If the quest of the church is for unity in Christ, the on-the-ground reality has been kaleidoscopic fragmentation. And the kaleidoscope is spinning with increasing speed. In the past dozen years, formal organizational diversity among Christians has grown by 26 percent, swelling from an estimated 34,100 denominations in the year 2000 to a projected 43,000 by mid-2012 (see “Status of Global Mission, 2012, in the Context of AD 1800–2025,” by Todd Johnson, David Barrett, and Peter Crossing, line 41, on p. 29 of this issue).

The tensions between ecclesiastical aspiration and achievement are evident in the Protestant mission enterprise of the past two centuries as well. The number of foreign mission sending agencies has more than doubled in the past four decades (p. 29, line 44). That development should perhaps give one pause—who has measured the level of redundancy, competition, ill-coordination of efforts, and striving to establish organizational identity or “brand” that this level of multiplication entails?

Yet, madcap as it sometimes seems, this development is not necessarily all negative. The founding documents of the church, and hence of Christian mission, speak of diversity of gifts among individuals and concordant differences in their function. If individuals vary in capability, expertise, cultural context, and social conditioning, is there any reason why organizations should not

Continued next page
be similarly conditioned? Perhaps organizational diversity in itself bears witness to the multifaceted love of God!

While it may be questioned whether diversity and fragmentation are precise synonyms, it is a historical fact that the ways these tensions have played out in mission practice and in the wider Christian movement have frequently been less than edifying. How often has failure in the quest for unity been papered over with a mask of comity? How frequently has a Christendom mentality sacrificed complementarity and functional diversity on the altar of territorial or quasi-territorial separation, as though Christ’s followers could be sufficient in themselves and did not need each other?

As the articles in this issue by R. G. Tiedemann, Gloria Tseng, and Peter Ng show, the planting of the Protestant church in China provides an excellent case in point. Turfs—territorial, intellectual, spiritual, and above all denominational—were carved out. When the call of Cheng Jingyi came, giving voice to the desire in China for “a united Christian church that was freed from denominationalism” (Ng, p. 15), many heard and followed his lead. In 1927 as much as a quarter of the Chinese Christian community joined in forming the Church of Christ in China. The majority, however, held aloof. Tseng argues convincingly that the seeds of discord planted then continue to bear bitter fruit to this day.

Whatever their shortcomings, missionaries to China in the nineteenth century were sacrificial. They bore in their bodies the truth of Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s dictum that, when Christ calls “a person, he calls that one to come and die.” In the early years particularly, many died, large numbers fell ill, most suffered heartache with the loss of spouses, children, and colleagues. They endured loneliness, suffered from depression, and ached with social isolation in a land where they were often not welcome and whose language they rarely adequately mastered. Jessie Lutz places these pressures in sharp relief as she tabulates shifts in the rates of missionary attrition throughout the nineteenth century.

The quest for relevant ministry was not only organizational and denominational but at times deeply personal. Ian Welch recounts the life of Lydia Mary Fay. She eventually found stable footing overseeing the school where she nurtured “her boys,” seen with her in the etching on page 1. An accomplished teacher and administrator who would have preferred the domestic life of a married woman, she volunteered for missionary service in China, where she devoted the last twenty-eight years of her life. She applied herself with diligence to study of the language, gaining a fluency that eluded others. But in mid-nineteenth-century China she chafed under mission policies that put her under the authority of less gifted males who served only short-term in her school. In 1878, upon her death, the school that passed to her successor was unquestionably “her school,” which was a credit to her resolve, hard work, and innate administrative capabilities. But one suspects that, in the end, she won the day in large part because the day itself had changed. Single and married women themselves had begun to be counted on the rolls of mission societies.

Tributes to two individuals who placed their mark on twentieth-century Christian scholarship appear in this issue. The ways each of us thinks about Bible translation, as well as the translations themselves, bear the impress of Eugene Nida. And David Barrett, a contributing editor whose summaries of missional statistics have appeared annually since 1985 in the January issue of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH, was our era’s foremost statistician of the world Christian movement. We look forward to ongoing annual statistical updates from the hands of his longtime colleagues Todd Johnson and Peter Crossing.

—Dwight P. Baker
Comity Agreements and Sheep Stealers: The Elusive Search for Christian Unity Among Protestants in China

R. G. Tiedemann

One persistent criticism of the Protestant missionary enterprise in China has been its failure to overcome denominational divisions and create a genuine Chinese Protestant church. This accusation has been made most vociferously by many Chinese commentators. Indeed, as early as 1910, none other than Cheng Jingyi (1881–1939), eminent Beijing pastor who was prominent among Sino-foreign Protestants, publicly decried Western-imposed denominationalism at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference. To be sure, in the early twentieth century the Protestant missionary endeavor was marked by considerable denominational variety in China. It was, moreover, represented by organizations and agents from several countries of Europe and North America, as well as from Australia and New Zealand.

In the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, missionaries from various mainline denominations had been able to establish themselves in most provinces of China. At the same time, existing missionary work was expanded and intensified, with greater emphasis on medical, educational, and social works. Around the turn of the twentieth century, new mainline missionary societies, especially missions supported by Lutheran churches in Scandinavia and ethnic Scandinavian churches in the United States, were entering the field. These developments called for greater coordination of, and greater unity within, the Protestant movement in China. Early moves in this direction had already been made at the General Conferences of Protestant Missionaries of China, held in Shanghai in 1877 and 1890, which no foreign mission body failed to attend. These consultations achieved a significant consensus and prepared the way for a number of China-wide cooperative ventures, as well as comity agreements among the mainline societies that sought to prevent undue overlap of evangelistic work. Several cooperative councils and agencies were set up, such as the China Medical Missionary Association (1886) and the China Christian Educational Association (1890), to coordinate various activities of the major European and North American sending agencies. A traditional evangelical theology inherited from the nineteenth century provided further common ground, as shown for example in the role of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM), coordinated by John R. Mott and so influential from the 1890s to the 1920s.

A sense of community among the mainline denominational missionaries was also created by the publication since 1867 of the Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal. In addition to informing its readers in China about current events, situations, problems, and movements, “its main functions [were] to be a medium for the exchange of ideas, methods, proposed experiments and policies between missionaries, Chinese and western Christians working in China and the Chinese and western churches.”

The China Centenary Missionary Conference at Shanghai in 1907 provided further impetus to cooperation on the China mission field. In some ways this gathering anticipated the developments arising from the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910, the gathering that initiated the process leading to the formation of a nondenominational Chinese church. Plans for establishing local Chinese churches had already been developed in the nineteenth century, starting with the Amoy Plan in the 1860s. This approach was subsequently adopted by American Presbyterians in their drive toward a united Chinese Presbyterian church. One of the key issues they considered was the role of foreign missionaries in the local bodies. More concrete steps toward nationwide Christian unity were taken by Presbyterian missionaries in China in 1906, on the eve of the Centenary Missionary Conference of 1907, with the establishment of the Synod of the Five Provinces as an autonomous Chinese church. This in turn led to the formation of the Council of Presbyterian Churches, with representatives from the mission churches of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (representing the Northern states), the Presbyterian Church in the United States (representing the Southern states), the Reformed Church in America, the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterian churches in Canada, Ireland, and England, to act as a coordinating body for the new church that was to be established. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in China met in Shanghai in 1922 and decided on a name for the church. Having opted for “The Church of Christ in China,” the Presbyterians invited other church bodies in China to join this union.

In the meantime, another ecumenical venture with significant Presbyterian involvement had been initiated. Following the 1910 Edinburgh conference, the China Continuation Committee of the National Missionary Conference was set up to promote coordination among Christian groups in China and to serve as a means of connection between the Christian groups of China, the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference, and the mission boards in the West. The committee brought its work to an end with the calling of a National Conference of delegates elected by virtually all branches of the Protestant churches and missions in China in 1922. This conference, in turn, created the National Christian Council of China (NCC), a national Protestant coordinating and liaison body which was to “foster . . . unity of the Christian Church in China; to watch and study the development of the Church in self-support, self-government, and self-propagation; to encourage every healthy movement of the Church that leads to full autonomy; and to seek and work for the adaptation of the Church to its environment and for its naturalization in China at as early a date as practicable.”

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Raymond Kepler (1879–1942), of the American Presbyterian (North) mission, a committed proponent of church union, was asked by the National Christian Council in 1922 to prepare the convocation of a general assembly to formally establish the interdenominational Church of Christ in China (CCC). The First General Assembly of the CCC was held in Shanghai in October 1927. The following groups were connected with this church:

- American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
- Baptist Missionary Society
- Church of Scotland
- London Missionary Society
- Presbyterian Church in Korea
- Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (North)
- Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (South)
- Presbyterian Church of England
- Presbyterian Church of Ireland
- Presbyterian Church of New Zealand
- Reformed Church in America
- Reformed Church in the U.S.
- South Fujian Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church
- United Brethren in Christ
- United Church of Canada

In addition, the CCC included some independent Chinese churches. As a consequence of this union, the CCC became the largest Protestant church in China, as well as the most powerful member of the NCC. Despite differences in nuances and even outright disagreements over issues such as the role of schools or social services versus evangelization, the unity of the mainline Protestant community, still led by foreign missionaries but with increasing numbers of Chinese Christians playing leading roles, was to a large extent maintained until the end of the missionary era in China. However, the National Christian Conference of 1922 was the last major Protestant forum at which almost all missions and even some new independent Chinese churches were represented. That is to say, the creation of the Church of Christ in China was only a partially successful move toward a genuine united national Protestant church.

### Continuing Denominational Separatism

Despite this drive toward greater unity, Protestant Christianity actually became far more diverse during the first half of the twentieth century. Several factors account for this. For one thing, the CCC found it difficult to overcome inherent limitations. "In effect the Church of Christ in China lived a double life. On the one hand it was a national church representing a variety of denominational traditions and carrying on programs in the name of the total church. On the other hand it was a group of regional churches in loose association with a central staff and not very close relations with each other."

At the same time, several major mainline denominations did not join this venture but set up their own Chinese national churches. In the wake of the First World War, the so-called fundamentalist-modernist controversy split the entire Protestant community in China, missionaries and Chinese Christians alike. Furthermore, a bewildering variety of new Protestant groups, large and small, were establishing themselves throughout the country—not to mention the many older groups, separated by belief and nationality. Some of these were from relatively new sects at the fringe of the traditional evangelical consensus—Holiness people, Pentecostals, and Seventh-day Adventists, for example. Most were ardent millenarians, expecting the imminent second coming of Christ. Especially the more radical evangelical bodies shunned any kind of organizational arrangements and refused to enter into comity agreements. Finally, the Chinese independent churches that emerged during the early decades of the twentieth century further added to the divisions of Protestantism in China.

### The Anglican Communion in China

In accordance with the resolutions of their 1909 conference in Shanghai, the churches of every branch of the Anglican Communion in China—American, British, and Canadian—were amalgamated in 1912 into one ostensibly independent church, the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (Holy Catholic Church of China). This included the churches of the American Church Mission, that is, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Church Missionary Society, the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society, and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. In addition, the Missionary District of Shaanxi, “an area of abject poverty and hotbed for political revolutionaries,” was formed as an initiative among the Chinese clergy and was to be completely funded and pioneered by Chinese. However, as Michael Poon has observed, the foreign missionaries “failed to establish a church in China that was rooted in its cultural and social contexts.” It was only in 1949 at the Tenth General Synod that the decision was taken to set up a national office and a central theological college in Shanghai.

### The Lutheran Church of China

Under an agreement reached at the Jigongshan (Henan) Conference of 1917, the Chinese churches of several Lutheran mission societies from Europe and the United States became part of the Lutheran Church of China, which was formally established in 1920. This church maintained the Lutheran Board of Publication and the Lutheran Theological Seminary. At the National Council meeting in 1949, at the very end of the missionary era in China, four more societies joined the Lutheran Church of China. It should be noted, however, that the Basel and Rhenish societies had not only Lutheran but also Reformed missionaries.

### Faith Missions and Holiness Movements

One of the earliest and ultimately largest missionary societies with a mission strategy at variance with the operations of the “classical” Protestant missions was the interdenominational China Inland...
Mission (CIM). It differed from the traditional mission societies in several significant ways. During the late Qing Dynasty the CIM adopted an “extensive” rather than an “intensive” missionary strategy, promoting relatively superficial proclamation of the Gospel by foreign as well as Chinese itinerating laymen and the deployment of single Western women in the interior of China. Perhaps most important, the CIM began as a “faith mission,” meaning that the necessary funds were not overtly solicited.¹⁵

By the end of the nineteenth century several new organizations had been founded on the CIM’s faith-mission principle. In this connection, the Swedish evangelist Fredrik Franson (1852–1908) became an important organizer of missions to China among the Scandinavian immigrants in the United States, in Scandinavia, and in the German-speaking countries.¹⁶ Most of these new societies became associate missions of the CIM in China. Eventually there would be thirteen bodies working under CIM auspices:

- China Alliance Mission of Barmen
- Evangelical Congregational Church
- Free Missionary Society, Finland
- Friedenshort Deaconess Mission
- German Women’s Missionary Union
- Holiness Mission (Sweden)
- Liebenzell Mission
- Norwegian Mission in China
- Norwegian Mission Union
- Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America
- Swedish Alliance Mission
- Swedish Mission in China
- Vandsburger Mission

Thus, by the early twentieth century the CIM and its associates formed the largest Protestant missionary organization in the country, with foreign evangelists present in nearly every province and territory of the Manchu Qing Empire.¹⁷

Besides the China Inland Mission and its affiliates, the Holiness movements and premillennialist revivals spawned several other missionary organizations with work in China at the turn of the twentieth century. Canadian-born Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843–1919) and his Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) had a significant impact on, and was affected by, the emerging Pentecostal movement, both in North America and in the China mission field.

Among the Protestant denominations that began to send missionaries to China at this time, including those of a postmillennialist persuasion, several were connected with the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness, known from 1893 as the National Holiness Association (NHA). The Canadian Holiness Movement Mission initiated its work in Hunan Province shortly after 1900. The Free Methodist Church of North America commenced its China mission in 1904. The Hephzibah Faith Mission sent its first workers to China in 1905. The Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) opened stations in Shanghai (1909) and Zhenjiang (1910). The first official Church of the Nazarene mission in China opened in Zhaocheng (Shandong) in 1914. As a “second blessing” Holiness church, it cooperated extensively with the National Holiness Association’s China mission (started in western Shandong in 1910). Having been influenced by different strands of the Holiness movement in Britain, and in keeping with its dual role of evangelism and social work, the Salvation Army became involved in famine relief and medical work in China beginning in 1916.

**Fundamentalist Reaction**

The emphasis on social, educational, and medical work, as well as the increasing appreciation of Chinese culture by the majority of missionaries associated with the Church of Christ in China, provoked a response from conservative, fundamentalist elements within the mainline denominational missions. They became increasingly concerned about the high incidence of “modernism” in the various cooperative ventures and feared that cooperation in union projects would lead to doctrinal compromises. The ensuing fundamentalist-modernist controversy became particularly acute within American Presbyterianism and affected the missions in China. Alarmed by what they saw as the liberal nature of the CCC, conservative Presbyterians, with the support of the North China Theological Seminary at Tengxian, Shandong, organized a “continuing” Presbyterian Church to preserve traditional Presbyterianism and remain outside the multi-confessional union of the CCC. This fundamentalist Presbyterian Church, consisting of the five presbyteries from Jiangsu and Shandong as well as the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Manchuria and the Christian Reformed Mission, organized the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Christ in China in November 1929. Being to some extent dissatisfied with the Bible Union of China (founded in 1920 to “maintain . . . the fundamental and saving truths revealed in the Bible, especially those now being assailed”), these Presbyterians were instrumental in forming the League of Christian Churches in 1929. In addition to the General Assembly, this new organization included the churches connected with the Baptist China Direct Mission (Tai’an), the Mennonite General Conference Mission, the Bethel Mission Church, the churches connected with the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Anhui Province, and the churches connected with the China Inland Mission Church Council of Henan.¹⁸ In other words, “Even as the fundamentalists refused to join or else withdrew from the union institutions, they formed their own inter-denominational fellowships according to their own vision of Christian unity.”¹⁹

There was considerable diversity within the fundamentalist camp. According to Kevin Yao, there were, on the one hand, such “mild” fundamentalists as Jonathan Goforth (1859–1936), after 1925 a “continuing” missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Canada,²⁰ as well as Walter Stephen Moule (1865–1949), Anglican; Dixon Edward Hoste (1861–1946), director of the China Inland Mission and one of the Cambridge Seven; and Watson McMillan Hayes (1857–1941), a member of the Northern Presbyterian mission in Shandong. On the other hand, a radical minority group included Hugh Watt White (1870–1940), Albert Baldwin Dodd (1877–1972), and members of the Christian Fundamentals League for China, a new fundamentalist organization set up in 1927 that was much more militant than the Bible Union of China. Of all the mainline fundamentalists opposed to the NCC’s program, the American Edgar Ellsworth Struther (1884–1947), from 1909 to 1928 general secretary of the Christian Endeavor Society in...
China, surely was the most militant. His publication *The National Christian Council of China: A Bolshevik Aid Society* expresses quite well the acrimonious nature of his polemical attacks.21

As concerns the controversy in the United States, the PCUSA ministers who perceived serious doctrinal error in their denomination formed the Presbyterian Church of America in 1936, renamed the Orthodox Presbyterian Church (OPC) in 1939. In 1937, however, many of the OPC members who advocated the establishment of a fundamentalist and evangelical church left to form the Bible Presbyterian Church, taking with them the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, which had been organized in 1933 for “Bible-believing” Presbyterians.

### Unaffiliated Missionaries

In a climate of heightened revivalist expectations, many new and more radical mission groups sought access to the vast China mission field. Some of these were unconnected with any denominational church but were established solely to send missionaries to countries targeted for evangelization. Whereas some of the larger nonclassical missions such as CIM or CMA were organized as tightly controlled operations, many of the new groups in China showed an inherent distrust of any centralized decision-making body. At the same time, there was a significant increase in independent faith missionaries. These were individuals who were often not part of any organization at all but came to China entirely on their own, leading a precarious existence and sometimes leaving the field in disillusionment after a short time, a pattern that was particularly evident among the early Pentecostal missionaries.

In a time of extreme spiritual ferment among radical evangelicals at the turn of the twentieth century, when many premillennialist Christians believed that they were living in “the last days” and the evangelization of the “heathen” took on great urgency, the Pentecostal movement came into being. In these early days, however, it was not perceived to be a radical departure from the prevailing revivalist currents. As Allan Anderson has so aptly put it, “Pentecostalism was in a process of formation that was not seen as a distinct form of Christianity at least until a decade after the revival and missionary movements in which it was entwined. . . . It is a movement or rather a series of movements that took several years and several different formative ideas and events to emerge. Pentecostalism then as now is a polynucleated and variegated phenomenon.”22

Finally, it is important to note that the emergence of Pentecostal missionary enterprises was not confined to North America. Evangelists from Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia were among the earliest Pentecostal workers in China. Some traveled directly from Europe to the East; others had been recent immigrants in North America. Some went as individuals; others came in groups. Some of the men and women who joined the Pentecostals had come to China with older faith missionary societies. Thus, several members of the CMA, the CIM, and the South Chihi Mission joined the early Pentecostal missionary movement. Given their diverse backgrounds and religious convictions, the arrival of these radical elements on the mission field was not conducive to the creation of a united Protestant Church in China.

### Chinese Independent Churches

The single most important factor in the continuing divisions within Chinese Protestantism was the rapid growth after 1900 of independent Christian movements under Chinese control, that is, only marginally connected to, or entirely separate from, foreign missions and indigenous in ideas and leadership.24 Several important individuals founded new churches in the early decades of the twentieth century. Others were self-supporting evangelists or pastors. The independent churches were a diverse sector, made up of a combination of organized church groups (some nationwide with hundreds of congregations) and of individual congregations or even individual local Christian workers. Some of these coexisted with and interacted with the mission churches; others were quite separatist and had almost no contacts with other Christians, Chinese or foreign. These movements involved several major components.

**Church federations.** Various church federations were made up of self-supporting and self-governing congregations that had broken away or distanced themselves from foreign missionary bodies. One of these, the Chinese Christian Independent Church, had started as an independent, all-Chinese congregation, formed in Shanghai in 1906 by the Presbyterian pastor Yu Guozhen (1852–1932) and others. By the 1920s it had become a federation with over one hundred affiliated congregations. A smaller North Chinese movement emerged in 1912 in Shandong. The Tianjin congregation of this federation was led by Zhang Bolian (1876–1951), the founder of Nankai University. Cheng Jingyi (mentioned above), who subsequently held important offices in the mainstream Sino-foreign Protestant establishment, was briefly the leader of the independent church movement in Beijing.

**The True Jesus Church.** A Pentecostal church founded in 1917, the True Jesus Church may have been the largest of the independent groups nationwide by the 1930s. Wei Enbo (later Baoluo [Paul] Wei; d. 1919) was instrumental in founding what became and remains today the largest and most dynamic Chinese Pentecostal church in the world, the True Jesus Church (*Zhen Yesu jiaohui*). Wei had been a member of a mission church in Beijing, where in 1916 he encountered the relatively new Pentecostal ideas of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and supernatural spiritual gifts. In early 1917 he claimed to have had a dramatic vision and personal encounter with God. In this vision, after which he changed his name from Enbo to Baoluo (Paul), he heard God command him to correct and reform the entire Christian movement in China. Within two years Wei helped bring into being an aggressively proselytizing, millenarian, and often antiforeign Pentecostal movement that included a sprinkling of Adventist ideas. This indigenous movement spread rapidly from northern China throughout the rest of the country to become the largest independent Chinese church before 1949.

**The Assembly Hall (Juhuichu or Juhuisuo) or Local Church (Difang jiaohui).** More commonly called Little Flock (*Xiaoqu*), this move-
and exposure to Pentecostal ideas and practices from a nearby American Assemblies of God mission. The result was his creation of a Pentecostal rural commune in the late 1920s. Dozens of other Jesus Family communities were established in later years, especially in Shandong but also more widely in North and Central China, all in rural or semirural areas. The believers in these communities lived and worked together, holding property in common, under the direction of the “family head” (jiazhang).28

Other independent movements. Several other independent but more loosely organized groups arose, such as the Spiritual Gifts Church (Ling’ en hui), which emerged as a revival movement in Shandong in the 1930s. In addition, individual evangelists and teachers such as Wang Mingdao (1901–1944) and the radical revivalist preacher Song Shangjie (John Sung, 1901–44) contributed further to the growing indigenous diversity.29

It is indeed ironic that these indigenous churches and independent preachers, opposed to foreign denominationalism, insisted on maintaining their own separate identities. Some Chinese Christian commentators found the intensely competitive nature of Chinese Protestantism highly divisive. Z. K. Zia (Xie Songgao), for example, mused whether the numerous indigenous evangelistic campaigns in the 1930s were having a harmful effect on Christian unity in China. Hinting at the danger of a degraded form of Christianity gradually taking shape on Chinese soil, he noted that the approaches of John Sung and the Little Flock were splitting local Christian communities.27 Indeed, Watchman Nee—who decried the evils of divisive denominationalism—was regarded as a “sheep-stealer” who denounced other indigenous movements as likely the work of the “prince of darkness.”28 In this light, it is perhaps not surprising to find J. Usang Ly (Li Zhaokuan; a.k.a. Li Yaosheng, b. 1888) arguing that the prevailing trend of building an indigenous church was undermining the catholicity of Christianity.29

The refusal to cooperate with others is also exemplified by the True Jesus Church (TJC). When the China Continuation Committee called the National Christian Conference in 1922 to promote cooperation among denominational missions and indigenization of Christianity in China, it also invited the TJC to send delegates to Shanghai. The TJC leaders, on their part, saw in the conference “an exceptional opportunity to spread the [teachings of their Universal] Correction Church” and sent three delegates.28 At the conference, these delegates proved rather uncooperative, accusing the numerous foreign churches in China of “hanging up a sheep’s head but selling dog’s meat” and of “being used by the imperialists as the vanguard of their invasion.”31 This radicalism embarrassed the Chinese church leaders who had helped organize the conference, including Cheng Jingyi, who was chairing it. While the spirit of antiforeignism and the rise of Chinese nationalism precluded meaningful cooperation with the foreign mission churches, the TJC, the Jesus Family, and the Assembly Hall did not attempt to establish a genuine united indigenous church, but formed competing movements that went their separate ways.

