardoza

African Initiated Churches and European Typologies
Allen Anderson

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