Conclusion

The efforts of most liberal Protestant missionaries and Chinese leaders notwithstanding, at the end of the missionary era, true church union remained as elusive as ever. Although the Church of Christ in China—in its attempt to create an identity as an indigenous Chinese church—represented a substantial proportion of the total communicants, it could not overcome the significant divisions even among the mainline denominations, as the accompanying table indicates. It is also clear that missionaries of mainline bodies continued to play a significant role, not only in the Church of Christ in China but also in the denominational church unions.

Besides the major groups listed in the table, there were many smaller bodies (none with more than 5,000 communicant members), some of which worked unobtrusively in China and left hardly any written record of their activities. Although cooperation among the major denominational missions increased during the Anti-Japanese War in Free China, especially with regard to relief operations, we can only speculate whether the mainline mission-supported churches would have progressed toward greater indigenization and unity had it not been for the victory of the Chinese Communists in 1949. In any case, the influx of new, more radical missionary groups during the early decades of the twentieth century undermined the drive toward unity. At the same time, radical patriotic Chinese Christians and various emerging indigenous churches, especially those with Pentecostal tendencies and those promising exclusive salvation, also failed to initiate moves in this direction and went their separate ways. In other words, when foreign missionary operations ended in China in the middle of the twentieth century, the Protestant movement was far more divided than it had been at the beginning of that century. Indeed, in spite of the best efforts of the authorities in the People’s Republic of China to create one unified postdenominational faith, deep divisions persist to this day within indigenous Protestant Christianity.
Notes
1. For extensive quotations from this famous speech by Cheng, see Charles Boynton’s obituary notice, “Dr. Cheng Ching-Yi,” Chinese Recorder 70 (1939): 689–98.
8. China Mission Year Book, vol. 11 (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1923), pp. 329–31. It should be noted that the Southern Baptists and, a few years later, the China Inland Mission chose not to be affiliated with the NCC.
19. Ibid., p. 222.
20. Following the merger of the majority of Canadian Presbyterians with the Methodist Church of Canada and the Congregational Union to form the United Church of Canada in 1925, the term “Continuing Presbyterians” was used by those who did not participate in this merger.
23. Thomas Ball Barratt (1862–1940), the primary revivalist leader in Norway, was instrumental in spreading the Pentecostal message to other parts of Europe, influencing Alexander Boddy in England, Lewi Pelhuris in Sweden, and Jonathan Paul in Germany.
24. For a detailed study, see Lian Xi, Redeemed by Fire: The Shaping of Popular Chinese Christianity in the Twentieth Century (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2010).
28. In submitting a manuscript to be considered for publication in the IBMR, authors certify that it has not been previously published in print or online, that it is not under consideration by another publication, and that, if accepted for publication, it will not be published online or submitted to another publication without permission from the editor of the IBMR.
“The study of early Christianity in North Africa has been largely confined to the regions around Carthage and Alexandria, but what lies between, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, has been virtually ignored. In Early Libyan Christianity Thomas Oden uses literary and archaeological evidence to fill that gap. This is truly a groundbreaking work.”

—Birger A. Pearson, University of California, Santa Barbara
Botany or Flowers? The Challenges of Writing the History of the Indigenization of Christianity in China

Gloria S. Tseng

The impressive growth of Christianity in a rapidly modernizing China in the post-Mao decades has attracted much recent media attention. A look at the development of the Chinese church in the past century of China’s tumultuous history reveals an even more extraordinary record. Yet the remarkable story of Christianity in China has been burdened by emotional baggage stemming from deep historical roots. An element of this baggage is the unfortunate association of Christianity with Western military power in the minds of many Chinese in the past one and a half centuries because the door to missionary activity was opened in the nineteenth century by various “unequal treaties” following the Opium War of 1839–42. Another is the current state of the Chinese church, divided between government-sanctioned Three-Self churches and “house churches,” which are subject to government suppression. Both elements are important to the history of Christianity in modern China, but this essay will address only the latter. More specifically, this essay will address the challenges of writing an integrated history of the indigenization of Christianity in twentieth-century China given the current state of scholarship on the subject, and with a view to the divided state of the contemporary Chinese church.

The history of the indigenization of Christianity in China in the twentieth century has three currents: (1) the ecclesiastical development of the Church of Christ in China, which was the culmination of the church-union movement in China in the first decades of the twentieth century; (2) the emergence of Chinese Christian intellectuals associated with missionary colleges and universities, the best known of which was Yenching University; and (3) the emergence of independent preachers and their mass followings outside denominational missions. The first and the second developments shared a similar set of historical actors: representative figures such as Cheng Jingyi, T. C. Chao (Zhao Zichen), Liu Tingfang, Wu Leichuan, and Y.T. Wu (Wu Yaozong). The third development involved historical actors such as John Sung (Song Shangjie), Wang Mingdao, and Watchman Nee. The rise of these preachers took place somewhat later than the first two developments. Cheng Jingyi was one of the three Chinese delegates to attend the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, and in 1919 Chinese intellectuals at Yenching University formed the Peking Apolgetic Group, later renamed Life Fellowship. Momentum for church union in China led to the formation of the National Christian Council of China in 1922. Hence, the individuals associated with the first two developments were already in positions of leadership and considered the spokesmen of the emerging indigenous Chinese church by the time Wang, Sung, and Nee entered the national scene. Wang began a congregation of his own in Beijing in 1925; Sung began preaching in his native Fujian Province in 1928 and first became known as a national revivalist in 1931; and Nee began to attract a small circle of followers in Nanjing in 1927, which developed into the Little Flock movement. This story is further complicated by the fact that a theological fault line ran between the third development and the first two. It became pronounced from the mid-1920s on and even shaped the responses of Chinese Christians to the Communist regime’s policies after 1949.

The ecclesiastical, intellectual, and independent-preacher subplots of the indigenization story are told separately, often with conflicting assessments of the historical significance of the first two on the one hand, and the third on the other. This state of affairs brings to mind a sermon in 1931 by A. W. Tozer entitled “The Love of God.” In this sermon Tozer gave a word of caution to his hearers concerning the subject on which he was preaching: that in analyzing the various aspects of God’s love, one risks becoming a botanist who takes apart the petals of a flower, with the outcome of this endeavor being botany and no longer a flower! While the conflicting currents and historical assessments may seem to be of merely academic interest with regard to the pre-1949 period, they take on greater immediacy with regard to the post-1949 period, for the painful divisions in the contemporary Chinese church can be traced back to the pre-1949 period. The history of the indigenization of the Chinese church is the spiritual heritage of Chinese Christians; yet without a balanced assessment and honest acknowledgment of this history, Chinese Christians cannot fully lay hold of this heritage. This essay will examine four representative studies as they pertain to one of the three currents of indigenization. The list is by no means exhaustive; rather, it is only an illustration of the dichotomy that exists in historical assessments of these currents of indigenization.

Edinburgh 1910 and Cheng Jingyi

Of the three currents of indigenization, the ecclesiastical is the least well studied in terms of depth, though not necessarily in terms of the number of volumes. Nonetheless, it is indisputable that within the missionary establishment and among Chinese Christian circles associated with it, the movement toward indigenization received significant encouragement and impetus from the 1910 World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh, Scotland. In his recent study on the conference, Brian Stanley mentions the contribution of Cheng Jingyi, one of only three Chinese delegates out of 1,215 official delegates to the conference. At the time of the conference, Cheng was a twenty-eight-year-old assistant pastor of a newly established church of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in Beijing. He was also a fairly new Christian, having been converted at the age of seventeen at a revival meeting in Tianjin. He had already been to Great Britain, having been invited there in 1903 to assist an LMS missionary in revising the Union version of the Mandarin New Testament; he had also studied at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow from 1906 to 1908.

This current of indigenization was located within the Protestant missionary enterprise in China, even though its initiative did not originate solely from missionaries. In fact, Stanley observes that Cheng “made a profound and even disturbing impact” at

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the conference through the two speeches he gave: one on the morning of Thursday, June 16, in the debate of the report of Commission II; the other on the morning of Tuesday, June 21, in the debate of the report of Commission VIII. Both commission reports—“The Church in the Mission Field” (II) and “Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity” (VIII)—addressed issues that were pertinent to the Chinese church. In his speeches, Cheng urged that the Chinese church be allowed to support itself and direct its own life, and that a united Protestant church be formed in China.5

Cheng’s participation in the 1910 World Missionary Conference propelled him into a position of leadership in the Protestant missionary enterprise in China and gave him a place in subsequent international missionary conferences. The respect to him given by the conference leaders can be seen in the fact that he was among those recommended by the business committee for membership in the Continuation Committee to carry on the spirit of cooperation in missions; he was chosen as the one representative from China among the thirty-five members.6 Subsequently, the Continuation Committee evolved into the International Missionary Council in 1921, in which Cheng remained involved until the end of his life. Upon his return to China, he was ordained to be the pastor of Mi-shi Hutong church, where he had served as an assistant pastor. In addition, following steps to establish a national branch of the Continuation Committee in 1912–13, Cheng was appointed the first joint secretary of the China Continuation Committee. The six conferences of the China Continuation Committee held in China in early 1913 stressed three-self principles as the goal and promoted the idea of federation as a first step toward full union. In Shanghai in 1922 he presided over the inaugural conference of the National Christian Council of China, which was the successor to the China Continuation Committee. And from 1924 to 1933 he served as the general secretary of the National Christian Council of China. In 1927 he presided over the formation of the Church of Christ in China, which united sixteen Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist church bodies; Cheng was appointed its first moderator (later general secretary), serving till his death in 1939. The impetus given by the Edinburgh conference to the indigenization of the Chinese church is reiterated by Stanley: “The vision of a single three-self nondenominational church, which the Communists forcibly imposed on the Chinese Protestant churches after 1951, thus saw a partial realization over twenty years earlier, a fact which is often forgotten. The Edinburgh conference had played an important part by giving Cheng Jingyi and other Chinese spokesmen the platform for the initial articulation of that vision.”7

Wallace Merwin on Chinese Church Union

The ecclesiastical development of the Church of Christ in China probably deserves more scholarly attention than it has received to date. The developments of the church union movement in China in the early decades of the twentieth century are chronicled in the yearly Zhonghua jidu jiaohui nianjian (China Church Yearbook), published by the China Continuation Committee and the National Christian Council of China from 1914 to 1936. As of yet there is no study based on this valuable primary source. Even Wallace Merwin’s Adventure in Unity: The Church of Christ in China (1974), the only English-language work on the Church of Christ in China, uses only English-language sources. In Merwin’s estimation, the church union movement represented by the Church of Christ in China was “of considerable significance and a worthy chapter in the history of the Christian church.” His assessment of this current in the indigenization of the Protestant church in China is unequivocally positive: “Finally, a word of tribute should be voiced for all those servants of the Church, Chinese and missionary, who had a share in the movement for unity which culminated in the Church of Christ in China, and the many who quietly and devotedly participated, often under great difficulty, in danger and deprivation, in the work and witness of that Church. Many of them are already gone from our midst; most of their names have already disappeared from man’s notice. But they are known to God, and their labors have surely borne good fruit.”8

Samuel Ling on Chinese Christian Intellectuals

This sanguine assessment of the Church of Christ in China and the indigenization movement it represented is called in question by at least two studies, each a representative work on one of the other two currents of indigenization, namely, the Chinese Christian intellectuals and the independent preachers; they are Samuel Ling’s “The Other May Fourth Movement” and Lian Xi’s Redeemed by Fire. Both studies have an indirect bearing on assessing the historical significance of the Church of Christ in China, and they illustrate the bifurcated state of historical studies on the indigenization of Christianity in China, which is in turn mirrored in the divided state of the contemporary Chinese church.

“The Other May Fourth Movement” is a study of Chinese Christian intellectuals of the May Fourth generation, men who had been converted to the Christian faith as a result of having been exposed to the liberal wing of the Protestant missionary enterprise in China and who went on to take their place as leaders of the liberal wing of the Chinese Protestant church and in the movement leading up to the formation of the Church of Christ in China.8 In this work Ling argues that Christianity has an important place in the intellectual history of the May Fourth movement, even though the impact of Christianity has been obscured by the Communist victory of 1949. Ling focuses on Chinese Christian intellectuals of the liberal persuasion, because Chinese Christian fundamentalists such as Wang Mingdao and Watchman Nee were not active in the May Fourth circles.

Ling points out that liberal Protestant Christianity, in contrast with conservative, fundamentalist Protestantism, had certain distinctive theological presuppositions: the educability of man, the immanence of God, emphasis on the humanity of Christ, and the hope of the coming kingdom through social reform. It also found expression in China through institutions such as the Christian colleges and schools, as well as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. These missionary organizations constituted the theological and institutional contexts in which the members of the Life Fellowship operated. Ling names two central concerns of the project of these Chinese Christian intellectuals, who sought to find a viable alternative for China’s social problems: “These two concerns can be summarized by the terms ‘indigenization’ and ‘social reconstruction.’ The former is a concern specific to Christians; the latter is shared by almost all Chinese intellectu-
Lian Xi on Chinese Independent Preachers

In contrast, Lian’s Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China examines various indigenous, or populist, manifestations of the faith, as opposed to developments within denominational or missionary churches or among Western-educated Chinese Christians associated with denominational or missionary churches. Regarding contemporary indigenous Chinese Christianity, Lian observes, “With a predominantly rural and lower-class membership, the homegrown Christianity has been characterized by a potent mix of evangelistic fervor, biblical literalism, charismatic ecstasies, and a fiery eschatology not infrequently tinged with nationalistic exuberance.” He traces these characteristics through his study of the various indigenous Christian groups examined in the book. He also notes the dramatic change of Christianity’s relationship with the rural masses: “It is not an insignificant change in the fortunes of Chinese Christian-
indigenizing Chinese church. It was highly divisive within both missionary and Chinese Christian circles, as Kevin Xiyi Yao’s 2003 study on the fundamentalist movement among China missionaries in the 1920s and 1930s carefully documents and as the discourse of fundamentalist Chinese Christian leaders of the time illustrates. It shaped the initial responses of Chinese Christians to the Chinese government’s religious policy in the first decade of the Communist regime’s existence, evidenced most notably in the fact that the leader of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in the 1950s was the modernist Y. T. Wu, and the most vociferous opponent to this movement on theological grounds was the fundamentalist Wang Mingdao. Moreover, it has shaped to some extent the ways in which historians deal with this history and the three currents that are found in it, as the studies discussed above show.

In addition to the theological fault line, the historical circumstances of the post-1949 Three-Self Patriotic Movement added political oil to the theological fire. Today, even though most Chinese Christians have a very limited knowledge of the historical roots of the current state of the Chinese church, historical wounds continue to cause a painful rift between Three-Self and house churches after the reopening of churches in 1979, especially for long-time Chinese Christians who have suffered through the years of Communist repression and are now elderly. Ironically, a visitor who walks into a Three-Self church and a house church today will likely find that the two are not very different theologically. In fact, modernist theology has all but disappeared, except at the highest level of national leadership. This in itself is an interesting historical development worthy of a separate study, but more important, the fragmented state of current scholarship on the history of the indigenization of Christianity in China mirrors the divided state of the contemporary Chinese Church. Just as an integrated history that brings together the three currents of indigenization is essential to an accurate understanding of this significant historical development, so acknowledging the theological and political roots of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement as it developed after 1949 is key to a mature Chinese church, in which Chinese Christians fully lay hold of their unique spiritual heritage.

Notes

2. Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross, eds., Atlas of Global Christianity, 1910–2010 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2009), p. 140. Report that between 1910 and 2010, the number of Christians in China grew from 0.4 percent to 8.6 percent, or from approximately 1.7 million to 115 million.
3. Tozer was a longtime pastor of the Christian and Missionary Alliance and editor of Alliance Life. The Web site of the C&MA contains audio files of Tozer’s sermons, at www.cmalliance.org/resources/tozer-audio-sermons.
7. Ibid., p. 311.
9. The May Fourth alluded to in Ling’s title is May 4, 1919, when several thousand students in Beijing protested against the decision taken by the Allied powers at the Versailles Peace Conference to transfer German rights in Shandong province to Japan. This outburst of German nationalism, in addition to laying the foundation for the later rise of the Chinese Communist Party, came to be synonymous with the intellectual effervescence of the 1910s and 1920s.
11. Ibid., pp. 5–6, 10, 81.
13. Ibid., pp. 14, 16.
17. Its foremost spokesman is K. H. Ting, former Anglican bishop, currently principal of Nanjing Union Theological Seminary. He was the president of the China Christian Council and the leader of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement from 1980 to 1997. Modernist theology can also be found among “cultural Christians” in academia, but they are not pertinent to the issues raised in this essay.

International Association for Mission Studies 13th Assembly

The IAMS 2012 Toronto Assembly, to be held August 15–20, 2012, in Toronto, Canada, will explore the profound missiological dimensions of human migration and dislocation, past, present, and future. It will attend especially to the many repercussions of widespread contemporary human movement for the theory and practice of Christian mission.

The Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, reflecting the lives of God’s people who were uprooted, exiled, and scattered, feature epic experiences of human mobility such as the call to a new land, exodus and resettlement, and the scattering of the early Christians. Dislocation, compelled and voluntary, continues to characterize our contemporary human story as people cross state boundaries or move within their own countries in search of safety or well-being. Christian mission, often a feature of large-scale movements of peoples, must continue to attend responsibly to these historic global realities.

Proposals for papers on the topic, “Migration, Human Dislocation, and the Good News: Margins as the Center in Christian Mission,” with 150–200-word abstract, are due by January 31, 2012. Draft papers are due by June 1, 2012. For guidelines and conference details, read the IAMS Matters newsletter at www.missionstudies.org/index.php or e-mail secret@missionstudies.org.
Cheng Jingyi: Prophet of His Time

Peter Tze Ming Ng

Cheng Jingyi (C. Y. Cheng, 1881–1939) distinguished himself by presenting what has been called the best speech at the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference. In his remarks he said: “As a representative of the Chinese Church, I speak entirely from the Chinese standpoint. . . . Speaking plainly we hope to see, in the near future, a united Christian Church without any denominational distinctions. This may seem somewhat peculiar to you, but, friends, do not forget to view us from our standpoint, and if you fail to do that, the Chinese will remain always as a mysterious people to you.”1

Jingyi was a Chinese born in Beijing on September 22, 1881. His father was a pastor with the London Missionary Society (LMS). Jingyi received education from LMS’s Anglo-Chinese College in Beijing and theological training from LMS’s theological school in Tianjin (Tianjin). Within two weeks of his graduation day in 1900, Jingyi and his family became involved in the terrible experiences of the Boxer outbreak. “Six times he had very narrow escapes from death. His family was shut up in the British Legation quarter in Peking for two months, where they suffered terrible hardships, costing the life of his little sister and permanent injury of his younger brothers.”2 These experiences had a great impact on Jingyi’s life.

He went to England in 1903 to help George Owen of the LMS in the translation of the Mandarin Bible. Then from 1906 to 1908 he studied at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow, Scotland. In the summer of 1908 he returned to China and served as an assistant pastor at the Mi-shi Hutong Church in Beijing. He returned to Scotland for the 1910 Edinburgh conference, then back to Beijing, where he was ordained as pastor of this church, which was associated with LMS but was an independent Chinese church.3 Cheng was thus working on the front lines of promoting indigenous Christianity in China. Some parts of China saw some “three-self” movements initiated by missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century, including the development of the First and Second Amoy Church in Xiamen, as well as the self-governing presbyteries under the English Presbyterian Mission in Swatow.4 The movement was led to a second stage with the indigenous movements started by local Chinese Christians in response to the Boxer movement.

Throughout China in the nineteenth century, the Protestant missionary movement was dominated by organized missionary societies, most of them agencies of Western mainline denominational churches. (The China Inland Mission was the primary exception.) After 1900, however, there was a great increase in the amount of local, independent missionary work done by Chinese Christians. Much attention has been paid to the development of denominational Christianity in China, but only in more recent years have scholars begun to look into the growth of Chinese indigenous Christianity immediately after 1900.5 Daniel Bays, for example, reports that “the number of Protestant Christian church members grew rapidly, from 37,000 in 1889 to 178,000 in 1906.” He also notes, “In retrospect, the most important feature of this period was the growth of the spirit of independence in Chinese Protestant churches. This had hardly begun in the nineteenth century, but it was a prominent theme after 1900.”6

Indigenous Movements from 1900 to 1949

Chinese Christians exhibited a strong desire for independence after the outburst of the Boxer incidents in 1900. Chinese Christians had long been accused of believing in a foreign religion (yang jiao).7 They were criticized for being protected by Western missionaries and foreigners and for enjoying a number of privileges as a result of religious court cases (jiaosan) that arose as a result of the so-called unequal treaties made with Western governments.8 In order to avoid these accusations, a new consciousness arose among Chinese Christians that sought a form of Christianity freed from the dominance of the foreign missionaries. Chinese Christians, including Cheng and others, were seeking a new identity for themselves. They wanted to demonstrate their independence, fostering a self-reliant Christianity that was freed from foreign funding, from foreign mission direction, and from foreign preaching and theology—that is, the churches should be self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating.9

As early as 1902, two years after the Boxer incident, Pastor Yu Guozhen and some Chinese Christians met in Shanghai and formed the Chinese Christian Union (Zhonghua jidutuhui). Realizing the utmost importance of developing three-self Christian churches, in 1903 they started a quarterly magazine, the Chinese Christian (Zhongguo jidutubao),10 and in 1906 formed the Chinese Christian Independent Church (Zhonghua Yesujiao Zilhui), an independent, all-Chinese Christian organization. It was clearly stated that this church was to be separate from all foreign missionary societies in order to demonstrate to the Chinese people that they could run their own churches, hence becoming truly native and fully self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. By 1924 more than 330 local churches had joined the Chinese Christian Independent Church, with over 20,000 total members.11

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In 1907 the Centenary Missionary Conference was held in Shanghai, with the topic of the Chinese church high on its agenda. There had already been suggestions as to how to establish three-self, independent Chinese churches for indigenous Christianity in China. They included proposals for uniting independent churches and of organizing regional conferences in different parts of China. In 1910 a movement was started in North China involving a comparable federation of independent churches. It was also called the Chinese Christian Independent Church, but with a different Chinese name (Zhongguo Jidujiao Zilihui); Chang Po Ling was appointed president. The federation centered in Beijing and Tianjin and soon was joined by independent Chinese churches from all over Shangdong and Shansi Provinces, including Tsing-tao (1911), Jinan (1912), and Yantai (1919). These movements of the independent churches laid a substantial groundwork for a series of regional conferences throughout China. The conferences led to the first national conference of the China Continuation Committee in Shanghai between the years 1912–13, and the later development of the National Christian Council in China, which was formed by Cheng Jingyi in Shanghai in 1922.

Consider some interesting statistics. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of foreign missionaries grew from 5,144 to 6,204, an increase of 20.6 percent, whereas the number of Chinese believers more than doubled, from around 180,000 to 366,524. With the anti-Christian movements attacking missionary work in the 1920s, the number of missionaries dropped to 4,375 by 1928. Yet the number of Christian believers continued to rise: to 4,437 by 1928, then 536,089 in 1936, and then 834,909 in 1949. Western missionaries had obviously done much good work and laid a substantial foundation for the subsequent growth of Christianity in China. But the dramatic growth in the number of Christians in the twentieth century witnesses also to the significant effort made by the various indigenous Christian groups and independent Chinese churches, not to mention individual Chinese Christians, for a Christianity that was truly self-propagating.

The Quest for Indigenous Christianity

With this understanding of the development of indigenous Chris-tianity in China as background, we now turn to what C. Y. Cheng did at and after the Edinburgh conference in 1910. At the conference he made two speeches; one was at the debate of Commission II on the topic “The Church in the Mission Field,” and the other, “Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity,” was part of the debate of Commission VIII. In his first speech Cheng declared with some urgency: “The problem in China is the independence of the Chinese Church.” He assured his audience that the formation of a Christian church in China should be viewed as “a joy, not a burden.” And he made a strong appeal for support of the development of indigenous churches in China, saying: “I hope with all sincerity that this Conference will recommend and take measures towards helping the Chinese Church movement.”

In his second speech, as quoted in the first paragraph of this article, Cheng restated his hope of seeing a united Christian church without any denominational distinctions whatsoever. While Western missionaries were thinking of unity as a means to the end of cooperation in mission, Cheng was saying that Christian unity—an united Christian church—should be the end of mission work in China. Cheng could see that for the missionaries, “unity” primarily applied to the denominations and various mission boards. He made it clear that Chinese Christians were more concerned with the development of a united Christian church in China that was freed from denominationalism. For the Christian churches to cooperate and to unite in China, they needed to put aside the spirit of denominationalism. As a matter of fact, “denominationalism has never interested the Chinese mind. He finds no delight in it, but sometimes he suffers for it.” The statement “Your denominationalism does not interest Chinese Christians” has been often repeated and quoted. It is striking that Cheng could make such a statement at the 1910 conference.

As noted, some observers thought that Cheng’s speech was the best speech of the conference. Afterward he returned to China and continued to work for the development of a united Chinese Christian church along the lines he had envisioned. With the support of John R. Mott and the China Continuation Committee, Cheng traveled widely throughout China in 1912–13, working to promote interdenominational cooperation among denominational churches, as well as to foster coordination among individual Chinese Christians. He helped independent churches attain the goals of the three-self movement and promoted the idea of federation as a first step toward union among the Chinese Christian churches.

When the China Continuation Committee met in 1913, it was attended by 1,100 representatives, one-third of whom were Chinese. Because of Cheng’s work among the independent churches, when the committee convened again in 1922, the number of Chinese representatives had increased to more than half of the total attendance. At the second meeting, Cheng proposed broadening the work of the committee and renamed it the National Christian Council (NCC, Zhongguo Jidujiao xiehui). Cheng was appointed its general secretary. He also worked for the formation of the Church of Christ in China (CCC, Zhonghua Jidujiao linhui), which began operating in 1927. The CCC soon became the largest Protestant church in China, representing close to a quarter of China’s Protestant churches, including members from both denominational and independent churches. In short, Cheng had successfully labored to expand the work of the China Continuation Committee, not only for the promotion of cooperation and unity among denominational churches but also for the realization of his vision to institute the three-self principles and to accomplish the federation of Christian churches in China. The federation was formed not only for the sake of cooperation among the missionaries, but also for the sake of unity among the Christian bodies in China, while at the same time maintaining cooperative links with the missionaries.

Conclusion

Cheng died on November 15, 1939, at the Lester Chinese Hospital in Shanghai at the age of fifty-eight. He indeed understood accurately the situation in China and saw the need not only for the pursuit of cooperation among missionary churches, but also for the development of indigenous, three-self churches. Despite his youth and his being a Manchu working among the Han people, Cheng demonstrated great leadership in relation to the foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians and in moving them toward a united Christian church. Cheng was indeed a great man and a great prophet of his time. Much of what Cheng said in Edinburgh and much of his subsequent work remained of immediate relevance for decades. To this day, the issues he perceived as important in 1910 are central to the development of Christianity in China.
Notes


3. The Chinese church attained full independence, financially and in every other way, while maintaining the most friendly relations with the parent mission (ibid.).

4. See, for example, research work done by David Cheung (Chen Yi Qiang), Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church (Leiden: Brill, 2004), and George A. Hood, Mission Accomplished? The English Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China (Frankfurt: Lang, 1986).


9. It should be noted that foreign missionaries had long been relying on the “unequal treaties” as guarantee and protection for all missionary activities in China. It was extremely difficult for missionaries to understand the feelings of Chinese Christians, who demanded a truly Chinese church independent of the foreign control. From the missionaries’ perspective, the Chinese were simply trying to seize power.

10. There was much discussion among Chinese Christians, and their opinions were expressed in this magazine. The Shanghai Municipal Archives contains a full set of the magazine (in Chinese), nos. 2–60, from 1904 to 1915 (U128-0-1 to U128-0-11).


13. Cheng had been so impressed by the movement that he wrote an article for the Chinese Recorder even before he attended the Edinburgh conference: “What Federation Can Accomplish for the Chinese Church,” Chinese Recorder 41, no. 2 (1910): 156–60.

14. See Charles E. Ewing, “The Chinese Christian Church in Tientsin (Tianjin),” Chinese Recorder 43, no. 5 (1912): 282–85. It should be noted that before Cheng attended the Edinburgh conference in 1910, he had been working for two years as assistant pastor at the Mi-shi Hutong Church, in Beijing, where he would definitely have been involved in and influenced by this independence movement. This background helps explain his strong appeal at the Edinburgh conference.


17. There were also other great evangelists in those years such as Shi Meiyu (Mary Stone, 1873–1954), Song Shangjie (John Sung, 1901–44), and Chen Chonggui (Marcus Cheng, 1884–1964). See, for reference, Bays, Christianity in China, pp. 314–15.


19. “Report of Commission II,” 2:352. Cheng further elaborated his points in a subsequent article, “The Chinese Church in Relation to Its Immediate Task,” International Review of Missions 1, no. 3 (1912): 381–92. John C. Gibson, who was an active leader in both the Shanghai (1907) and the Edinburgh (1910) conferences, also had the following remarks: “The time is well within the memory of working missionaries when we had to labour with the Home Church and persuade it to believe that there was such a thing as the Christian Church in existence. . . . It was now beyond doubt that the Chinese Church was an important adjunct to the Christian Missions in China.” He also recalled: “When the Centenary Conference of 1907 met, the minds of missionaries were fully prepared for this recognition. The organizers of the conference touched the core of the matter when, in drawing up the programme, they set down as the first topic: ‘The Chinese Church,’ and appointed a representative Committee to deal with it and allotted to the whole of the first day of the Conference work. . . . It was impossible that the Chinese Church should any longer fail to be recognised as holding the foremost place among the forces which are now creating a Christian China.” (“The Part of the Chinese Church in Mission Administration,” Chinese Recorder 43, no. 6 [1912]: 347–49).


21. See, for example, Chinese Recorder 70, no. 12 (1939): 689.

22. Meanwhile, the editor of the Chinese Recorder commented, “Has the Christian movement in China during 1922 found a new pivot? Yes!” The transfer from missions and Western Christians as a pivot to the Chinese Church and Chinese Christians has been made. The Survey and Commission reports are set up mainly in terms of missions and the contributions of Western Christians. The outlook of the National Christian Conference and the National Christian Council, however, together with their program are painted in colors of the Chinese Church and Chinese Christians” (“The Christian Movement in China During 1922,” Chinese Recorder 54 [1923]: 8).


25. Cheng also attended the International Missionary Council (IMC) meeting at Williamstown, Massachusetts, in 1918; the IMC meeting at Jerusalem in 1920, where he was elected a vice-chairman; and the IMC meeting at Madras, India, in 1939. He was the only Chinese to be present at all three of these great world missionary conferences.

26. At Cheng’s death an editorial in the Chinese Recorder commented, “Many times [he] Cheng had been likened to be a prophet—a really true and great prophet like one of Old Testament times” (70, no. 12 [1939]: 689).
Matteo Ricci: Pioneer of Chinese-Western Dialogue and Cultural Exchanges

Jean-Paul Wiest

To commemorate the beginning of the third millennium and the opening of the twenty-first century a.d., the Chinese government built a monument shaped like a sundial. Inside, a long fresco celebrates individuals who have made significant contributions to the progress of civilization during the several thousand years of Chinese history. In this impressive succession of important people, only two Westerners are represented: Marco Polo (1254–1324), the man who made China known to the West, and Matteo Ricci (Li Madou) (1552–1610), the man who made the West known to China. Ricci is mentioned in the fresco as the promoter of cultural exchanges. With him, shown using a telescope, are pictured two Chinese of the late Ming dynasty: Li Shizhen, renowned for his medical discoveries, and Wang Yangming, the famous Confucian philosopher who liberated Chinese Confucianism from its rigid scholasticism.1

At this Nishan Forum, celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Matteo Ricci in Beijing, I consider it appropriate to reflect on the person the Chinese government has deemed the symbol of the golden age of Sino-Western relations, representing peaceful interaction, on an equal footing, between China and the West. Why and how were Ricci and the Jesuits who succeeded him at the court successful in gaining the confidence and respect of the emperor and many Confucian scholars? Why were they able to enter into a dialogue and an exchange among equals that still remain a viable and exemplary model for our times?

Ricci’s Training and Formation

Matteo Ricci was born in 1552 in the small town of Macerata in the Marche region of Italy, near the Adriatic Sea. At the age of seventeen he journeyed to Rome to study law and two years later entered the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) at the Roman College, the future Gregorian University, where he made his novitiate and studied philosophy and theology. While there he also received training in music, mathematics, cartography, cosmology, and astronomy. One of his teachers was none other than the renowned Jesuit father Christopher Clavius, a friend of Johannes Kepler and Galileo Galilei.2 In 1577 Ricci’s superiors granted his request to be sent on the missions in the Far East. After arriving at Goa, the capital of the Portuguese Indies, he worked there and at Cochin as a missionary until the spring of 1582, when Father Alessandro Valignano (Fan Li’an), who had been his novice-master in Rome and now was in charge of all the Jesuit missions in the Far East, summoned him to Macao to prepare to enter China. At that time Western missionaries believed in the superiority of European culture and brought along their own cultural patterns, which they imposed on people they considered uncivilized. This attitude, unfortunately, endured among many until the middle of the twentieth century. During the sixteenth century, however, a few individual missionaries, such as Bartolomé de Las Casas in South America, had already acknowledged the richness of local cultures. In Japan and China also, some experienced a real conversion of the mind. Impressed by the achievements they observed in Japanese and Chinese literature, politics, and philosophy, they decided to make this culture the foundation of their missionary project. Valignano was the one who master-minded this new approach, which was based on the concept of a multipolar world whose center was no longer Europe. He in fact wrote the first comparative study of China, Japan, and India, entitled Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales, 1542–1564.3 The treatise provides insight into the Jesuits’ perception of Asian religions, societies, political systems, and everyday life.

Another of Valignano’s outstanding accomplishments, beginning with his appointment as Visitor in 1573, was to assert his spiritual authority above the political control of the Portuguese Padroado and the Spanish Patronato and, by the same process, to achieve a measure of independence for the Jesuits in China.4 From the start, he insisted on recruiting missionaries not deeply affected by the conquistador understanding of Christianity and the world. From his experience as novice-master, he knew that most young Italians trained in the Roman College of the Society of Jesus were free from this infection, were imbued with the ideas of the Italian Renaissance, and were intellectually well prepared.

As a result, Ricci and many of the early China Jesuits, hand-picked to pioneer Valignano’s new model for the church’s mission in Asia, were Italians. These were a distinct group of people raised and nurtured in what Andrew Ross described as “the cultural golden age of a specifically Catholic humanism.”5 According to the new paradigm, Europe was no more the exclusive model for civilization and Christianity. Christianity should shed its Western garb and be clothed, equally well, in Chinese style.

Valignano required all Jesuits assigned to China to know the language before he would let them enter the country.6 Upon arriving in Macao in August 1582, Matteo Ricci was therefore assigned a Chinese tutor who taught him Chinese using the classic Confucian texts known as the Four Books. A year later, Ricci and his fellow Jesuit Michele Ruggieri (Luo Mingjian), at the invitation of Wang Pan, the magistrate of Zhaoqing, then the administrative capital of the province of Guangdong, took residence in that city. Thus began the amazing story of Matteo Ricci in China until his death in Beijing in 1610.

Matteo Ricci’s Relevance for Today’s World

While Valignano was the one who taught his young Jesuits to think outside the box of European culture and to envision a new
missionary model, Ricci clearly became the one who applied it to the Chinese context. He successfully lived out a completely fresh approach for the West in its engagement with China. In the pursuit of this goal, Ricci had at his disposal not only his training as a Jesuit but also an impressive array of physical and intellectual attributes. He was impressive in physical appearance, with blue eyes and a voice like a bell; he was endowed with a facility in foreign languages and a photographic memory; and he was keen in his ability to grasp the essentials of Chinese culture and to discern the means of entry into a sophisticated culture like that of China.

The invitation to this Nishan Forum states: “Confronted with critical challenges and dilemmas in human society, many have begun to realize that the most effective solution lies in recognition of the diversity of world cultures, and the conducting of continuous dialogue between different civilizations, to promote mutual understanding and trust among countries and nations.” Some four hundred years ago Matteo Ricci had already adopted such a program. While in China he displayed a profound respect for the diversity of cultures, promoted mutual understanding, and was a master of dialogue on an equal footing. From a Chinese viewpoint, the Italian missionary’s attitude and behavior might, however, sound more like a distant echo of Confucius himself. Long before Ricci set foot in the country, China’s great thinker and educator advocated “harmony as the most precious thing” and stressed that “one could always learn from others,” thus affirming that harmony could coexist with diversity.

It is also important to realize that, to a large extent, Ricci’s way of life was as much, if not more, the “result of [his] reaction to what China was and who the Chinese were” as it was the “proactive and creative elaboration” of “a conscious and well-defined policy conceived by Valignano.” In other words, Ricci became who he became because his being in China and his encounters with a number of Confucian scholars encouraged him, both directly and indirectly, to rethink and reshape his own identity.

**Ricci’s Respect for the Diversity of Cultures**

Ricci’s journey into China is therefore a journey into the minds and hearts, language and culture, symbols and sensibility of those with whom he came in contact. This way of life accounts in great part for the fascination with his achievements, which extends well beyond church circles. He became thoroughly familiar with the long history of this rich culture, its classics, and its philosophy.

In 1594 he translated extensive parts of the *Four Books* into Latin and developed the first system for Romanizing Chinese. He tested the effectiveness of his work as teaching material on newly arrived European Jesuits. For this accomplishment of allowing two different cultures to communicate with each other on the basis of the Confucian classics, Ricci should be considered the founder of Western sinology.

Ricci also set aside standard traditional European mapmaking when, in a map he prepared in 1602, he placed China instead of Europe near the center of the world. This work is one of his many accomplishments that show his thoughtfulness and great admiration for the empire that called itself the Middle Kingdom. One of his comments, placed on the map just south of the Tropic of Capricorn, declares: “I am filled with admiration for the great Chinese Empire, where I am treated with friendly hospitality far above what I deserve.”

Ricci’s China journal was taken to Europe and published in Latin by Nicholas Trigault (Jin Nige). It confirmed that Marco Polo’s “kingdom of Cathay” was indeed China, and it reported on many miscellaneous details, such as the use of chopsticks. Most important, however, Ricci’s journal provided Western readers with a carefully written and reasoned description of the attainments of this great civilization on the other side of the world.

The journal also spoke of Ricci’s efforts to win the good will of the Chinese people “little by little” and by living an exemplary life. As a religious man, it seemed clear to him that, through the wise men of China’s past, God had continuously sustained the development of Chinese culture and society. To his friend Xu Guangqi, Ricci confided that on his way to China he had passed through many countries and found none that could compare with China, whose Confucian and music rituals he found the most brilliant in the entire world. But when Xu asked why China remained at the mercy of natural disasters, Ricci suggested that China’s scientific knowledge in some areas was still insufficient and lagging behind when compared to that of the West. So Xu, who had already helped Ricci in the publication of several religious books, proposed that they publish some books on European science.

Xu belonged to a group of late Ming officials and scholars who were worried about the state of the country and sought concrete ways to save it from decay. Their search was in reaction against the intuitionist movement from the Wang Yangming school, which advocated that principles for moral action were to be found entirely within the mind and heart. Xu and his colleagues instead looked for “solid learning” or “concrete studies” (xiuxie). This quest is to a large extent the reason for Xu’s proposal; over the years it resulted in a unique interaction between many Chinese literati and Ricci and the Jesuits who followed him.

Ricci’s response to Xu’s request was that they ought to translate late Euclid’s *Elements of Geometry* before any other scientific work because, Ricci insisted, the understanding of Euclid’s geometry was actually the key for understanding the logic of the West. At that time in China, Western logic was practically unknown. So as Ricci explained the various points of the *Elements*, Xu often found it difficult to understand what the missionary meant and to translate it into Chinese. Shifting from the Chinese way of thinking, which was in terms of images, to Western-style deductive logic required a thoroughgoing revolution of the reasoning process. The two men had to go beyond the mere translation of words, sentences, and equations to make compatible two different systems of logic.

Ricci passed away after they had translated six of the thirteen books of the *Elements* (*Jihe yuanben*). Yet Ricci’s verbal explanations and Xu Guangqi’s written accounts of Euclid’s *Elements* were sufficient to open for future generations a bridge in East-West cultural exchange that crossed the language barrier. In addition, the new Chinese terminology, which Xu Guangqi had to invent for point, curve, parallel line, acute angle, obtuse angle, and so forth—concepts alien to Chinese mathematics and therefore with no words for them—soon became a standard part of Chinese mathematics.

**Ricci’s Promotion of Mutual Understanding**

At first it might seem odd that the first book Ricci published in Chinese was not a tool to preach the Christian religion but rather a small volume based on his recollection of what Greek and Latin authors had written on the subject of friendship. This book, entitled *Jiaoyoulun* (On friendship, 1595), was for the missionary a way to publicize his program to the Chinese, stating that friendship as a partnership among equals would be at the root of his communication strategy.

Ricci wrote the book because of what China had taught him.

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18 International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Vol. 36, No. 1
From the day he arrived he discovered the importance of true and influential friends to maintain his presence in the country. The concept of guanxi, or personal relationship, has always been central to any understanding of Chinese social structures. It denotes an essential part of network-building within Chinese social life. The many difficulties encountered by Ricci and his companions in trying to establish a residence in various cities were often due to their lack of personal connections.

At the same time, Ricci’s decision to write jiaoqianlun was also likely influenced by his discussions with late Ming scholars, for whom the word “friendship” had become something of a code word for the promotion of a Chinese society where relationships would be among equals and entered into by personal choice. The book was widely circulated and gained Ricci a measure of fame and many visitors.

For a person whose early attempts at winning converts among the common people had ended in frustration, the success of the book reinforced his decision to shift to a top-down approach by “whispering to powerbrokers”13 rather than preaching to the masses. He determined that he would have more success through quiet consultations with scholars and officials. This decision proved to be correct. Because of his great learning and personal probity, these conversations eventually led some to inquire about his religion. By pointing out that many of his faith’s main tenets could be found in the Confucian classics, Ricci was able to bring several high-ranking officials to embrace Christianity.14 He used to tell his Chinese visitors that “the law of God was in conformity with the natural light [of reason] and with what their first sages taught in their books.”15

After the Confucian temple built in Qufu, the birthplace of Confucius, the Confucius temple of Beijing is the second largest in all of China. Next to it is the Imperial College, where the civil service examinations for the highest rank of jinshi took place every three years. The names of the jinshi graduates were inscribed on commemorative stone monuments still on display in the temple courtyard. These names include those of three influential scholars who were converted to Catholicism by Ricci and his fellow Jesuits. Commonly known by Chinese Catholics as the “three pillars,” they are Yang Tingyun, who passed the examination in 1592; Li Zhizhao, who became a jinshi in 1598; and Xu Guangqi, who passed the examination in 1604 and later rose to some of the highest positions in the Ming government.

On the one hand, Ricci and his fellow Jesuits were able to reassure these three scholars and many others who followed suit that they indeed treated Chinese friends as equals and that the Christian message they brought was respectful of China’s own culture and national dignity. On the other hand, without the welcoming and questions of friends like Xu Guangqi and their passion in revealing to Matteo Ricci Chinese ways of thoughts and cultural treasures, there probably would not have been the Ricci I am describing here. The interaction between these two—the genial Renaissance missionary and the earnest Confucian scholar—is a fascinating chapter in the history of scientific, cultural, and spiritual encounters. I believe that this enduring friendship based on equality in partnership serves as model for meaningful relationships among individuals, as well as, on a larger scale, for peaceful and fruitful interactions between China and the rest of the world.

**Ricci as a Pioneer of Dialogue**

Ricci’s most enduring legacy may be his strategy in engaging with a culture so different from his own. “He was very determined in how he pursued dialogue.”16 He responded to the curiosity of the Chinese intelligentsia about the Christian God in *Tianzhu shiyi* (The true meaning of the Lord of Heaven, 1603).17 The book is not conceived as a typical catechism in the form of short questions followed by short answers that are to be memorized by Christian neophytes. Rather, it is a work meant to dispose readers to the reception of the Gospel. Ricci wrote it as a dialogue between a Confucian scholar and a sage from the Occident; as such, it is “the first attempt by a Catholic scholar to use a Chinese way of thinking to introduce Christianity to Chinese intellectuals.”18 Many of the aphorisms found in the *Tianzhu shiyi* have a familiar ring, as if they were taken out of the Analects of Confucius:

> The virtuous person speaks little or not at all. Nothing is more conducive to a better life than to examine our conscience and discover our faults. The rich miser is more unhappy than the poor beggar. By foolishly trying to discover the future, a man incurs misfortune.

Because Ricci valued Chinese respect for a philosophical consideration, explanation, or proof of God; the nature and act of creation; and the differences between the human soul and the souls of birds and animals, he discussed these topics, as well as the question of the goodness of human nature. In doing so, he strove to “expound Catholic thought with the aid of China’s existing cultural heritage.”19 By the same token, he displayed his deep confidence in the human ability to communicate with one another in truth and mutual respect with the help of reason and the natural and acquired talents at one’s disposal. Throughout the book, friendship and trust are both the starting point and the fruit of the dialogue.

From a Christian perspective, Ricci’s approach to non-Christians resembled in many ways that of the early Christian church. He went to China to spread the Catholic religion, but he carefully avoided the pitfalls of cultural confrontation. Instead, he followed a policy of cultural accommodation in an effort to reconcile two disparate systems of faith and thought. In 2009, in a message sent to the bishop of Macerata, the hometown of Ricci, Pope Benedict XVI wrote: “What made his apostolate original and, we could say, prophetic was the profound sympathy he nourished for the Chinese, for their cultures and religious traditions. . . . Even today, his example remains as a model of fruitful encounter between European and Chinese civilization.”20

Just as his use of the science and instruments he brought with him from the West dazzled Chinese intellectuals, so did his mastery of the Chinese language and cultural tradition. Ricci was thus reengaging with the theological tradition of the Greek Fathers, such as Clement of Alexandria, who brought the heritage of Homer and Plato to the service of Christian thought. For a while it looked as if Ricci’s successors might bring about a successful implanting of Christianity within the Chinese context when, a few decades after his death, the Kangxi emperor issued an edict allowing the preaching of the Christian religion in the empire. But history did not repeat itself, because the popes and most of Christian Europe of that time failed to endorse Ricci’s method of cultural accommodation. Pope Clement XI in 1704 and 1715 and again Pope Benedict XIV in 1742 rejected this approach and forbade its practice “for all time to come.” Not until 1939 did the Vatican finally acknowledge that it had made a mistake and commend Ricci’s method.

Today, attempts are under way at renewing the dialogue between Christianity and China begun by Ricci 400 years ago. The Vatican has given its full support to Ricci’s approach. The author
of the booklet *On Friendship* is being hailed as a missionary who undertook “a farsighted work of inculturation of Christianity in China by seeking constant understanding with the wise men of that country.”

**Conclusion**

Reflecting on Matteo Ricci’s accomplishments, Wolfgang Franke, one of the leading sinologists of the twentieth century, rightly called him “the most outstanding cultural mediator between China and the West of all times.” Indeed, Matteo Ricci’s methods are today considered by foreign diplomats and business people in China to be textbook negotiating strategy. Ricci’s usual demeanor, far from being confrontational, placed great emphasis on harmonious relationships. He knew how to display patience, tolerance, and kindness with his visitors. His good manners, understanding, and respect for the Chinese people and culture, combined with his outstanding scholarship, enabled him to adapt himself to the Chinese environment and to gain the confidence and friendship of many Chinese literati. As a result, a number of these were also drawn to the Christian message he brought with him.

**Notes**

1. The stated goal of this and subsequent Nishan Forums is, on the basis of values and insights shared by Confucianism and major world religions, to build toward universal cooperation by celebrating diversity in a spirit of responsibility, faith, tolerance, and harmony.


4. By the Treaty of Tordesillas of June 1494, Portugal and Spain divided their claims to lands discovered and to be discovered outside Europe along a meridian 950 miles from the Cape Verde Islands. In these territories both crowns had to support and “protect”—hence the names Padroado and Padronato (“patronage” in Portuguese and Spanish)—the expansion of Christians missions.


6. See Vignalino, letter from Goa, December 23, 1588, to Don Theotonio de Bragança, archbishop of Evora, in *Cartas que os Padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Japan e China* (Evora, 1598), 2:170: “When I was in Japan, I determined that two of the fathers [Ruggieri and Ricci] who were in Amacao, the Portuguese port of China, should devote themselves to nothing else but learning the language and literature of China, and be given masters and everything else necessary. And it happened that they made great progress in the language, so when I returned from Japan, I appointed them to this great enterprise of entering China.”


8. Regrettably, Ricci’s translation has been lost.

9. A rare copy of this map is on permanent display at the James Ford Bell Library of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.


11. In a letter dated August 24, 1608, Matteo Ricci appraised his brother, Canon Anton Maria Ricci, of some of his findings: “It is now certain that China is this great kingdom that our predecessors called the Great Cathay and that the king of China is the Great Can and that the city of Pekin is Cambalu” (Matteo Ricci, *Lettere dalla Cina*, 1580–1609, ed. Piero Corradini [Macerata, Italy: Quodlibet, 2001], p. 589.)


15. P. M. D’Elia, ed., *Fonti Ricciane* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 1:195. This is one of the passages that was obscured by Ricci’s Latin translator Nicholas Trigault, or perhaps by Trigault’s German editors, by a long theological addition about “the innate light of nature,” and adding to the natural law the supernatural law, as taught by “God become man.” Gallagher, in his translation of Trigault, further distorts it by reading “inner light” as conscience, not reason (*China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 156). For further information on the subject, see Paul A. Rule, “What Were ‘The Directives of Matteo Ricci’ Regarding the Chinese Rites?” *Pacific Rim Report* (Univ. of San Francisco), no. 54, May 2010.


17. *Tianzhu shiyi* was known in Europe by its Latin title *De Deo verax disputatio* (True argumentation about God). The book was authored between 1593 and 1596, and its draft was widely distributed before publication. Feng Ying Jing attempted to publish the book in 1601 but was financially unable to do so. It was finally published in Beijing in 1603. The work consists of two books, eight volumes, and 174 items in dialogue form. For a publication with both Chinese text and an English translation, see Douglas Lancashire, Peter Kuo-chen Hu, and Edward Malastesia, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven = T’ien-chu shih-i* (Chinese and English parallel text) (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985).

18. *True Meaning*, preface, p. xiv. The Chinese scholar explains traditional Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism of China, and the European scholar quotes the classical works of the early Confucianists to explain the doctrines of Christianity, using Scholasticism, the traditional philosophy of European Catholicism.

19. Ibid.


21. Ibid.

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Attrition Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1807–1890

Jessie G. Lutz

Attrition narratives for almost every Protestant mission represented in China between 1807 and 1890 paint very similar pictures. Consider a number of representative accounts drawn up by contemporary observers and later historians:

It is estimated that it requires at least five years of residence and study for a missionary to become fully effective in China, and only one of the missionaries of the M.E. [Methodist Episcopal] Church, South, who went out prior to the Civil War remained as long as this. After a promising start and the baptism of the first convert in 1851, health difficulties began to beset the mission. Of the [first] fifty-three missionaries sent out... by the CIM [China Inland Mission], only twenty-two adults (and eighteen children) remained in the mission, and of these only four or five men and three or four women were much good.

Health problems... held a special urgency since the health of mission personnel in other areas had been disastrous—forty-five deaths abroad since the founding of the American Board [of Commissioners for Foreign Missions], plus fifty-three returnees, thirty-one of which were for reasons of their health or the health of members of their families. To say that twenty-seven missionaries and missionary wives arrived in Foochow between the beginning of 1847 and the end of 1851 could give a misleading impression of the size of the missionary force... The fact is that the missionaries had serious health problems, and casualties were heavy. By the end of 1853, only fifteen of the twenty-seven who had arrived between 1847 and 1851 remained in the field; the rest had either died or left.

Although the Oberlin Band [of student volunteers for foreign missions] were joined by two more couples in 1884—a total of eleven, five married couples and a single man—it remained a “feeble Mission” that at one point was down to three members. Of the three hundred and thirty-eight missionaries named in the list [of Protestant missionaries to China by 1867], the aggregate term of service in China has been 2,511 years, giving an average of nearly seven and a half years to each. These numbers include the time that missionaries have been absent on visits to their native lands or elsewhere, generally on account of their health.

Of the eleven [women] who pioneered these stations [in Shanxi] in 1886–87, two died young, one committed suicide, two were sent home to die, and two died at the hands of the Boxers. Only four survived past 1900.

Inevitably the prevalence of health breakdowns and deaths influenced the mood and effectiveness of those who remained. It is not surprising that the early missionaries often seemed to be preoccupied with death and sickness. Conversations, it was said, frequently centered on recent departures of ill colleagues, the death of a newborn, or the sickness of a friend. More than one missionary perceived a relationship between early departure and despondency over health problems and the lack of converts. William Lennox of Peking Union Medical College, who in 1918–19 made a statistical study of the health of missionary families in China, concluded that a significant number of missionaries left China because of “neurasthenia,” or nervous breakdown. At the time, “departure for health reasons” often covered mental health as well as physical health. Since the records rarely mention mental health, however, the precise proportion of those departing because of mental problems cannot be determined. Biographies of individual missionaries do reveal that many missionaries experienced depression. Elijah Bridgman, Dr. Peter Parker, and Tarleton Crawford, for example, often were plagued by weeks or months of despondency. In the course of 1848 James Legge of the London Missionary Society experienced the death of his father, his infant daughter, a close friend, and his wife, in childbirth. His translation work appears to have provided a refuge from the sorrows of his personal life.

Periods of ill health that made active evangelism impossible were common, especially in South China, where malaria and intestinal parasites undermined the health of missionaries while the hot, humid summers depleted their energy. In North China missionaries were more apt to suffer from respiratory ill-

More than one missionary perceived a relationship between early departure and despondency over health problems and the lack of converts.
over giving their life for the Christian cause. Missionaries on their deathbed did not necessarily give way to sorrow or to regret that they had chosen to come to China to bring the Gospel. Rather, they looked forward to reward in heaven for bringing the Good News to the damned. Missionaries often attempted to explain a death as the will of God. Bridgman, in commenting upon the death of a missionary who had appeared to have a most promising future career, could only conclude: “In the mysterious providence of God it was ordered otherwise.” He, like other missionaries, assumed that colleagues, “having finished their course below, are now witnesses before the throne of God and the Lamb in the heavenly world.” The trials of the missionary life had their purpose: “Such afflictions are doubtless designed, while they teach us our frailty, to incite us to greater diligence and purer devotion.” Most missionaries found such arguments sufficient; they were able to retain their faith in the cause. Some, however, were devastated and had to leave the field.

Costs and Tensions

The cost in morale, health, and the lives of missionaries who were in their prime was deplorable; most of those who died were between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five. From the viewpoint of the home board, there was also a monetary cost. To recruit, outfit, and transport a missionary couple entailed a very considerable outlay of funds by the board. In addition, there was the expense of their settling in a home and hiring a language tutor. As James Cannon stated, if the young missionary died less than five years after reaching China, he enjoyed a very short period of effective evangelism. To become proficient in a spoken Chinese dialect was neither easy nor quick and generally required a minimum of two years of diligent application. Pioneer missionaries had Robert Morrison’s Chinese grammar and his dictionary, but few other aids for learning the language. The usual method was to hire a Chinese tutor, none of whom knew any English or had experience in teaching a language. Westerners had had no previous exposure to a tonal language and often found mastering the tones challenging. It was said that James Legge, the great translator of the Chinese classics, never became adept in spoken Chinese because he did not have a musical ear. Learning Chinese, therefore, could be a disheartening experience, and more than one missionary suffered bouts of despondency before becoming capable of preaching in Chinese.

Westerners had initially thought that missionaries would convert a few Chinese and then these converts would carry the promise of salvation throughout China; the Gospel would be gladly received, and China would become a Christian nation within a relatively short period of time. Such a view had quickly proved to be a pipe dream. Most Chinese were indifferent to the Christian message and offended by its exclusivism. Adding Jesus to their pantheon of deities was a possibility, but few Chinese could be persuaded to abandon their Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian beliefs and practices, most especially veneration of the ancestors. Converts were few and far between. Missionaries faced a disillusioning and in many ways unrewarding career. They needed a strong faith if they were to persevere.

The high attrition rate coupled with the low conversion rate affected home supporters as well as the missionaries. Disappointment on the field at the paucity of converts was echoed at home. Mission boards regularly requested reports of conversions from the missionaries as proof that their investment was yielding results. They were often critical of missionaries who engaged in activities other than direct evangelizing—for example, education, publishing, and even medical work—if they were not accompanied by evangelism. Elijah Bridgman was under constant pressure from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to discontinue his editing of the Chinese Repository, the journal he had started in 1832 to draw together information about conditions in China. The demands of his medical work left Peter Parker with no time for evangelism, causing him pangs of guilt and eventually leading the ABCFM to discontinue its support for him. On more than one occasion the secretary of the London Missionary Society cautioned James Legge against giving so much time to translating the Chinese classics that he neglected evangelistic work.

Decline in Attrition

By the 1870s the attrition rate began to decline. In a report published in 1907 the Southern Presbyterian Mission recorded of its presence in China that, “in round numbers, during forty years out of 120 missionaries nearly one-third (thirty-eight) have died or left the mission, and over two-thirds (eighty-two) are in the harness.” This was almost a direct reversal of the statistics for the years before the 1870s. And the Southern Presbyterian Mission was not alone in experiencing a decline in the attrition rate of its missionaries. A number of factors contributed to the decrease in attrition and the increase in the average years of active service. As the numbers of missionaries grew, so did the numbers of medical missionaries. Several Western-style hospitals were founded, one in Canton and one in Shanghai, for example. Thus better and more accessible medical care became available. Greater knowledge about the sources of malaria and intestinal parasites led to greater emphasis on protections such as mosquito netting and prophylactics in the one case and sanitation and hygiene in the other. Also, vaccinations for such diseases as smallpox and typhoid fever were becoming available by the end of the century.

With the greater number of missionaries came the formation of mission enclaves, wherein missionaries adopted a Western living style insofar as possible. Although the missionaries are often criticized for isolating themselves from the Chinese, the enclaves did make for a healthier environment. Learning Chinese, even if still difficult, became less daunting as aids were composed. And toward the end of the nineteenth century, missionaries began to establish summer retreats in the cooler hills and mountains so that they could escape the debilitating heat present in summer.

Tracking Missionary Attrition

In this article missionary attrition and early departure are defined as leaving or removal from the field of missionary service for any reason (such as ill health, death, the ill health or death of a spouse or family member, resignation, personal or doctrinal conflict, or change of vocation or ministry; see table 1 on following page) before old age dictated retirement.

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Despite the general consensus that the attrition rate among China missionaries was high during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century and began to decline during the fourth quarter, exact figures are lacking. I have tried to bring a degree of exactitude to this widespread impression by examining the careers of 1,579 Protestant missionaries who came to China between 1807 and 1890, 665 women and 914 men. One set of statistics lists the length of service separately for women and men. A second set lists the causes for termination of service. These figures represent the majority of the missionaries who arrived in China between 1807 and 1890, but not the total number. Furthermore, the information concerning the reason for departure is incomplete in some cases. I think, however, that there are sufficient numbers and data to lend some specific-
second half of the nineteenth century. I have, therefore, ended my study at 1890. During this fourth period, attrition rates declined more rapidly, while careers lengthened. Increasing numbers lived to old age or retirement. Fewer missionaries withdrew or resigned because of the death or ill health of a spouse. I have statistics on 265 women and 293 men, for a total of 558.

The specific statistics in the tables give substance to the above generalizations.

Differences in Attrition Rates

During the first period, 1807–46, almost 15 percent of the women and over 13 percent of the men died or left the field during their first year of service while 44 percent of the women and 43 percent of the men remained in China for five years or less (see table 2). Well over half of the men (58.2 percent) and nearly two-thirds of the women (64.6 percent) served ten years or less. If we correlate the length of service with the death rate and the prevalence of health breakdown, it becomes clear that a high proportion of the missionaries left before they had become proficient in Chinese and could be effective evangelists. For those (6.2 percent) remained for 31 to 40 years (see table 3). Of the male missionaries, five (3.2 percent) stayed on the field over 40 years, while nine (5.7 percent) served 31 to 40 years. It was not until the third period, 1861–76, that more than a few missionaries in China lived to retire at a normal retirement age of 65. By the fourth period, 1877–90, significant numbers were surviving for longer periods: thirty women (11.3 percent) and thirty-four men (11.6 percent) served 31 to 40 years, while twenty-three women (8.6 percent) and thirty-one men (10.5 percent) were in China for over 40 years. It was also not until the fourth period that the number of retirees became significant. There were a few exceptions, that is, missionaries who had relatively long careers that started before 1860. Robert Morrison died in harness after a career of 27 years; Elijah Bridgman served for 31 years; the independent missionary Karl Gützlaff was active for 23 years. But such long careers were unusual, and even so, Morrison and Gützlaff died in their early fifties, and Bridgman at the age of sixty.

Noteworthy during the early periods is the dependence of the women on their husband’s career. Between 1807 and 1846, thirty-four (30.0 percent) of the women left the field because their husband retired, resigned, died, or was in poor health. Few women remained in China after the death or departure of their husband. They had been in China for such a short period before their loss that the West, not China, seemed like home. For males the same was not true. Only 7.3 percent of the males withdrew because of the poor health or death of their wife. If the wife died, the husband was apt to find a second wife, and even third wives were not exceptional. Especially during the early decades, the life of a widow or a single Western woman in China was not easy. She was not permitted to have a home of her own; rather, she was expected to live with a married couple, compatible or not. Wives were not recognized as full missionaries, and neither single women nor wives had a say at mission conferences or church vestry meetings. According to Chinese mores, single women and wives were not supposed to associate with males in public, nor could they travel freely in the countryside. As might be expected, there were a few women who ignored the rules. Mary Aldersley, an independent missionary, operated a school in Ningbo for almost twenty years, from 1843 to 1861. Lottie Moon of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board evangelized in rural Shandong for almost forty years until her death in 1912. But these women were unique until the late nineteenth century. By the 1870s, however, quite a few women had lived in China long enough to feel at home, and some remained to continue their work even after the death of their husband. Also, the restrictions on women lessened as mission boards began to commission single women missionaries.

Table 2. Percentage of Missionaries Serving Ten Years or Less

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years Served</th>
<th>0–1</th>
<th>&gt;1–2</th>
<th>&gt;2–5</th>
<th>&gt;5–10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Period 1, 1807–46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Cumulative</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men Cumulative</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2, 1847–60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Cumulative</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men Cumulative</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>17.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Period 3, 1861–76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Cumulative</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men Cumulative</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 4, 1877–90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Cumulative</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men Cumulative</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

who left before the age of forty, attrition was overwhelmingly due to death or ill health of the missionary or of a spouse. Not until the third period, 1877–90, did the attrition rate during the first ten years fall below 50 percent (44.0 percent for women and 45.9 percent for men).

During the first period, 1807–46, none of the women missionaries were on the field for 41 years or more, and only seven

Reasons for Attrition

Other than for poor health and death, reasons for termination of service were relatively minor. A few men withdrew; whether because of frustration over the difficulty of learning the language or disillusionment over the paucity of converts is not stated. In one instance a man who had worked in China for twenty-four years was dismissed because he had never become proficient in Chinese. Even though friction in the missionary community occurred and could become sharp when matters of principle or doctrine were involved, only a small number left because of personal or doctrinal conflicts. In 1871 Jesse Hartwell returned home to the United States from Tengchow, in Northeast China, following the death of his wife, apparently
leaving the field clear for his longstanding sparring partner and fellow Baptist missionary Tarleton Crawford. The following year, however, he returned, having remarried, and the highly personal conflict between the two men resumed. A number of missionaries left the CIM, although not China, because they had been forbidden by the head of CIM, Hudson Taylor, to associate with the liberal missionary Timothy Richard. Most of the others who left because of personal conflict appear to have been Episcopal missionaries working under Bishop William J. Boone, Jr., whose patriarchalistic rule of his diocese was not appreciated by some of the missionaries under him. During the American Civil War, Southern mission boards were often strapped for funds, and as a result some missionaries had to support themselves by other employment. Others left the service.

A few former missionaries accepted employment with the British, American, or Chinese government. For example, Peter Parker became charge d'affaires and then commissioner plenipotentiary for the United States. Young J. Allen, who had arrived in China in 1860, worked as a translator at the Jiangnan Arsenal and published Wanguo gongbao (The globe magazine) to promote China’s modernization. W. A. P. Martin became president of the Tongwenguan, China’s first Western-language school, established in 1862, and subsequently was head of the Imperial University. Joseph Edkins and Dr. Melancthon W. Fish joined the ABCFM in 1857 and joined the U.S. legation in Beijing, where he worked for over a decade. Numerous missionaries acted temporarily as interpreters and advisers in treaty negotiations. Asian studies in the West benefited from the early departure of certain missionaries. For example, Samuel Kidd, who returned to Britain in 1832 after eight years in China, became the first professor of Chinese language and literature at University College, London. After three decades of service, James Legge returned to Scotland in 1873 to continue his translation of the Chinese classics and then in 1875 was appointed to teach Chinese at the University of Oxford. S. Wells Williams did have a long career in China, first as a missionary and then as a foreign-service officer, but after retiring from China in 1877, he became professor of Chinese language and literature at Yale University. His famous work The Middle Kingdom was the most widely read introduction to China in the second half of the nineteenth century. Later than the period covered in this study, Kenneth Scott Latourette likewise served briefly in China (only 1910–12) and then returned to the United States because of ill health. It took him two years to recover sufficiently to accept a part-time teaching position at Reed College, in Portland, Oregon, but he went on to become Sterling Professor of Missions and Oriental History at Yale University. His History of Christian Missions in China, published in 1929, was the standard work on the subject for decades and is still useful as a reference work. Other returned missionaries served as pastors in their homeland or accepted positions on the boards of mission societies. A few went to Japan to open mission work there.

Overall in China, the leading causes of death were dysentery, diarrhea, typhoid fever, respiratory diseases including tuberculosis, and cancer. CIM evangelists apparently had a somewhat higher death rate than missionaries of other societies. CIM missionaries did not receive a regular salary and were expected to live frugally. Often they were traveling evangelists who stayed at and ate in Chinese inns. After a CIM missionary committed suicide, a member of the Oberlin Band who had befriended her remarked: “I only wish they [CIM missionaries] could have thought it their duty to live in more comfort, but they lived just about as the poorer Chinese do. I feel sure if she had taken better care of herself and lived in a more homelike way with good nourishing food, she could have stood it much longer here.”

Table 3. Overall Length of Service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Inadequate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0–10</td>
<td>11–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women %</td>
<td>Men %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 1807–46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 1847–60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 1861–76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 1877–90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Because of rounding, percentage totals in the rows may not equal 100.

of the Tongwenguan, China’s first Western-language school, established in 1862, and subsequently was head of the Imperial University. Joseph Edkins and Dr. Melancthon W. Fish joined the Imperial Maritime Customs. S. Wells Williams resigned from the ABCFM in 1857 and joined the U.S. legation in Beijing, where he worked for over a decade. Numerous missionaries acted temporarily as interpreters and advisers in treaty negotiations. Asian studies in the West benefited from the early departure of certain missionaries. For example, Samuel Kidd, who returned to Britain in 1832 after eight years in China, became the first professor of Chinese language and literature at University College, London. After three decades of service, James Legge returned to Scotland in 1873 to continue his translation of the Chinese classics and then in 1875 was appointed to teach Chinese at the University of Oxford. S. Wells Williams did have a long career in China, first as a missionary and then as a foreign-service officer, but after retiring from China in 1877, he became professor of Chinese language and literature at Yale University. His famous work The Middle Kingdom was the most widely read introduction to China in the second half of the nineteenth century. Later than the period covered in this study, Kenneth Scott Latourette likewise served briefly in China (only 1910–12) and then returned to the United States because of ill health. It took him two years to recover sufficiently to accept a part-time teaching position at Reed College, in Portland, Oregon, but he went on to become Sterling Professor of Missions and Oriental History at Yale University. His History of Christian Missions in China, published in 1929, was the standard work on the subject for decades and is still useful as a reference work. Other returned missionaries served as pastors in their homeland or accepted positions on the boards of mission societies. A few went to Japan to open mission work there.

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Children and Families

I have not attempted to include infants and children in this study of attrition, even though the high death rate among children certainly affected the morale of the missionary community. Annie Crombie, who had lost three babies, lamented: “I often feel the grave to be very near indeed, yet many of the young and strong have gone to rest, and I am here to suffer, or to stand still and wait, not to do.” She was not alone. William Lennox in his Health of Missionary Families in China: A Statistical Study focused much of the discussion on children. Although his data come from a later period, they are still useful for the study of attrition among missionaries in China. In 1918–19 Lennox sent out questionnaires to 2,200 missionaries and received 1,300 replies. Based on the answers, he reported that the birth rate among China missionaries was higher than among college graduates in the United States: 3.5 births per missionary woman, as compared with 2.2 per graduate of all-female Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania. Most of the women answering the questionnaire had suffered at least one miscarriage. Mortality among missionary children was less than one-third that of Chinese children, but three times higher than among children in the English countryside. Major causes of death were dysentery, diarrhea, and respiratory illnesses. With the introduction of vaccines, other causes of death became readily preventable: smallpox, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and diphtheria, for example. The purpose of Lennox’s book was to encourage missionary parents to take steps, especially vaccination and improved sanitation, that would reduce attrition among their children.

The tables do not show as great a difference between men and women in their rates of attrition as might have been expected from the literature. This may be partially because
of the women missing from or passed over in silence in the records. After a decline between the first and second periods, the total percentages of men and women who left the service because of either death or ill health did not diverge greatly. The principal difference was that, in the first two periods, the percentage of those who died was higher for women, while the percentage of those who left China for health reasons was greater for men throughout the century. In the case of women, a significant source of attrition was departure after the death or resignation of their husbands. By contrast, men often remained on the field after the death of a wife. As for length of service, the proportion who terminated their career during the first year was higher for women than for men in all four periods; after 1861, however, the attrition percentiles at the end of ten years on the field were almost identical for men and women.

By the fourth period both men and women were serving longer in China. A significant minority of both sexes remained on the field for between twenty-one and forty years, and there were even a few who served over fifty years. Men consistently lived longer than women, but women (17 percent) and men (nearly 25 percent) were increasingly living to old age. Despite the decline in the rate of attrition between 1807 and 1890, however, that rate still remained high. Even during the fourth period, the service of over 45 percent of both the men and the women terminated short of ten years, usually for health reasons or because of death. Mission work in China remained a costly and risky career.  

Notes

1. Before China was open to Christian evangelism, quite a few missionaries went to the Straits Settlements, often to work among the Chinese in southeast Asia. Many would transfer to China in the 1840s once it was open. I have included these missionaries in my survey. I also wish to note my gratitude to Frederick H. Gregory for help with the tables that accompany this article.


6. Austin, China’s Millions, p. 275.


8. Austin, China’s Millions, p. 388.


15. Cannon, History of Southern Methodist Missions, p. 97. In the period Cannon is discussing, the pronoun “he” applies. Only males were considered missionaries; wives did not count and there were very few single female missionaries.


20. Between 1881 and 1895 more than fifty CIM missionaries in Shanxi, Richard’s home province, resigned; they either joined other societies or became independent. See Austin, China’s Millions, p. 268.


Christianity 2012: The 200th Anniversary of American Foreign Missions

This two-page report is the twenty-eighth in an annual series in the *IBMR*. The series began a few years after the publication of the *World Christian Encyclopedia* (WCE, Oxford Univ. Press, 1982). Its purpose was to lay out, in summary form on a single page, an annual update of the most significant global and regional statistics presented in the *WCE*. The *WCE* itself was expanded into a second edition in 2001 and was accompanied by an analytical volume, *World Christian Trends* (WCT, William Carey Library, 2001). In 2003 an online database, *World Christian Database* (WCD, later published by Brill), was launched, updating most of the statistics in the *WCE* and *WCT*. The *Atlas of Global Christianity* (Edinburgh University Press, 2010), based on these data, was featured throughout 2010, most notably at the centennial celebrations of the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910 (Tokyo in May, Edinburgh in June, Cape Town in October, and Boston in November).

**200 Years of American Foreign Missions**

This year is the two-hundredth anniversary of the ordination (February 5, 1812) and sailing (February 19), from Derby Wharf in Salem, Massachusetts, of the first American foreign missionaries. From February 5 to 20, 2012, a series of commemorative conferences are planned in and around Salem. Accordingly, we have added data to the table for all categories for the year 1800. This provides a two-hundred-year horizon for comparing statistics related to Christian mission. For example, line 22 shows that 22.7 percent of the world was Christian in 1800, rising to 34.5 percent by 1900. A closer examination of the data (country by country), however, reveals that, in Kenneth Scott Latourette’s so-called Great Century (1815–1914), the reason for the global growth of Christianity was primarily its expansion in the Americas and lower death rates among Christians in Europe. Ironically, it was during the period in which the global percentage of Christians was declining (to 32.5 percent by A.D. 2000) that the number and proportion of Christians in Africa, Asia, and Latin America greatly increased (but was not quite able to stem the tide of losses in Europe). Early in the twenty-first century, growth of Christianity in the Global South is exceeding the losses in the Global North. By 2012 the percentage of Christians globally grew to 33 percent and is expected to rise to over 34 percent by 2025 (and on to 36 percent by 2050). Today, American missionaries join a host of others from nearly every country of the world, including many from Burma/Myanmar—the eventual destination of those first American missionaries in 1812!

Another interesting observation is that, in 1800, Christians and Muslims together accounted for just under 33 percent of the world’s population (lines 1, 10, and 11). By 1900 this figure had increased to 47 percent, and by 2000 it was 53 percent. We project it to be 58 percent by 2025, and it could rise to 66 percent by 2100. This means that these two religions, which made up a third of the world’s population in 1800, will likely make up two-thirds by 2100. This is a compelling reason for Christian-Muslim relations to be at the top of missiological priorities in coming years.

**Missionary Deployment**

Line 50 shows that in 2012 there are approximately 417,000 foreign missionaries (i.e., missionaries working in a country other than their own). When examined at the country level, our data (WCD) show that the 42 least-evangelized countries in the world, comprising 958 million people, make up 14 percent of the world’s population but receive only 3.5 percent of the world’s foreign missionaries (fewer than 15,000). Similarly, the world’s 4,400 least-evangelized peoples (1.7 billion, or 25 percent of the world’s population) receive only about 7.5 percent of the world’s foreign missionaries (about 30,000). It should be noted that about the same proportion—7.5 percent—of national missionaries (those crossing cultural boundaries within their own countries) work among the least-evangelized peoples, and a much lower proportion (perhaps less than 1 percent) of all national workers (Christians working among their own peoples) work among these same least-evangelized groups.

**One New Country**

On July 9, 2011, Southern Sudan became an independent country, leaving the remainder of Sudan to consider itself a “second republic.” Our team has produced detailed tables on the religious demographics of the two new republics (see www.lausanne.org/analysis). The first thing to notice is that Sudan (Northern) has been at least 85 percent Muslim for the past 100 years. Over that same period, animists (or ethnoreligionists) have declined from almost 15 percent to less than 3 percent. A significant Christian minority exists in the North, mostly in Khartoum and the Nubia mountains, consisting mainly of Roman Catholics and Anglicans, many of them transplants from the South. Southern Sudan, in contrast, was largely animistic in 1900 but gradually has become majority Christian over the course of the century. The bulk of the growth has been over the past forty years, even in the face of civil wars and the deaths of perhaps as many as 2 million people in the South.

Despite the conflict, trials, and seemingly poor outlook of life in Sudan, the church has made great gains there in recent decades. Progress began during the nineteenth century when Christians, with slave-trade guilt, began a mission in Sudan, though with few converts to report. Roman Catholic work in Sudan began in 1842, though much of it was focused on Khartoum. Anglicans started in 1899, also initially based in Khartoum. Christianity did not begin to grow significantly until the twentieth century; all missionaries were expelled in 1956 at the start of the First Sudanese Civil War, followed by genocide and displacement. Despite the strife, the church grew. The Episcopal Church of the Sudan is the fastest-growing church in the Anglican Communion; this is apparent even in refugee camps scattered throughout Southern Sudan.

Conflict will likely continue in the new context. The return of refugees to an already underdeveloped country will undoubtedly put great strain on the nation’s scant resources. In addition, the situation in Southern Sudan is arguably one of the worst health crises in the world. The nation has essentially no health-care system and is home to a combination of deadly, untreatable, and unique diseases.

#### GLOBAL POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population (mid-2012)</th>
<th>Trend (® p.a.)</th>
<th>24-hour change</th>
<th>mid-2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>903,650,000</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>229,000</td>
<td>7,052,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,619,625,000</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1,076,985</td>
<td>4,052,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>3,696,189,000</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1,520,106</td>
<td>4,564,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>6,122,770,000</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>2,295,106</td>
<td>5,435,305</td>
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<td>2025</td>
<td>11,850,950,000</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>2,460,106</td>
<td>6,580,305</td>
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</tbody>
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#### WORLDWIDE EXPANSION OF CITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Megacities (over 1 million population)</td>
<td>18 million</td>
<td>120 million</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urban pop. over 100,000</td>
<td>20 million</td>
<td>100 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban slum dwellers</td>
<td>3 million</td>
<td>20 million</td>
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</tbody>
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#### GLOBAL POPULATION BY RELIGION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>90,500,000</td>
<td>1,279,859,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nonreligionists</td>
<td>92,000,000</td>
<td>234,664,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>New-Religionists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>61,321,000</td>
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#### GLOBAL CHRISTIANITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Christians as % of world</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelicals</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>228,231,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pentecostals/Charismatics/Neocharismatics</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>460,108,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>353,401,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal Christians</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>29,099,000</td>
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#### MEMBERSHIP BY 6 ECCLESIASTICAL MEGABLOCOS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern America</td>
<td>5,600,000</td>
<td>208,650,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>21,092,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### MEMBERSHIP BY 6 CONTINENTS, 21 UN REGIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa (5 regions)</td>
<td>4,330,000</td>
<td>41,359,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia (4 regions)</td>
<td>8,350,000</td>
<td>274,792,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe (including Russia; 4 regions)</td>
<td>171,700,000</td>
<td>257,109,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America (3 regions)</td>
<td>14,900,000</td>
<td>237,099,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern America (1 region)</td>
<td>5,600,000</td>
<td>226,850,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oceania (4 regions)</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>21,092,000</td>
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#### CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National councils of churches</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>21,092,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical giving to Christian causes</td>
<td>1 billion</td>
<td>300 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost-effectiveness (cost per baptism)</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income of global foreign missions</td>
<td>25 million</td>
<td>17 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers in Christian use (numbers)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>328 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CONCIARLISM: ONGOING COUNCILS OF CHURCHES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Councils (CWCs, at world level)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21,092,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National councils of churches</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21,092,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CHRISTIAN WORKERS (clergy, laypersons)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National councils of churches</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21,092,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laypersons</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>21,092,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CHRISTIAN FINANCE (US$, per year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal income of church members</td>
<td>40 billion</td>
<td>217 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving to Christian causes</td>
<td>8 billion</td>
<td>148 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches' income</td>
<td>950 million</td>
<td>148 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish and institutional income</td>
<td>50 million</td>
<td>148 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost-effectiveness (cost per baptism)</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastical crime</td>
<td>100 million</td>
<td>35 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income of global foreign missions</td>
<td>25 million</td>
<td>32 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers in Christian use (numbers)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>328 million</td>
</tr>
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#### CHRISTIAN LITERATURE (titles, not copies)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total monthly listeners/viewers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4,131,168,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evangelistic opportunities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciple-opportunities (offers) per capita</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.72</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### SCRIPTURE DISTRIBUTION (all sources, per year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9,670,000</td>
<td>4,131,168,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving to Christian causes</td>
<td>1 billion</td>
<td>300 billion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CHRISTIAN URBAN MISSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Christian megacities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal Christians</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>29,099,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Christian megacities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### GLOBAL EVANGELISM (per year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disciple-opportunities (offers) per capita</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciple-opportunities (offers) per capita</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelism-hours</td>
<td>600 million</td>
<td>148 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciple-opportunities (offers) per capita</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### WORLD EVANGELIZATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evangelized population (World A)</td>
<td>674,350,000</td>
<td>2,606,540,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelized as % of world</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World evangelization plans since AD 30</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>2,606,540,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
David B. Barrett: Missionary Statistician

In 1982 Time magazine called David Barrett (1927–2011) the “Linnaeus of religious taxonomy” and dubbed his magnum opus “a miracle from Nairobi” and a “bench mark in our understanding of the true religious state of the planet.” Against all odds, for the prior fourteen years the Rev. Dr. David B. Barrett had traveled to nearly every country in the world, compiling information on the religious status of “every soul on earth.” The result was the World Christian Encyclopedia (WCE), a thousand-page oversized volume listing 20,000 Christian denominations and recounting the history of Christianity in every country from the time of Christ to the present. Barrett also provided a detailed snapshot of the status of all religious affiliations, the first time such a comprehensive treatment had been achieved. In the years that followed, the WCE was cited extensively in both Christian and secular publications. Consequently, Barrett is largely responsible for launching the modern field of religious demography.

David Brian Barrett was born on August 30, 1927, in Llandudno in northern Wales in the United Kingdom. As a teenager, Barrett cycled with school friends around secret airfields, making models of new wartime secret aircraft. Following receipt of his B.A. in aeronautics from Cambridge University, Barrett began his career at Britain’s Royal Aircraft Establishment in 1948. (He would receive his M.A. from Cambridge in 1952.)

He was ordained a deacon in the Church of England in 1954 and a priest in 1955 and appointed as a missionary to Kenya through the Church Missionary Society in 1956. “Forget science completely,” his bishop advised. But Barrett could not.

Upon arrival in Kenya Barrett found that a massive ecclesiastical schism was under way and that it included the seven Luo priests with whom he was assigned to work. Although warned to have nothing to do with these schismatics, Barrett befriended them and was given access to rare documents and interviews. After learning Luo and Swahili, he began to compile the history of their movement.

In 1962 Barrett was on leave in Britain, where he worked with famed Anglican evangelist Bryan Green. That same year he was invited to Union Theological Seminary in New York as a fellow in a twenty-member ecumenical studies program with Pitney Van Dusen, Kenneth Scott Latourette, and others. He went on to take doctoral studies in the social-scientific study of religion. There he discovered that his schism experience among the Luo was not unique. Working extensively in

Todd M. Johnson is Associate Professor of Global Christianity and Director of the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts. He is coeditor of the Atlas of Global Christianity (Edinburgh University Press, 2010) and coauthor of World Christian Encyclopedia, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 2001).

David B. Barrett, 1982

Union’s Missionary Research Library, with its 100,000 volumes and vast archives, Barrett earned his Ph.D. in 1965 in a joint program between Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University. His two main faculty advisers were Marxists, but they supported his research into 6,000 schismatic movements in Africa. Barrett’s dissertation was later published by Oxford University Press and today is considered one of the classics on the subject.

A confirmed bachelor until age forty-five, Barrett married fellow British missionary Pam Stubley in 1972. The new Mrs. Barrett brought an outgoing and friendly hospitality to Barrett’s researcher persona. She also helped her new husband organize his overwhelming collection of papers, letters, maps, and photos piling up in the Nairobi office. Together they hosted hundreds of Christian leaders in their home in Africa and later in Virginia. They had three children: Claire, Luke, and Timothy.

In 1985, after the WCE had been published, Barrett (still under appointment as an Anglican missionary) left Nairobi for Richmond, Virginia, and a position as a research consultant at the Foreign (now International) Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, where he remained until 1993. Until his death Barrett continued as an independent researcher of global Christianity through the World Evangelization Research Center in Richmond and its successor, the Center for the Study of Global Christianity (established in 2003 by Todd Johnson at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, in South Hamilton, Mass.).

Barrett’s contributions to the field of religious demography are extensive, and his published research continues to influence both Christian missionary effort and secular understanding of religious adherence. He spent more than ten years compiling and serving as editor of the World Christian Encyclopedia (1982), which was followed in 2001 by a second edition (with coeditors George Kurian and Todd Johnson) and the companion volume World Christian Trends (coauthored with Johnson). He was also a longtime contributor of statistics on global religious adherence to the Britannica Book of the Year and the International Bulletin of Missionary Research. The reliability of his estimates was acknowledged in 2008 by a group of Princeton scholars studying data on religious affiliation.

In one of the great ironies of Barrett’s career, it was his placement as a missionary in Africa that helped him see significance in counting religionists. In the United States and Europe, leading sociologists were predicting the imminent demise of religion, celebrating its passing as a sign of man’s ability to overcome superstition. Barrett, however, saw a different future and boldly set forth his own views in a seminal article in 1970 that projected 350 million Christians in Africa by the year 2000.

Barrett had a dry but playful sense of humor. On one occasion he was asked to address a crowd of wealthy donors on the most effective means of evangelization. He had been studying Christian martyrdom, so he presented the idea that martyrdom might be the most effective means of evangelization. After an
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awkward pause, one of the donors ventured, “Dr. Barrett, what is the second most effective means of evangelization?” Barrett was very concerned with the use of Christian resources in evangelization. In the late 1980s he decided to investigate the deployment of the missionary forces of various agencies—which turned out to be one of his most unpopular projects. The results showed that, while most agencies claimed to be evangelizing the world, few had workers among the unreached. Like so much of Barrett’s work, this analysis eventually produced some remarkable results. Shortly after Barrett’s death in 2011, the International Mission Board reported, “When David Barrett came to the Foreign Mission Board as a consultant in 1985, less than 3 percent of our mission force was deployed to this last frontier. Today, as a result of Barrett’s prophetic push, more than 80 percent of the people groups our missionaries serve among are unreached.”

Perhaps David Barrett’s greatest achievement is that his research continues after his death. He gathered younger scholars around him and modeled an unbounding commitment to pursue this research whether or not it was popular in the academy or among church leaders. Barrett treated younger colleagues as equals, always interested in their ideas and perspectives and often changing his own ideas as a result. He pioneered a “reconnaissance perspective” in mission, in which research is seen as essential for strategic planning. The impact of his methods and findings reverberates around the world, as young researchers continue to use and develop his much-treasured scientific and biblical perspectives to understand and pursue world evangelization.

Selected Bibliography

An extensive collection of David Barrett’s correspondence, articles, and books is housed at the Center for the Study of Global Christianity, at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts. In addition, over one million documents collected by Barrett and his colleagues documenting the global spread of Christianity are filed there. The collection also includes thousands of photographs, drawings, maps, and other forms of media.

Ten Seminal Books and Articles by David B. Barrett


Notes


4. See, for example, Peter Berger’s statement in April 1968 that by the year 2000, “religious believers are likely to be found only in small sects, huddled together to resist a worldwide secular culture” (“A Bleak Outlook Is Seen for Religion,” New York Times, April 25, 1968, p. 3).


7. See www.bpnews.net/bpnews.asp?id=35901.

New Perspectives on Accountability in Mission

The Korean and English editions of Accountability in Missions: Korean and Western Case Studies (© 2011 World of Life Press and Wipf & Stock Publishers) were published in November 2011. This book is based on case studies and presentations made at the Korean Global Mission Leadership Forum, February 10–14, 2011, at the Overseas Ministries Study Center. Edited by Jonathan J. Bonk and associate editors Geoffrey W. Hahn, Sang-Cheol (Steve) Moon, A. Scott Moreau, Yong Kyu Park, and Nam Yong Sung, the 343-page book (available from OMSC, Wipf & Stock, and Word of Life) includes Bible studies on Samuel and Paul by Christopher J. H. Wright; a case study of the SaRang Community Church, Seoul, Korea, by Seung Kwan (David) Yoo; an analysis of mission administration accountability by Jerry Rankin; and a conference summary by Sang-Cheol (Steve) Moon.
Lydia Mary Fay and the Episcopal Church Mission in China

Ian Welch

Lydia Mary Fay was born in Bennington, Vermont, in 1804 and died in Chefoo (today Yantai) in Shandong Province, North China, in October 1878. Her death followed a long series of age-related illnesses; from the mid-1860s she required extended breaks from her work in Shanghai, which she spent either in her room at the mission school or in foreign sanatorium towns in China.

Most of Mary Fay’s early life was spent in or within twenty miles of Albany, New York, but her education and wide reading gave her a Eurocentric literary worldview. Her life story exemplifies people who find purpose for their lives (i.e., a vocation) in a teaching career underpinned by strong religious faith, a combination that eventually took her to the mission field at the age of forty-six, this in an era when the average age of new missionaries was about twenty-five. She had become a governess/teacher in the 1820s, and by the time of her death she had worked with young people for over fifty years. She was a missionary for twenty-seven years when the average length of service by American Episcopal missionaries in China was around five years. Like so many people, she is at best a “shadowy figure in narratives of religious and general history.” As an ancient Hebrew writer observed, “There are some who have no memorial, who have perished as though they had not lived; they have become as though they had not been born” (Sir. 44:9 RSV).

By the 1890s a majority of female English-speaking missionaries were single women undertaking traditional “female” nurturing roles in education, health, and social welfare, while men ran the ecclesiastical and mission administration at home and abroad. Women found it almost impossible to overcome the “cult of domesticity,” which, for women such as Lydia Mary Fay, required home, husband, and family as evidence of a “normal” female life.

Focus

Missionary history has tended to overlook the personal lives and deeper longings of missionaries, male or female, married or single. Mary Fay described her life as a “path of loneliness and lowness of service.” At a function celebrating a quarter of a century in China, Dr. John Macgowan, a contemporary, declared, “Her life is sacrificed not for father, mother, husband, friend, or even for her own people, but for a far off and ancient people.” The emotional and social isolation indicated by Macgowan reflected her life in America and in China. Julia Emery reported that Mary Fay’s letters were written from a “lonely room.” The missionary who knew her best was Robert Nelson, who observed that her prodigious appetite for learning was a product of “many a lonely hour of day and night. (For, during a large portion of her missionary life, she kept her solitary table; and for the last year or two she was the only foreigner in the house which she occupied.)”

Mary Fay focused her affections on her students, whom she invariably referred to as her “young ladies” or her “boys.” She seems to have had no close friendships with other women of the kind experienced by, for example, the Anglican women missionaries of Fujian Province or Catholic women’s orders. Toward the end of her life she summed up her life’s work: “Teaching is my life and my delight.” It is worth reflecting on the balance between “delight” and necessity when assessing missionary idealism. Many teachers will identify with her fear of being forgotten by her students. “I know [it] is the common lot of teachers, to spend our lives, the best that we can give of our hearts and bodies for those who have as little thought or concern, and think every debt of gratitude is cancelled when our salaries are paid.”

Preparation

Mary Fay’s initial employment in Virginia was as a governess with the prominent Episcopalian Dulany family near Alexandria, and she subsequently worked for the Carter family, with whom the Dulany’s were linked by marriage. Originally a Presbyterian, Mary Fay decided early in her stay in Virginia to become an Episcopalian. On July 12, 1840, she was confirmed by Bishop William Channing Moore in Christ Church, Alexandria. She had taken her first Anglican Communion on March 8, four months before her formal confirmation. An English minister, speaking at her memorial service in Shanghai, described her Episcopalian identity in these terms: “If I were to try and say what type our late friend bore, I should say that her character was moulded and fashioned in the Anglican pattern. Quiet, careful, reverent, not caught up by passionate revivals and the gospel of hysterics, but equable and calm and thoughtful. . . . Her letters were full of quotations from the older and more learned Divines.”

Mary Fay’s pastor at Christ Church, Alexandria, was Charles B. Dana (rector 1834–61). Her very deep feelings for him were revealed in many letters but most dramatically in a letter in October 1847. In that year, after about eight years of work as a governess in northern Virginia, she moved to Warrentsburg, in upstate New York, where an unchaperoned visit by Dana upset her father. She had received six letters from Dr. Jefferson Minor of Miller’s Tavern, Virginia, seeking her services for his Midway Female Academy, opened a year or so earlier, in 1845 or 1846, and some distance from Alexandria and Dana. Minor believed that Mary Fay could provide the leadership the school needed, and she finally accepted. It is obvious that she had nursed hopes of marrying Charles Dana and that she decided to leave America when that door closed.

Midway Female Academy was a small private girls’ school near Miller’s Tavern, a village about thirteen miles from Tappahannock, Virginia. The academy enrolled forty girls as boarders and day students, with at least two full-time teachers in addition to Mary Fay. In 1848 an advertising leaflet named Mary Fay as the principal, declaring that she is “so well and favorably known and has given such general satisfaction as to render comment or eulogy unnecessary.” Her only personal visitors at the school from 1847 to 1850 were the local Episcopal assistant minister (later rector) Henry Waring Latane Temple
and his wife, from St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, Miller’s Tavern. Mary Fay wrote to Dana that “Mr. Temple’s sermons generally put my mind out of frame” and that his services were dreary.

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Noteworthy

“Commemorating the Past—Embracing the Future” is the theme for a daylong bicentennial missions celebration to be held February 6, 2012, at Tabernacle Church, Salem, Massachusetts, and Park Street Church, Boston, to honor Adoniram Judson and the seven other missionaries who traveled with him in 1812 from Salem to Burma. Judson and his party were commissioned by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The program includes lectures by Paul Borthwick (“Endurance Personified as Seen in the Life of Adoniram Judson”), senior consultant for Development Associates International, and Todd Johnson (“North American Missions from the Judsons to Global Christianity”), director of the Center for the Study of Global Christianity, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. The program concludes at Park Street Church with “Confessions at Midnight: The Story of Adoniram Judson,” a dramatic monologue by David Flynn, national director of Perspectives on the World Christian Movement, U.S. Center for World Mission, Pasadena, California. For details, go to www.crossgloballink.org/missionsbicentennial. Several other commemorations and seminars will be held in the Boston area February 5–20, ending with a “Harbor-Sending Renactment” at Salem Harbor.

Merged. CrossGlobal Link and The Mission Exchange, by a resolution approved by their members, October 1, 2011, at the annual business meeting of both mission associations, the final day of the North American Mission Leaders Conference, in Scottsdale, Arizona. The merger forms a body representing 35,000 evangelical missionaries deployed in every country by more than 190 agencies and churches. Marv Newell, executive director of CrossGlobal Link, and Steve Moore, president and CEO of The Mission Exchange, stated that a new name for the agency will be announced in February at the bicentennial missions celebration reported in the previous paragraph.

New York Theological Seminary (http://nyts.edu), Joseph Ayo Babalola University (www.jabu.edu.ng/27), and the Institute for Research on the African Diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean (http://web.gc.cuny.edu/iradac) are sponsoring a conference on transnational formations in early African Pentecostalism to be held January 16–18, 2012, on the campus of Joseph Ayo Babalola University in Ikeji Arakeji, Osun State, Nigeria. With the theme “The Wind Blows Where It Will: Transnational Formations in Early African Pentecostalism,” the conference will bring together scholars working on three continents to examine “transnational dimensions of the origin and life of Christ Apostolic Church in both Nigeria and Ghana.” According to Dale T. Irvin, NYTS president and professor of world Christianity, the conference will advance understanding of global Pentecostalism and transnational and diasporan African church life. For details, contact conference@nyts.edu.

The American Society of Missiology (www.asmweb.org) will hold its 2012 annual meeting June 15–17 at Techney Towers, Techney, Illinois, with the theme, “Prophetic Dialogue: Practice and Theory.” Roger Schroeder, S.V.D., professor of intercultural studies and ministry at Catholic Theological Union, Chicago, is ASM president. The deadline for proposals of papers for the meeting’s parallel-track sessions is February 1. E-mail a topic with an abstract (150–200 words) and a brief biography to Robert J. Priest (rpriest@tiu.edu), professor of mission and intercultural studies, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, and ASM second vice president. The Association of Professors of Mission and the Academy for Evangelism in Theological Education will conduct their annual meetings in tandem with ASM.

The 2012 conference of the Yale-Edinburgh Group on the History of the Missionary Movement and World Christianity will be held at the University of Edinburgh, June 28–30. “Religious Movements of Renewal, Revival, and Revitalization in the History of Missions and World Christianity” is the theme. For details and the call for papers, go to www.library.yale.edu/div/yale_edinburgh/2012theme.htm. The Yale-Edinburgh conference is cosponsored by the Centre for the Study of World Christianity at the University of Edinburgh, Yale Divinity School, and the Overseas Ministries Study Center.

The European Association for South Asian Studies (www.easas.org) is sponsoring “Christians, Cultural Interactions, and South Asia’s Religious Traditions,” a panel at the twenty-second European Conference on South Asian Studies, to be held at ISCTE–Lisbon University Institute, July 25–28, 2012. Panel conveners Richard Fox Young, Princeton Theological Seminary (richard.young@ptsem.edu), and Chad M. Bauman, Butler University (cbauman@butler.edu), encourage “intercultural studies scholars, mission studies scholars, and religious studies scholars who address any of the many phenomena associated with the historical emergence and

Devoted Service in China

When Mary Fay arrived in Shanghai in early 1851 there were forty boys in the Boys’ Boarding School, established a few years later in 1848, when Mary Fay had been a governess would, if she had these attributes, ‘answer extremely well.’

Jocelyn Murray might have been describing Mary Fay when she wrote the following of potential female missionaries: “She should be ‘a sensible middle-aged person with strong decision of character’; good health and good temper are ‘indispensable,’ and she should of course be ‘devoutly religious.’ A lady who had been a governess would, if she had these attributes, ‘answer extremely well.’

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Devoted Service in China

When Mary Fay arrived in Shanghai in early 1851 there were forty boys in the Boys’ Boarding School, established a few years later in 1848, when Mary Fay had been a governess would, if she had these attributes, ‘answer extremely well.’
earlier by Bishop William Jones Boone, the first Episcopalian (and Anglican) bishop in China. As had been the case in Virginia, her tasks involved considerably more than classroom responsibilities: “I have been engaged in teaching various English branches, in a large boarding-school of Chinese boys, of which Mr. Points is now the superintendent and teacher of the first class; but the ‘maternal care’ of the school is divided between Miss Tenney and myself; she has one half, and I the other, which accounts for the expression, ‘my boys,’ whom I have taught when they were well, nursed when they were sick—bought, and made, and mended their clothes (though in this I have the assistance of a tailor).”

In another letter she wrote: “The exhausting routine of duties is essentially the same all the year round. . . . I consider [this school] my family, and my greatest responsibility.”

Her report to Bishop Boone covering the months of August to November 1854 describes a school routine set by the clock.

### Personalia

**Appointed. Andrew F. Walls** as research professor of world Christianity, Africa International University, on September 14, 2011, at the university’s campus in Karen, Nairobi, Kenya. His installation address was “World Christianity: The Last Five Hundred Years.” Walls, an IBMR contributing editor, joined AIU’s Centre for World Christianity; he will guide Ph.D. students for the school’s Intercultural Studies program. For details, see worldchristianityaiu.wordpress.com.

**Appointed. Larry Miller** former general secretary of the Mennonite World Conference (www.mwc-cmm.org), as secretary of the Global Christian Forum (www.globalchristianforum.org), as of January 1, 2012. The GCF, formed in 1998, is an initiative that seeks to bring leaders of all Christian churches together to foster mutual respect and to address common challenges. The MWC Executive Committee appointed César García of Bogotá, Colombia, as general secretary to succeed Miller. He was chair of the Iglesias Hermanos Menonitas de Colombia (the Mennonite Brethren Churches of Colombia) from 2002 to 2008, and he served as secretary of the MWC Mission Commission.

**Appointed. Titus L. Presler** as principal of Edwardes College, Peshawar, Pakistan, effective May 2011. Edwardes, an undergraduate and graduate institution affiliated with the Anglican Diocese of Peshawar, was started by the Church Mission Society. Formerly president of the Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas (2002–5), and vice president of General Theological Seminary, New York (2005–9), Presler served as professor of mission and world Christianity at both institutions. Raised in India, Presler was a missionary at Bonda in Zimbabwe in the 1980s. He is the author of Going Global with God: Reconciling Mission in a World of Difference (2010).

**Honored. Dana L. Robert** on September 21, 2011, at the dedication of her endowed chair as the Truman Collins Professor of World Christianity and History of Mission at Boston University School of Theology. Robert is an IBMR contributing editor. Gerald H. Anderson, IBMR senior contributing editor and BUSTh class of 1955, chaired the alumni committee for the celebration.

**Honored. Lamin Sanneh**, professor of missions and world Christianity, Yale Divinity School, and an IBMR contributing editor, on September 1, 2011, with the annual Marianist Award from the University of Dayton (Ohio). The award honors “a Roman Catholic whose work has made a major contribution to intellectual life.” The citation praised Sanneh’s “work on world Christianity, helping an age-old tradition to understand and embrace its present, and to move confidently into the life and the future to which the Spirit is inviting the Church.”

**Died. Anthony Bellagamba, I.M.C.,** 84, Italian Catholic missionary, educator, and administrator, August 11, 2011, in Nairobi, Kenya. Educated in Italy and the United States, Bellagamba went to Kenya as a missionary in 1958; there he became professor of pastoral theology at the Catholic University of Eastern Africa in Nairobi and later was regional vice-superior of Consolata missionaries in Kenya. In 1974 he was appointed the executive director of the United States Catholic Mission Council in Washington, D.C., which in 1981 became the U.S. Catholic Mission Association. In 1985 he returned to Kenya, there serving as the first national director of the Pontifical Missionary Societies. In 1993 he was elected regional superior of the Consolata missionaries in North America. He then served as vice—general superior of the Consolata missionaries in Rome from 1999 to 2005, when he returned to Kenya.

**Died. Cecil Richard Rutt,** 85, missionary, Korean studies pioneer, Anglican priest, Roman Catholic priest, July 27, 2011. Born in England, from 1954 Rutt served in Korea as an Anglican priest, for many years living alone in remote rural villages. In 1966 he was appointed assistant bishop in the Diocese of Daejeon, and two years later he became bishop. In 1973, deciding that the time had come for Koreans to take charge of their portion of the Anglican Communion, Rutt offered his resignation. In 1974 he returned to England and became suffragan bishop of the Diocese of Truro. Five years later he was named bishop of Leicester and, as such, in 1985, was introduced into the House of Lords. Rutt retired in 1990 and moved to Falmouth, Cornwall. In 1994 he became a Roman Catholic, and the following June he was ordained a Catholic priest. In 2009 he was made a prelate of honor by Pope Benedict XVI, and he was an honorary canon of the Plymouth Cathedral of St. Mary and St. Boniface. A member of the Association of Korean Studies in Europe and the British Association for Korean Studies, Rutt is coauthor of Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary (1999).
Mary Fay was on duty around the clock. The "domestic" tasks of the boarding school were undertaken with efficiency—and a complete lack of enthusiasm. She wrote: "I fear I have little vocation. It is still a dragging, wearying duty, and I am . . . willing at any time to give it up to a more competent person, or to any one who may fancy the life of a missionary teacher is not one of self-denial, self-discipline, and self-sacrifice."36

We get occasional glimpses of the curriculum, which included reading, spelling, writing, composition, geography, and theology, together with Bible reading and translation into English.37 Although St John's University subsequently neglected Chinese language skills, they were taught systematically when Mary Fay was in charge.38

Linguistic Ability and Discipline

She proved to have exceptional skills in translating Chinese written texts. As a proof of these qualities, Miss Fay is honorably mentioned by a celebrated Chinese author, in his book called in English "Pencil Sketches of Things Heard and Seen." "She alone of modern sinologues," says the friend quoted above, "has been thought worthy of notice by Chinese scholars." Tsi-Wing, the Chinese writer, discourses of Miss Fay as follows: "I am told, by a learned friend, that there is a foreign lady named Fay, who has a school in Hong Kew. She is of middle age, and unmarried, yet with a face as fresh as a peach or an almond blossom, and a nature cold as ice, and pure as the falling snow. She loves Chinese books, and has the Scholar Tsang Chu-Kwei for her teacher. She speaks Chinese, having mastered the tones and combinations of sounds, daily increasing her knowledge by the study of the 'Imperial Dictionary' ('Kanghi). Living thus, her pure nature and love of study supersede all family ties and joys. This is a woman to be reverenced. To this true lover of study, Lady Fay, praise can add no more."39 Late in her life her Chinese reading skills were recognized when she was asked to edit the proof pages, with her Chinese teacher Tsang Chu-Kwei, of Samuel Wells Williams's Syllabic Dictionary.40

From the outset of its work in China, the Episcopal Church pursued the American commitment to higher education as the best means of empowering individuals and inculcating ethical and social responsibility. Almost half of all American missionaries in China worked in higher education, and their emphasis was on the educational reconstruction of China rather than the conversion of individuals. American universities brought Western learning to wealthier young Chinese and, perhaps unconsciously, laid a foundation for a challenge to China's cultural tradition and subsequently the role of foreigners in China, including missionaries.41 One of the most famous universities was St. John's in Shanghai, sponsored by the Protestant Episcopal Church.42 Mary Fay was the key person in the Episcopal Boys' Boarding School, which later became Duane Hall (1876), a foundational element of the later university.43

This brief survey of Mary Fay's life and work must mention the reordering of gender outlooks during the nineteenth century as single women took active roles in missions parallel to those of men.44 In 1860, after a decade of playing "second fiddle" to males, Mary Fay indignantly resigned from the Boys' Boarding School because the bishop transferred the role of superintendent to a newly arrived and inexperienced male teacher; as the bishop wrote, "I have always thought the school needs the strong hand of a male superintendent."45 From 1860 and for seven years during the American Civil War, when funds from America dried up and the Episcopal Mission nearly collapsed, Mary Fay found work with the English Church Missionary Society and preserved the Boys' Boarding School by taking the students with her into a school sponsored by the Church Missionary Society. Her leadership was in no doubt when she returned, with "her boys," to the Episcopal Mission in 1867.46 After twenty-five years, however, the humiliation had not ceased. She wrote to Miss Julia Emery, the women's secretary of the Episcopal Mission, that an English clergyman said that "my work seemed all granite . . . it seemed a man's work done by a woman!"47 Just two years before her death, the Boys' Boarding School became Duane Hall, a theological training center; it was said that Miss Fay "now hands over her school to the Mission she has served so well."48

Notes

1. The history of the Fay family in this article is indebted to the research of Linda Fay Kaufman, a family historian.
2. This overview of Mary Fay's contribution to Christian missions in China is part of a wider study on the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church Mission in China and the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (the Holy Catholic Church in China, formed 1912), which in 1930 became an autonomous province of the Anglican Communion.
3. Her full name was Lydia Mary Fay, but she used Mary as her everyday name. In mission archival material she is invariably referred to as Miss Fay.
7. For a typical missionary hagiography, see Mrs. J. T. Gracey [Annie Ryder Gracey], Eminent Missionary Women (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1898).
8. Lydia Mary Fay to William Jones Boone, Spirit of Missions 24 (October 1859): 469. Spirit of Missions was published by the Domestic and Foreign Missions Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Personal loneliness is a characteristic of single missionary correspondence. A male Australian working with the China Inland Mission, the largest Protestant mission in China, wrote of "a regular struggle against the feeling of loneliness" (Frank Burden, Sunday, August 5, 1894, Papers of Frank R. Burden and Joanne Turner Webster, 1887–1899, Miss, National Library of Australia). The subject of missionary emotional isolation demands more attention.
16. Ibid. See also Nelson, “Letter.”
17. Fay’s confirmation is recorded at Christ Church (Episcopal) Alexandria, Parish Register, 1828–1845, p. 61, and her first Anglican Communion is noted at p. 75 (courtesy of Julia Randle, Virginia Theological Seminary Library, Alexandria).
20. Lydia Mary Fay to Charles B. Dana, from Midway Academy, October 16, 1847; located in Dana (Charles Backus) Papers, 1802, 1820–1881, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas; henceforth Fay to Dana, with location and date noted.
21. Ethan Allan Fay’s disapproval would have been greater still had he known that his daughter was hoping to meet Dana, if only briefly, in Washington before going to Midway Academy. She wrote to Dana, “I shall have nothing to do but count the minutes or hours until I see you, and do for once call up your gallantry or kindness or compassion and not keep a lady waiting too long” (Fay to Dana, from Albany, N.Y., September 27, 1847).
22. For a history of secondary education in neighboring counties, see Russell Benjamin Gill, “Secondary Education in King and Queen County, Virginia, 1691–1938” (M.A. thesis, Univ. of Virginia, 1938); Gill states that the school operated until about 1855.
25. To Dana, from Midway Academy, January 1, 1848. Henry Temple and John McGuire, his predecessor and first rector at St. Paul’s, were in the Low Church Anglican tradition and were influenced by the Second Great Awakening.
26. Ibid., April 1849.
27. Ibid., October 16, 1847. See Richard D. Shiels, “The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut: Critique of the Traditional Interpretation,” Church History 49, no. 4 (December 1980): 401; Fay to Dana, from Midway Academy, All Saints Day and Thanksgiving Day [November 22], 1849 (Univ. of Louisiana Library, Special Collections); Fay to Dana, from Midway Academy, January 6, 1848, and May 26, 1848.
28. Fay to Dana, from Midway Academy, October 16, 1847.
31. John T. Points was a schoolteacher from Staunton, Va. (see Charles Jones Boone, Annual Report to Foreign Missions Committee, February 13, 1849, in Foreign Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missions Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church, An Historical Sketch of the China Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. [New York, Foreign Committee, 1885], p. 21). Points was one of several males, in China short-term, whose appointment over Mary Fay angered her.
34. The Shoo-King, later translated into English by Walter Gorn Old under the title The Shu king; or, The Chinese Historical Classic (New York: John Lane, 1904), compiled information on Chinese religion, philosophy, customs, and government “from the earliest times.”
42. Xi Yuhua, “St John’s University, Shanghai, as an Evangelising Agency,” Studies in World Christianity 12, no. 1 (2006): 23–49.
44. Jane Haggis, “‘A heart that has felt the love of God and longs for others to know it’: Conventions of Gender, Tensions of Self, and Constructions of Difference in Offering to Be a Lady Missionary,” Women’s History Review 12, no. 1 (2003): 172.
45. Lydia Mary Fay to J. W. Boone, Shanghai, June 13, 1860; W. J. Boone to L. M. Fay, Shanghai, August 7, 1860 (both letters in Virginia Historical Society).
48. Charles Henry Butler (Anglican Church), Opening of Duane Hall, Spirit of Missions 42 (February 1877): 86.
Eugene A. Nida: Theoretician of Translation

Philip C. Stine

When the history of the church in the twentieth century is written, the name of Eugene Nida will figure prominently. Nida brought about a revolution in the field of Bible translation, which resulted in millions of people in hundreds of languages gaining access to the Bible in an unprecedented way. The resulting impact on the growth and development of the church will continue to be felt throughout this century.

Born November 11, 1914, in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Eugene A. Nida passed away August 25, 2011, in Madrid. He is survived by his second wife, Dr. Elena Fernandez-Miranda, whom he married in 1997. His first wife, Althea, had passed away in 1993.

Through his numerous books and publications and extraordinary lecture schedule, Nida was able to help scholars, translators, and specialists in Christian missions find new ways to think about effective communication. William Smalley noted, “The promotion of professional expertise, the development of translation theory and of translation procedures based on such theory, began when Eugene A. Nida joined the American Bible Society staff in 1943.” For more than fifty years, Gene Nida was the leader of the translation program of the American Bible Society, and subsequently the intellectual leader of the global program of the United Bible Societies, as well as consultant to that organization.

Before Nida, Bible translations were primarily produced by missionaries, whose approach was generally to produce a formally equivalent translation, sometimes based on the original languages, but often based on translations available in European languages such as English or French. Their work was sent to London, Amsterdam, or New York for checking before being published.

Nida realized that for readers and listeners to understand the Bible, they needed translations that, as much as possible, were produced by native speakers; furthermore, he knew that these translations had to be checked in the field with the translators. As he traveled and consulted with translators, using concepts from linguistics, cultural studies, communication sciences, and psychology, he developed a practical approach to translation that he called dynamic equivalence or functional equivalence, the goal of which was to make the translation clear and understandable as well as accurate. In addition, he developed a pedagogic method so that translators from a wide range of educational backgrounds could learn how to apply the method.

Nida’s methods can be seen in translations such as the Good News Bible, the French François Courant, the German Die Gute Nachricht, and the Spanish Versión Popular, translations with which he had some direct involvement. But most contemporary translations such as the NRSV or NIV also show his influence.

Translators in hundreds of languages have similarly produced Bibles that are easily understood throughout a language-speaking area.

Formation and Schooling

At the tender age of four, Nida acknowledged a call to be a missionary. Later at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he studied Greek and Latin, he thought he might work in Bible translation in Africa, so he studied the work of the linguists Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield. He graduated in 1936 summa cum laude, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, earning one of the highest ratings or GPAs in the university’s history.

At a Bible club at UCLA he learned of the work of Cameron Townsend, founder of Wycliffe Bible Translators. In 1936 Nida studied and also taught at Townsend’s summer camp and then went briefly to Mexico to undertake translation himself. Poor health forced him to return to California, where in 1939 he completed a master’s degree at the University of Southern California in New Testament Greek.

He subsequently studied linguistics under Charles C. Fries at the University of Michigan, where he completed his Ph.D. in 1943. His dissertation, “A Synopsis of English Syntax,” presented the first full-scale analysis of any major language using a theory known as Immediate Constituent Analysis.

Also in 1943 Nida was ordained by the Southern California Association of the Northern Baptist Convention, he married Althea Lucille Sprague, and he joined the American Bible Society translation department. Initially this appointment was part-time, as he continued to spend every summer until 1953 teaching at the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Translation Secretary and Communicator

Nida was an extraordinarily effective communicator, and he trained many translators himself. All along he published prodigiously. The most complete presentations of his theory are in his Toward a Science of Translating (1964) and, coauthored with Charles Taber, The Theory and Practice of Translation (1969).

“Good missionaries have always been good anthropologists,” Nida wrote in the preface of Customs and Cultures. He realized that good translation, which after all was good communication, required a solid understanding of the culture of the people. In order to help missionaries work on their tasks more effectively, Nida wrote Customs and Cultures (1954) and Message and Mission: The Communication of the Christian Faith (1960). In addition, in 1953 he helped found and edit the journal Practical Anthropology. Through this journal, Nida and his Bible Society colleagues

Philip C. Stine was director for translation, production, and distribution services for the United Bible Societies (UBS) from 1992 to 1998. Previously he was the UBS translation services coordinator (1984–92) and served in Africa (1968–82). He is the author of Let the Words Be Written: The Lasting Influence of Eugene A. Nida (Brill, 2005).

—philipstine@earthlink.net
demonstrated how important it is for the Gospel to be deeply connected with the culture of a particular people. They showed clearly that, when this connection takes place, the church is bound to grow.

Nida, who recognized the need for translators to have the very best base texts to work from, led major projects on both the Greek New Testament and the Hebrew Old Testament. He was also responsible for a new approach to lexicography. By focusing on different meanings of words according to their varied semantic contexts, the two-volume *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, which he prepared with Johannes Louw, helped translators understand how best to render words with multiple meanings.2

Nida’s theory and approach, valuable as they were, would not have carried the day if he had not dedicated himself to spreading these ideas through years of travel and teaching, and through building up teams of consultants and teachers. He had an amazing ability to inspire people, inspiration that came in part from the convincing facts he presented, and in part from the energy of his presentations and his skill as a communicator. But what always drove him was a deep conviction that, if the Scriptures were accessible to people, they would hear God’s voice and have an encounter with Christ that would lead to transformation. Recognizing that his work had helped bring this about was clearly what gave Gene the greatest joy.

Notes


Alan Kreider

A lan Cameron’s study *The Last Pagans of Rome* is a massively authoritative book, the product of a lifetime of study of fourth-century pagan and Christian literature. Cameron’s interests range over the Roman Empire, but his central preoccupation is with the aristocrats of Rome. The paganism that he observes waning and, by the century’s end, virtually disappearing is the civic paganism of Rome, with its aristocrat-led sacrifices and festivals.

Cameron’s book is a response to many scholars who argue that fourth-century Roman paganism was combatively durable in the face of Christian advance. According to these scholars, late in the century there was a pagan “revival” or “cultural offensive” that had numerous dimensions, three of which were the correction and transmission of earlier pagan texts; the writing of new texts with pagan themes, notably Macrobius’s *Saturnalia*; and the commissioning of works of visual art using pagan iconography. In this reading, a network of aristocrats associated with the Roman senator Symmachus lay at the heart of pagan resistance to Christianity. Because of his influence and widespread connections, Symmachus in 382 led a delegation to Emperor Gratian I to appeal for the restoration of the Altar of Victory, which had recently been removed from its customary position in the Senate House in Rome. In his speech to Gratian, Symmachus expressed an urbane, pliable perspective that was characteristic of the aristocrats’ approach to religion: “There must be more than one way to such a secret” (p. 37). The aristocrats’ resistance reached a climax when the usurper Eugenius revolted against the Christian emperor Theodosius I, who in 394 defeated Eugenius at the Battle of the Frigidus and used force to implement recent legislation. In this view Roman paganism ended suddenly, with a bang.

In Cameron’s view, this combatively durable paganism is a romantic myth. He devotes his book to a careful, leisurely study of the alleged components of the so-called pagan revival, and he finds repeatedly that these components lead to different conclusions. For example, he devotes 75 pages to an examination of the “correctors and critics” of pagan texts and concludes that the late antique preoccupation with the accuracy of the written word had roots that were Christian, not pagan, and that most of the scholars involved in textual transmission were Christians. How about the showcase text of the pagan “cultural offensive,” Macrobius’s *Saturnalia*? In Cameron’s view, it was not a fevered attempt in the 380s to advocate pagan practices; instead, it was a relaxed antiquarian discussion of former pagan rites that a Christian wrote in the 430s. And late-fourth-century art that draws on pagan myths? Cameron sees this not as part of a religiously driven pagan reaction but as an aesthetically motivated appropriation of traditional Roman themes by a nondogmatic aristocracy that was open to a “middle ground we now call secular” (p. 697). As to Symmachus and the other aristocratic pagans, in Cameron’s view they were not “last ditch champions of the old order” (p. 377). To be sure, they did hold pagan priesthoods, but that was not the heart of their identity; it was a part of their aristocratic lifestyle (along with estate management, socializing, and politicking). Their scholarship was unimpressive (Symmachus’s learning was...
grossly exaggerated by moderns), and they were not willing to be seriously inconvenienced for their beliefs. Cameron points out that in 385, after his unsuccessful appeal for the Altar of Victory, Symmachus gave up the struggle, retired from public life, and devoted himself to writing perfectly groomed, uncontroversial letters to prominent correspondents. So from Cameron’s perspective, in the 390s, when Theodosius defeated Eugenius, the battle was driven by personal ambition rather than religion (Eugenius was probably a Christian). Indeed, by the 390s Roman paganism had already lost the will to live. Most aristocrats gradually went over to Christianity, not because of coercion and not because of deep inner conviction, but because the church represented the future, and the only way they could maintain their position in society was by joining it. According to Cameron, Roman paganism petered out gradually, with a whimper.

Cameron’s case is formidable. His reading of the literary texts of the fourth century is expert and exhaustive; it represents three-fifths of his book’s almost 900 pages. Many of these pages are primarily of interest to students of the literature of late antiquity, but at significant points Cameron’s treatment addresses issues that interest missiologists and students of the history of Christian mission. I point to three of these issues.

First, the vulnerability of state-supported religion. As Cameron tells the story, the civic paganism of Rome was dependent on its symbiotic relationship with the urban and imperial power structures. So when imperial laws, beginning with the reign of Constantine I, ordered the desecration of temples and the banning of public animal sacrifices, these measures (whether or not they were always enforced) had a devastating effect on civic paganism and the inner certainties of its aristocratic priests. When Gratian in 382 prohibited the cults from receiving financial subsidies, it was “the blow from which they never recovered” (p. 245). Paganism, it seems, was vulnerable because it was a “state church.” Roman paganism was not rooted in the convictions of communities of people that gave it resources to survive when the state withdrew approval and subsidies. Indeed, its traditions prepared its elite leaders to adapt to the emperor’s new religion rather than to resist it. Christianity, in contrast, was shaped in opposition, had a martyr tradition, and could draw strength from the deep convictions of its socially diverse members, whose beliefs and practices were formed in catechesis. It is perhaps ironic, though Cameron did not note it as such, that by the late fourth century, Christian leaders were developing forms of symbiotic relationship between religion and imperial power that were new to Christianity and that in due course would make the church vulnerable to external pressure.

Second, the nature of conversion. Cameron traces the stories of aristocrats from pagan families who went over to Christianity. But he does not discuss the effects of these conversions on their lives or on the church. To become a Christian seems to have had a sociological cost: Cameron mentions Marinus Victorinus, who delayed his “coming out” as a Christian because his elite culture saw Christianity as socially disreputable. But were there other places at which Christian catechesis clashed with traditional aristocratic values? Cameron refers to Volusian, who almost two decades after the Battle of the Frigidus told Augustine that he hesitated to convert to Christianity because “baptism was incompatible with the demands of a public career” (p. 196), (e.g., the use of military violence). Augustine reassured Volusian. And this seems to have been the pattern: Christian leaders helped the church inculcate itself in the social milieu of the aristocrats so the aristocrats, in converting to Christianity, would not need to change. As Cameron puts it, “Short of participation in the old cults, most other aspects of the traditional aristocratic lifestyle had now been embraced by their Christian descendants” (p. 204). It is possible that to some extent this, as Michele Salzman has expressed it, “aristocratized” Christianity.1

Finally, the rapid spread and social breadth of Christianization. According to Cameron, the Roman population in the 390s was “overwhelmingly Christian” (p. 204), but he provides no evidence of this. If he had spent less time looking at the texts of the elite and given more attention to the archaeology and artifacts that betray the convictions of the Roman lower classes, he would find that there were plebeian “last pagans” centuries after the last aristocrats had submitted to baptism. As Ramsay MacMullen has pointed out,2 in festivals, gestures, apotropaic rituals, and tomb-side meals, paganism found a stubborn, subterranean life that aristocratic bishops, no doubt like their aristocratic pagan forebears, found it difficult to understand. If Cameron had focused on the common Romans as well as the elite, he would have given deeper meaning to “the last pagans.” He also would have written another book.

Notes
2. See Ramsay MacMullen, Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1997).

Worldwide Increase in Catholic Population, Deacons, Priests, and Bishops

According to the Statistical Yearbook of the Church, published by the Vatican, the worldwide Catholic population increased in 2009 by 15 million or 1.3 percent, slightly outpacing the global population growth rate of 1.1 percent. Also during 2009, Pope Benedict established ten new dioceses, bringing to 2,956 the number of dioceses and church jurisdictions in the world. Some other statistics from the yearbook include:

- The number of Catholics worldwide was 1.18 billion, up 15 million from the 1.16 billion reported a year earlier.
- Only 13.6 percent of the world’s people, but 49.4 percent of all Catholics, live in the Americas.
- The number of bishops in the world increased to 5,065 from 5,002; the number of priests increased from 405,178 to 410,593.
- The number of permanent deacons reported—38,155—was an increase of more than 1,000 over the previous year, with 98 percent of them living in the Americas or in Europe.
- The number of women in religious orders fell by almost 10,000 in 2009, despite increases in their numbers in Asia and Africa, to a new total of 729,371 members.
### Twenty-Three Countries with Catholic Populations over 10 Million

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Catholics</th>
<th>% Catholic</th>
<th>Priests</th>
<th>Parishes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>164,900,000</td>
<td>84.5%</td>
<td>19,999</td>
<td>10,210</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>98,831,000</td>
<td>91.9%</td>
<td>15,985</td>
<td>6,572</td>
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<td>Philippines</td>
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<td>81.8%</td>
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<td>United States</td>
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<td>95.4%</td>
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<td>France</td>
<td>46,875,000</td>
<td>74.9%</td>
<td>19,877</td>
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<td>Spain</td>
<td>42,470,000</td>
<td>92.5%</td>
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<td>Colombia</td>
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<td>Argentina</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congo, Democratic Republic</td>
<td>36,807,000</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
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<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>23,039,000</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>5,592</td>
<td>2,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>18,573,000</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>25,452</td>
<td>9,683</td>
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<td>43.3%</td>
<td>8,180</td>
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<tr>
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<td>13,475,000</td>
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<td>1,918</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tanzania, Republic of</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>1,058</td>
<td>471</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>10,530,000</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>2,232</td>
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</table>

### The Roman Catholic Church Worldwide (Changes from 2004 to 2009)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>Change</th>
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<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>148,817,000</td>
<td>179,480,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31,259</td>
<td>36,766</td>
<td>+17.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,761</td>
<td>4,882</td>
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<td>North America</td>
<td>80,400,000</td>
<td>84,218,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>(excluding Mexico)</td>
<td>55,371</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,452</td>
<td>1,632</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>153,535,000</td>
<td>160,940,000</td>
<td>+4.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>(including Mexico and Caribbean)</td>
<td>21,915</td>
<td>23,511</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7,006</td>
<td>6,845</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>315,003,000</td>
<td>336,854,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44,378</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7,098</td>
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<td>Asia</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,394</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9,283,000</td>
<td>+8.3%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4,798</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,786</td>
<td>1,949</td>
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<tr>
<td>WORLDWIDE</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>2,706</td>
<td>2,876</td>
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Book Reviews


Anyone who works in the field of Christian-Muslim relations knows that the question “Do Christians and Muslims worship the same God?” is asked with great regularity. In this wise book, the fruit of a lifetime’s experience but especially of encounters, dialogue, and reflection occasioned by the document “A Common Word Between Us and You” (2007) and its responses, Miroslav Volf tackles the question head-on. After seeking insight from the encounters with Islam of Nicholas of Cusa and Martin Luther, Volf argues, in precise, step-by-step fashion, that Christian and Islamic descriptions of God and God’s commands, while by no means identical, are sufficiently similar to allow the affirmation that Christians and Muslims (at least, those who represent their traditions well) do worship the same God. (As Volf points out, the somewhat parallel case of divergent Christian and Jewish descriptions of God is instructive here.) Furthermore, this result has important consequences for Christians and Muslims: it can allow for respectful, mutual witness to their faith, as well as joint witness to the true source of human flourishing; it can encourage resistance to idolatries associated with national and religious identity; it can provide the possibility of life together in politically plural societies; and it can lead to a common struggle against extremist violence. The real differences between Christian and Islamic God-discourse are not “deal-breakers” but rather invitations to deeper reflection—beautifully exemplified in Volf’s chapters (8–9) on God’s mercy and “eternal and unconditional love.”

This is an ambitious book that aims to reflect on a wide range of difficult issues in an inviting and accessible way. Naturally, the discussion of some topics could be expanded. Volf’s presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity (chap. 7) tends toward the formal and abstract, while the complex political issues tackled in chapter 12 (“Two Faiths, Common God, Single Government”) could use a book of their own. Readers of the IMBR may be surprised by the suggestion that serious attempts to address the “same God” question are mostly a post–9/11 phenomenon, at least in the West (p. 111). And I missed any acknowledgment of the history of reflection on such issues in connection with the missionary encounter of Christians with Muslims—think of the work of Kenneth Cragg and others—or in the writings of Arabic-speaking Christians who, already in the early Islamic centuries, knew God as Allah and had to defend their Trinitarian faith in an Islamic context.

But these are minor complaints about a book from which I learned on every page. With it, Volf has not only provided a meticulous theological analysis; he has given us a vision of a peaceful future in a world that Christians share with Muslims. Furthermore, he makes a very timely appeal to his Western Christian readers to be consistent disciples of Jesus, avoiding the temptation to make religion into an identity marker and heeding the command to love one’s neighbor—including in our theological analyses.

—Mark N. Swanson

Mark N. Swanson, the Harold S. Vogelaar Professor of Christian-Muslim Studies and Interfaith Relations at the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, is the author of The Coptic Papcy in Islamic Egypt, 641–1517 (American Univ. in Cairo Press, 2010).

Christianity and Chinese Culture.


This timely book emerges from a 2003 symposium in Finland entitled “Christianity and Chinese Culture: A Sino-Nordic Conference on Chinese Contextual Theology.” In it, Chinese academicians and church leaders assess their efforts to encourage postdenominational Chinese Protestantism to “contribute more actively and positively” to a “new spiritual culture” in the search for a durable moral compass for twenty-first-century China. Contrary to Marxist expectations, China’s growing prosperity in its globalizing economy sees more, not fewer, Chinese embracing religion. Today, forty years after the Cultural Revolution, one in three Chinese acknowledges a personal religious inclination. Some eighty million Protestants (compared with 750,000 in 1949) are the fastest-growing segment of the estimated 200 million worshippers in state-approved temples, mosques, and churches. With two million baptisms a year, China will soon surpass America as the center of evangelical Protestantism.

During the past decade, a framework called “Reconstruction of Theological Thinking” (RTT) has guided “patriotic” Three-Self Protestants in developing an “authentic Chinese way of biblical interpretation” as they shed their missionary origins and, in dialogue with resurgent Chinese religions, address the life-altering challenges of hypermodernization. Supported by Three-Self leaders, academic experts on religion, and the government’s Religious Affairs Bureau, RTT seeks to integrate China’s “moral ethics of benevolence” with Christianity’s “religious ethics of love” into the basis of the country’s new moral foundation.

According to the editors, “Christians are fostering the unity and healthy development of the nation” (p. xvi). This is no exaggeration. Across China’s affluent cities, students, intellectuals, professionals, and entrepreneurs are embracing Protestantism in ever greater numbers. They are using their newfound wealth—a “gift from God”—to extend Christian charity and pastoral training into the still-impoverished countryside, even as pseudo-Christian sects and non–Three-Self Christians preach millennial visions of distributive justice, which foment antigovernment unrest in many villages.

It is clear that RTT can succeed only if the government continues its policy of limited tolerance of the “patriotic” church, while pursuing its two-thousand-year practice of subordinating religion to the state and encouraging China’s religions today to contribute to building a “harmonious” society. (The conference did not discuss the problematic relations between the unregistered house churches and the government.)

As headlong modernization exacts an escalating toll on Chinese society, the
Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570–1810.


This book—though not a missiological treatise proper—is a good read and highly instructive for everyone interested in the history and cultural impact of Christian missions in Latin America, in particular the scholarly and scientific impact of Jesuit missionaries in the then Spanish viceroyalty of Peru (at times stretching down to what is today Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay). The author, professor of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Colorado at Boulder, intends to document the neglected “contributions to the study of nature made by Jesuits working in the Spanish American missions” (p. 2) until their expulsion in 1767. Prieto first outlines the development of Jesuit missionary work on that continent (pp. 13–87) and then describes the institutional network that enabled the personal relationships that sustained Jesuit missionaries in the pursuit of scientific quests, even when working in remote areas (pp. 91–140). In part 3 he compares seminal publications on the (natural) history of the New World by Jesuit authors of the period (pp. 143–220). An epilogue (pp. 221–28) addresses the active involvement of displaced Jesuits from Latin America, notably from Chile.

While part 2 tells about the flow of scientific information within the Society of Jesus in those days and part 3 traces the arguments advanced in explaining (strange) natural phenomena by recourse to Aristotelian-informed Thomistic theology, in which all Jesuits were trained, it is part 1 that deserves the special attention of missiologists. In it the author explains the significant differences between Jesuit missionary endeavors in Spanish South America and those in Europe. In general, Jesuits were to run schools and institutions of higher learning in urban areas. In the Spanish viceroyalty of Peru, however, they were forced to do parish work (doctrina) and missionary outreach, which required the study of Amerindian languages and ways of life. From this engagement arose the concept of reductions, which became the signature Jesuit way of doing mission there, notably in Paraguay (pp. 29–35). The reductions also served as “contact zones” for exchange of information about the natural world, especially the medicinal properties of plants and minerals, the intelligent use of which by missionaries proved vital for the success of their enterprise, since recourse to shamanic treatment in cases of disease or crisis was the main reason for relapses by neophytes (pp. 36–61).

The strict focus on Jesuit missionary scientists in Latin America is a strength as well as a limitation of this study, which cries out for comparison with like efforts elsewhere, notably in China.

—Christoffer H. Grundmann

Christoffer H. Grundmann is the John R. Eckrich University Professor in Religion and the Healing Arts at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana.


“Why does the mere idea of empire now attract division,” asks Hilary M. Carey, “when over a hundred years ago, imperial church gatherings . . . captivated the London metropole?” (p. xiii). God’s Empire traces the waxing and waning in the cohesive strength of the “dense imperial religious networks” developed by the churches that ministered to the needs of the British diaspora colonizing “Greater Britain” during the nineteenth century (p. 68). Empire created transnational opportunities for the development of religious missions to both the indigenous and the colonizing peoples of the British world, but Carey seeks to understand why the former enterprise is still celebrated today, while the latter has almost been forgotten. Although her theoretical touch is light, with only a passing mention of hegemony or postcolonial theory, the author explicitly focuses upon the “Christian consensus which supported the expansion of the British world through the planting of religious institutions in every conceivable corner of the Empire” (p. xiv).

This excellent book is organized in four parts. The first discusses terms such as “Greater Britain” and traces how the priest’s rebellion against Cortés during the conquest of Mexico, to the Bourbon monarchs’ showdowns with the Jesuits, to Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet’s confrontations with Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, the relationship between the church and secular powers has had profound implications for the direction and stability of Latin American society.

Given the centrality of the church in Latin America, the ongoing struggle for priestly vocations detailed throughout the book strikes a slightly discordant note. That a region heavily evangelized in the sixteenth century still depended heavily on foreign priests in the twentieth century—with some countries still having a majority of foreign priests—begs for more explanation than Schwallor chooses to give. Especially for readers interested in the missionary aspects of Christianity, the weakness of the Latin American church in producing its own clergy and in sending missionaries to its unevangelized areas, much less to other regions of the world, will seem symptomatic of deeper problems, but the underlying disease is only hinted at.

Another weakness of the book is its treatment of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR), which receives only one paragraph of attention, compared to several pages for recent progressive forms of Catholicism such as liberation theology and base ecclesial communities. As Andrew Chesnut and Edward Cleary have shown, the CCR is the fastest growing part of the Catholic Church in Latin America and the only movement within the church that seems able to compete with the juggernaut of Pentecostalism. Despite these lacunae, this is a clear, fair, and intelligent treatment of a complicated subject that would work well in an introductory-level course on Latin America or World Christianity.

—Todd Harch

Korean Diaspora and Christian Mission.


With the growing interest in non-Western mission movements in the past few decades, there has also emerged an awareness of the role of diaspora Christians as both missionaries and subjects of mission. Korean Christians present an especially interesting example of how the diaspora can be utilized in mission. With the second-largest number of international missionaries in the world, South Korean churches have a keen interest in
cross-cultural mission, although at times it has been hindered by the monocultural background of its missionaries. Outside of South Korea, millions of Koreans dwell in large numbers in such countries as the United States, Japan, China, and Brazil. The Korean diaspora communities have been the subject of mission, but many within them are now playing an active role as missionaries.

Korean Diaspora and Christian Mission, edited by S. Hun Kim and Wonsuk Ma, is the first book to focus on this fascinating and multidimensional subject. The first part, “Foundations,” examines the theological, historical, and social elements of the Korean diaspora and the concept of diaspora in general. The second section, “Setting the Stage,” considers the emergence of migrant mission and some of the cultural barriers that inhibit the growth of Korean cross-cultural evangelism. The final part, “Korean Diaspora in Mission,” delves into some existing and planned projects set up for migrants in South Korea and the Korean diaspora. Throughout the work true enthusiasm is displayed about the potential of Korean diaspora mission.

There is a disappointing lack of in-depth examination of existing diaspora ministries both within and outside of South Korea, with some exceptions, such as Steve Sang-cheol Moon’s “The Korean Diaspora Models of a Missional Church” and David Chul Han Jun’s “A South Korean Case Study of Migrant Ministries.” This shortcoming, however, follows from the view of a number of authors within the book that a fully functioning Korean diaspora mission is still more of a vision than a present reality.

While Korean Diaspora and Christian Mission covers a wide variety of topics, the reader will come away with a greater awareness of the Korean diaspora and migrant ministries within South Korea, as well as an enhanced knowledge of the Korean missionary movement.

—Amy Mormino

Amy Mormino is Professor of Missiology and Church History at St. Petersburg Seminary in Florida.

A Living Man from Africa: Jan Tzatzoe, Xhosa Chief and Missionary, and the Making of Nineteenth-Century South Africa.


This book will doubtless be hailed as a landmark in the study of Christianity among the Xhosa people of South Africa. It does double duty both as an excellent introduction to the life of Jan Tzatzoe, who helped bring together the worlds of Africa and Europe into a new South African reality, and in its discussion of the crucial roles of Africans as agents of cultural and intellectual change in a world of swart gevaar (Afrikaans for “black threat”) in Xhosaland in the nineteenth century.

Divided into three well-crafted parts, the book presents the geography, history, politics, and lifestyle of the Xhosa people and their interaction with the European missionaries from the London Missionary Society (LMS) and with British colonial officers in the nineteenth century. With creative imagination, Levine tells the missionary story in Xhosaland by exploring closely the life of Tzatzoe, focusing on his success as “a religious, linguistic, and intellectual innovator in the regimented setting of European missions and the more syncretic settings of various Xhosa communities” (p. 5).

Roger Levine transcends the stereotypical narrative history of missionary work in Africa. He argues that, because
Tzatzoe lived on the margins between Christianity and his African roots, he had credibility among both the missionaries and his fellow Xhosa citizens. Tzatzoe was a man of faith and an intermediary, and he personified the hybrid nature of the new self created by the colonial encounter with Africans in South Africa.

A Living Man from Africa will strengthen mission scholarship, and its contributions to the production and dissemination of Christian knowledge in narrative history of mission will be far-reaching. The author has resurrected the story of the missionary encounter with the Xhosa people, showing a conflicted relationship characterized by mutual acceptance and rejection. The colonial authorities critiqued but also adapted to and mobilized African influences, while Africans in turn ignored, acknowledged, absorbed, and confronted European civilization. Tzatzoe traveled back and forth between his African roots and Christianity, which meant that he was crossing vast political, cultural, spiritual, and ideological chasms.

A Living Man from Africa is richly researched and splendidly written. It is a welcome and innovative addition to the growing interest in narrative missionary history.

—Caleb O. Oladipo

Caleb O. Oladipo is the Duke K. McCall Professor of Mission and World Christianity at the Baptist Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

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Culture, Inculturation, and Theologians: A Postmodern Critique.


In Culture, Inculturation, and Theologians, the distinguished Marist anthropologist Gerald Arbuckle returns to themes he traced in his 1990 book Earthing the Gospel. But where his former book was a practical handbook to help missionaries and pastoral workers think about cultural systems in their everyday work, Arbuckle’s most recent book seeks to clarify our situation today in which terms such as “cultural” and “multicultural” have become ubiquitous—without careful attention being given to what they mean in a rapidly changing world.

Arbuckle succeeds in clarifying the field of anthropology and drawing out its implications for understanding an almost universal judgment by the educated, namely, that “metanarratives” are tools to dominate others. This is a profoundly theological book rooted in a biblical outlook, but it shows great awareness that churches and mission bodies are often guilty of passing off particular, culturally derived principles as biblical and universally mandatory.

Accordingly, the question that underlies everything in this superb book is, What use can churches make of the welter of conflicting anthropological insights? And even deeper, What is the Gospel? As a Catholic, Arbuckle confronts a clerical system whose approach to culture resembles the McDonald approach to nutrition. (This, by the way, is not the problem of Protestant missiologists and church leaders.) Arbuckle’s book is nonetheless important for such readers, because he knows that chaos—including cultural hybridization and discontent—is the nature of this universe. The Gospel does not take us out of this world but orients us in a life lived toward death, the ultimate chaos. Given this chaos, in Arbuckle’s view, the church’s role is one of helping human beings embrace the paschal mystery of death and life as Christ did, not to struggle to restore or create an imaginary, pristine Eden.

God’s call is into an increasingly intercultural drama and to being light in darkness.

—William R. Burrows

William R. Burrows, a contributing editor of the IBMR, is Research Professor of Missiology, Center for World Christianity, New York Theological Seminary.

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Christian Presence and Progress in North-East Asia: Historical and Comparative Studies.


This book is a selection of papers originally presented at the Seventh International Conference of the North-East Asia Council of Studies in the History of Christianity, held in China in 2009. The first two articles put into context the discussion of the conference: Jan A. B. Jongeneel surveys the impact of the interdenominationalism of the Western Protestant missionary movement on East Asia in the pre-Edinburgh period, and Xinping Zhuo argues that Christianity in China has played an important role in politics, although its sociocultural role has been limited.

As regards China, John T. P. Lai examines the Christian literature ministry in China and Japan, highlighting the different ways of distribution and policies of self-support. Kevin XiYi Yao argues that fundamentalism in the region was a local but international movement, showing a marked variation: in China, it was major and apolitical; in Korea, major and political; and in Japan, minor. Peter Tze Ming Ng and Yongguang Zhang explore the impact of Christian education on nationalism and modernization. In Japan it was “an enemy”; in Korea, “a promoter”; and in China, “a mediating tool for dialogue” between nationalism and cosmopolitanism (pp. 71–72). According to Jiachen Liu, unlike in Japan, Christian socialism in China was a minor and short-lived movement. Comparing Sino-theology with the Mukyokai movement, Pan-chiu Lai views it as “a cultural rather than religious movement” (p. 103).

With reference to Japan, Thomas G. Oey’s essay on John Liggins reveals that resistance to Christianity forced this pioneer to do mission work indirectly rather than directly. Yuko Watanabe’s article on the Chinese YMCA in Tokyo sheds light on the internationalization of missionary efforts in the early twentieth century. Naoto Tsuji scrutinizes how theological views, conservative and liberal, dominated the landscape of Christian education.

Concerning Korea, Chong-ku Paek’s article on John Ross, a China missionary working for China and Korea, shows how missionary work in one nation could be mobilized for a neighboring country. Ji-il Tark investigates Canadian missions, which worked in Japan, Manchuria, and Korea but concentrated mainly on one ethnic group, the Koreans. Examining the Holiness mission and church in the region, Jong-hyun Park investigates how the seemingly apolitical doctrine of the second coming of Christ was interpreted politically by the indigenous governments. Byung-tae Kim considers the effect of the Korean War on the development of Chinese and Korean churches, pro-Communist versus anti-Communist, in the postbellum years. In sum, as a collection of papers, this book leads us through a kaleidoscopic array of issues, all the while contributing to our overall knowledge of this region and its history.

—Kyo Seong Ahn

Kyo Seong Ahn is Assistant Professor of Historical Theology, Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, Korea.
Jesus and the Incarnation: Reflections of Christians from Islamic Contexts.


Jesus and the Incarnation is a collection of papers representing a wide range of Christian voices and perspectives around the themes of “The Word Made Flesh” and “The Word Made Book” within the context of global Muslim-Christian encounters. After the introductory chapter by David Singh, the book is divided into three major sections: “The Word,” “Community,” and “Witness.”

Instead of simply focusing on the old polemics between Islam and Christianity on the divisive topic of the Incarnation, this collection is an attempt to “make way for creative forms of conversation and debate” (pp. 16–17) between the two faiths.

Some of the articles seem to be more relevant to the stated theme of the book than others. As always, Kenneth Cragg brings out fresh and creative insights by showing how, even within the Islamic understanding of revelation, “if the eternal is to enter into the temporal, there must be a point of entry where the universal has become the particular, the timeless the time-old” (p. 24). Mark Beaumont’s article is a helpful summary of some of the classic disputes on the Incarnation in the early centuries of the encounter between Muslim and Christian theologians, while Jonathan Culver introduces us to the apologetic works of Hamran Ambrie, an Indonesian Muslim convert to Christianity.

Some other articles do not seem to fit naturally within the stated aim of this work. Mary Kay McVicker’s article on the religious rituals of an Indian Shi’ite community or David Grafton’s presentation on the Van Dyck Arabic translation of the Bible fall in this category.

Some voices raise important challenges to the church regarding incarnational ministry among Muslims (articles by Peter Riddell and Phil Parshall), and others move beyond the boundaries of historic orthodoxy in regard to Christology (Clinton Bennett).

I believe this book could have been significantly enhanced if it had been more focused on the theological themes around the doctrine of the Incarnation and also if it had presented more voices from Christian writers who had come out of a Muslim background.

—Sasan Tavassoli

Sasan Tavassoli, a former Shi’ite Muslim from Iran, serves as a missionary among Iranians.

The In-Between People: A Reading of David Bosch Through the Lens of Mission History and Contemporary Challenges in Ethiopia.


Girma Bekele’s published Ph.D. thesis from Wycliffe College (University of Toronto) is a magisterial tome that enhances the growing body of Ethiopian scholarship. Prior to his Toronto graduate studies, Girma was employed in the...


Catholic Theological Union professors Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder have become well known for their wide vistas on mission theology—seeing their names on the book cover raises expectations! This time they tackle the issue of prophetic dialogue, the generally accepted description of the nature of mission in their religious order, the Society of the Divine Word (SVD). This issue became a compromise between the context-affirming and the context-challenging nature of Christian mission. While all mission needs to be dialogical and open to the other, it also needs to have a challenging cutting edge.

The book consists of two parts (even if the parts are not marked), starting with constructive mission-theological deliberations and ending with two descriptive-analytical chapters. The first contains reflections on mission as prophetic dialogue from various perspectives. In these chapters, the authors skillfully craft a progressive mainline Roman Catholic position on mission. It attempts to balance openness and clarity of theological position. One of the preferred ways in which this position is described in the book is David Bosch’s famous phrase “bold humility.” Even if the resulting mission theology builds largely on Roman Catholic foundations and is unmistakably Roman Catholic in tone, there is a sufficient degree of ecumenical openness.

The last two chapters of the book deal with church/mission history and recent Magisterial mission documents that the authors consider to have contributed toward a deepened understanding of mission as prophetic dialogue. The church-historical chapter reads like a fast-forward version of two millennia from the chosen point of view. The chapter on the Magisterial documents is far more useful, serving simultaneously as an analysis of the documents from the given point of view and as a condensed introduction to these documents. This chapter is highly valuable, especially for students.

Most of the chapters were originally written as independent articles, and even though they have been edited for this book, the outcome hovers between a monograph and an anthology. The downside is the number of redundant quotations and statements, as well as a certain lack of progress in argumentation. The book nevertheless makes for very enlightening reading for anyone wishing to gain a picture of where today’s mainline Roman Catholic mission theology is on the way.

—Mika Vähäkangas

Mika Vähäkangas, a Finnish citizen, is Professor of Mission Studies and Ecumenics at Lund University, Sweden.

McDonaldisation, Masala McGospel, and Om Economics: Televangelism in Contemporary India.


This book is set in the broad context of “the changing shape and form of Christian ministry” (p. xvii) in the Indian church. The author, Jonathan D. James, is convinced that in the Indian churches, the pastoral techniques developed during the colonial period are rapidly being replaced by “techniques resembling the American model” (p. xviii). In this context, the book explores the American phenomenon of televangelism in India, reviewing its historical, cultural, religious, political, and economic setting.

At the outset, the author discusses the rather unusual title of the book.

He likens global televangelism to “McDonaldisation” because of its standardized, one-size-fits-all approach. “Glocal” televangelism—the fusion of American and Indian evangelism—James refers to as Masala McGospel. And Hindu televangelism, a consequence of satellite technology and charismatic televangelism, he characterizes as “om economics.”

Chapter 1 introduces the key metaphors used in the book and also outlines the methodology and the historical-comparative framework of this study. In the second chapter James locates charismatic televangelism in its global

E. Paul Balisky, with his wife, Lila, served with SIM (Serving in Mission) in Ethiopia from 1966 to 2006.
context by tracing its roots to black American Pentecostalism. Chapter 3 examines the data on the history of Indian missions and relevant issues pertaining to the social and cultural aspects of Christianity in India. Chapter 4 discusses the place that charismatic televangelism has in contemporary India.

The relationship between charismatic televangelism and Hindu televangelism is explored in chapter 5, especially in the way the Hindu channels exhibit the practices of consumerism and marketing techniques used by charismatic televangelists. Chapters 6 and 7 analyze the influence of both global and glocal charismatic televangelism on the leaders of the Protestant Church and the Hindu community in urban India. In chapter 8 the author examines the intermediary role that television plays in broadcasting the Christian faith. The concluding chapter summarizes the study, as well as analyzing the findings and giving some broad predictions of mediated faith in today’s global world.

As a pioneering study of the role and impact of televangelism in India, this book is essential reading for all students of religion and culture in pluralist societies.

—Jesudas M. Athyal


The Basel Mission work in the Gold Coast in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was established at great cost of lives of its first missionaries. Once the mission found a way to evade the scourge of malaria in the safety of the Akuapem hills, however, it was able to settle down to the serious business of evangelizing the people. Before long, the arrival of missionaries’ wives and a couple of single women missionaries changed the perspective not just on the role of women but, quite fundamentally, on the definition and goal of “Christian womanhood.”

Ulrike Sill’s discussion, an expansion of her doctoral dissertation, draws widely on archival sources, notably the Basel Mission (now Mission 21) Archives. Her work traces the paths traveled by missionary pioneers and innovators in the towns where the Basel Mission operated, namely, Abokobi, Accra, and Akuropon (Akropong). Sill’s interpretation of a broad range of archival evidence shows an understanding of both Basel Mission policies and the mind-set of its leaders. The Basel context illustrates the historic contradiction of Christianity as “a religion embraced especially by women,” but where ironically the initiatives for women’s mission were controlled by men (pp. 5–6).

Such gender issues in mission may be a major focus of the book, but they do not overly dominate the discussion. In a prologue and nine chapters, Sill examines the roots of women’s mission in the Basel Mission context; the roles and status of several generations of European and African missionary women, traditionalists, and Christian nationals in nineteenth-century Gold Coast; the socioeconomic functions of “space,” “clothing,” and schooling, and their appropriation by women in both traditional and Christian communities; the embodiment of Christian womanhood and femininity; and

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women’s aspirations beyond the Basel Mission context.

Sill writes from a sympathetic perspective, engaging with material from the fields of African history, mission history, missiology, Christian education, sociology, and gender studies. The summary of main issues at the end of each chapter, along with an extensive bibliography and glossary of Akan terms, makes Encounters a valuable academic and historical resource.

The author of this very readable volume maintains the reader’s interest, even while presenting a wealth of information. This study is a welcome and significant addition to existing scholarship on the Basel Mission in the Gold Coast, which until now has focused primarily on its male agents.

—Maureen Iheanacho

Maureen Iheanacho served for fifteen years as executive assistant to the rector of the Akrofi-Christaller Institute of Theology, Mission, and Culture, Akropong-Akuapem, Ghana. She is coauthor of By His Grace: Signs on a Ghanaian Journey (Accra, 2004).

Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia.


This book is part of a series of introductory textbooks that adopt “New Approaches to Asian History,” the “new approach” in this case being the role of religion in the modern history of East Asia. After a brief introduction, in which Thomas DuBois emphasizes the similarities between religions and compares the historical role of religion in Asia to that of Christianity in Europe, the author divides the book into roughly parallel sections on China and Japan. The first section on each country contains a brief outline of its religious background and early history, but the focus is on events from the beginning of the Chinese Ming dynasty (1368) and from the closing stages of the Japanese civil war period in the mid-sixteenth century. The final chapters bring us to the end of the twentieth century and the “globalization of Asian religion.”

To cover so much ground so clearly and entertainingly in such a limited number of pages is a tremendous achievement. The achievement is the greater because valuable space is, quite rightly, spent on basic explanations of essential background factors such as the differences between Buddhism in South and East Asia and the life of Confucius. This space is not wasted, but it is presumably the main reason why some important points were left uncovered, or largely ignored.

First, there is hardly anything on Korea. In fact, it would have been more truthful to replace “East Asia” in the title with “China and Japan.” Second, it is clear from the introduction, which addresses the organizational and intellectual aspects of religion rather than the supernatural or soteriological, that the emphasis will be on the interaction between religion and politics at the top levels of society. Consideration of Buddhist views of the self and enlightenment is postponed until a section on Zen and the samurai in chapter 5 (pp. 114–16), while belief is not dealt with until chapter 6, when it is examined in the rather extreme context of millenarianism (pp. 123–31). There is nothing about the role of the dead or about the responsibility of family members, not only to their living relatives, but also to those who have passed away and those who have yet to be born. There was also no space to consider whether there was any Weberian-type reason for the differing speeds at which Japan and China adopted the spirit of capitalism. Finally, the author, a China specialist, is not always reliable when it comes to Japan. The book begins with a reference to the Catholic missionary activity that began with Francis Xavier in 1549 and ended in bloodshed less than one hundred years later. Even this, however, is misleading and inaccurate.

I hope that lecturers who use this textbook will be able to supplement its flaws, and that the students who use it will be inspired to read further for themselves, both in English and in Asian languages.

—Helen Ballhatchet

The author of this very readable...
January 2012

Where Are the Poor? A Comparison of the Ecclesial Base Communities and Pentecostalism—a Case Study in Cuernavaca, Mexico.


Why would some people living in the same barrio opt to participate in an Ecclesial Base Community (CEB) while others, often members of the same family, join a Pentecostal church? Philip Wingeier-Rayo responds to this question by offering a theoretical and empirical comparative analysis of an ecclesial base community and a Pentecostal congregation located less than 100 yards apart in Colonia Alta Vista Alegre, a lower-class working neighborhood in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

The work is divided into two parts. The literature review, in part 1 (itself well worth the price of the book), surveys the development of CEBs and Pentecostals, as well as the theoretical interpretations emerging among scholars. In part 2, with an eye to field-testing these theories, Wingeier-Rayo presents the findings of his yearlong ethnographic study of the two groups. Organizing his research around common themes, including testimonies, group practices, leadership styles, and social and political action, Wingeier-Rayo found that, in comparison with the Pentecostal congregation, members of the CEB were older, better established in the community, and more upwardly mobile. The intellectual and rational nature of their Bible studies, designed to raise political awareness through biblical reflection, contrasted with the enthusiastic and emotional worship services of the Pentecostals, where sermons focused, for
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The Ethics of Evangelism:
A Philosophical Defense of Proselytizing and Persuasion.


This book is a great gift to all who are reflective practitioners of mission and evangelism. In the past half-century, the Christian world has been sensitized to ethical issues in evangelism by two things: the historical link between missions and colonization, and (more narrowly) the scandals around various evangelists during the 1980s. Since then, however, a bigger question has arisen in the secular world: not whether proselytization is done ethically or not, but whether it is ethical to do it at all.

Elmer John Thiessen, research professor of education at Tyndale University College in Toronto, has addressed both these issues in a way that is careful, thorough, irenic, and ultimately persuasive—to this reader’s mind at least. He rightly takes on the bigger and more recent issue first and, having concluded that evangelism is a legitimate human activity (indeed he argues that it is necessary for human dignity!), moves on to suggest fifteen criteria of what makes it either ethical or unethical. In the process, he engages a wide range of thinkers, from John Locke to Lesslie Newbigin, and from Aristotle to Noam Chomsky.

The book is explicitly aimed at both Christian and non-Christian audiences. Thus in arguing that human dignity must be the cornerstone of all proselytization, Thiessen appeals equally not only to Scripture and theology but also to philosophers such as Kant. This is valuable, because the discussion needs to involve more than the Christian community. In a delightful way, Thiessen’s “evangelizing” of his non-Christian readers exemplifies the respectful, dialogic approach he commends for proselytizers. Thus, when he says that “ethical proselytizing requires coherence between the proselytizer’s character and the message being conveyed” (p. 196), it is a pleasure to report that he practices what he preaches—making his case all the more persuasive.

My only concern with the book is that it is not one for the average reader. But it is right that the debate should first be engaged at this academic level. We need now for Thiessen’s thinking to percolate down to the general Christian public—not least via preachers and teachers and seminary professors—and beyond, to the public square of cultural discourse. The result would be Christians who are more confident and more courageous in their evangelism, and a world that is more open to hearing the Gospel because it is ethically conveyed.

—John P. Bowen

David J. Bosch: Prophetic Integrity, Cruciform Praxis.


In this volume good friends, colleagues, and the wife of David Bosch explain and explore the meaning of Bosch—a type of thick description of a remarkable Christian man. Twelve different people tell about their experiences and relationships with David Bosch. The authors/compilers have decided on an interpretive framework for Bosch’s life, first expressed in the subtitle and then expanded using the praxis
matrix of UNISA that was developed by Bosch and others in the 1980s and 1990s. The greater value of the book, however, is seen in how the prophetic integrity of his life and his commitment to cruciform witness surfaced again and again.

The chapter by Bosch’s wife, Annemie, is a sensitive and well-articulated presentation of Bosch the theologian, missionary, and family man. We learn that Bosch was forever a committed family man, an avid farmer, an accomplished and gifted linguist, and a deeply caring companion. “What brought so much healing to hurting people and situations was his astounding ability to apply his mind, combined with emotional intelligence and concern for people, in an outstandingly creative way” (p. 36). Reading between the lines, we see that he was also aided by a bright and gifted wife.

The book contains a section “Recollections and Reflections” from colleagues, friends, and students; chapters on dimensions of his life (Afrikaner, public intellectual, organic theologian and missionary-missiologist, and practical ecumenist); and a concluding chapter that offers an interpretation of his life through analyzing his mission praxis.

This reviewer was overwhelmed by how important it was for his theological development that Bosch studied in German-speaking Basel rather than in the Netherlands, by the consistent leadership he provided resisting apartheid, by his steady resistance to both revolutionary responses and passive acceptance of apartheid, and by his reasons for not signing the Kairos Document. The authors have published some new material from Bosch’s papers. They have been both fair and carefully critical. Bosch was a unique, strong, creative, sensitive theologian whose practice carved in bold relief his own life of cruciform praxis. This is a great read, filling in many of the gaps in our understanding of Bosch.

—Scott W. Sunquist

Scott W. Sunquist is Professor of World Christianity at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

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Dr. Dwight P. Baker, Overseas Ministries Study Center, draws upon both video clips and full-length feature films to examine the way missionaries have been represented in the movies over the past century.

January 9–13
The Lion’s Roar: The Book of Amos Speaks to Our World.
Dr. M. Daniel Carroll R. (Rodas), Denver Seminary, Littleton, Colorado, explores the relevance for Christian mission and ethics today of the call of Amos to perceive the hand of God in history, to establish justice, and to practice acceptable worship.

January 16–20
Anthropological Insights for Diaspora Missiology.
Dr. Steven J. Ybarrola, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, applies insights from the anthropological study of migration, urbanization, diasporas, and transnationalism to the relatively recent field of diaspora missiology.

January 23–27
Ethnicity as Gift and Barrier: Human Identity and Christian Mission.
Dr. Tite Tiénou, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, works from first-hand experience in Africa to identify the “tribal” issues faced by the global church in mission. Cosponsored by Africa Inland Mission and Trinity Baptist Church (New Haven).

February 27–March 2
Christian Mission, the Environment, and Culture.
Dr. Allison M. Howell, Akrofi-Christaller Institute for Theology, Mission, and Culture, Akropong-Akuapem, Ghana, considers Christian responses to climate change—something that is not new in human history—and the catastrophes that often accompany climate change, so as to provide a framework for Christian mission in facing new crises. Cosponsored by United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries.

March 5–9
Contextualizing Theology for Mission in Asia.
Dr. Enoch Wan, Western Seminary, Portland, Oregon, unfolds a Sinic-Asian approach to theologizing that is strategically relevant for mission to Asians.

March 19–23
Issues in Mission Theology.
Dr. Charles Van Engen, School of Intercultural Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, surveys current theological challenges facing students of mission. Cosponsored by First Korean Presbyterian Church of Greater Hartford (Manchester, Connecticut).

March 26–30
Pentecostal Spirituality, Mission, and Discipleship in Africa.
Dr. J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, Trinity Theological Seminary, Accra, Ghana, and senior mission scholar in residence at OMSC, uses the lens of contemporary African Pentecostal/charismatic Christianity to focus on mission as renewal and revitalization. Cosponsored by Bay Area Community Church (Annapolis, Maryland).

April 9–13

April 23–27
Music and Mission.
Dr. James Krabill, Mennonite Mission Network, builds upon insights from musicology and two decades of missionary experience in West Africa to unfold the dynamic role of music in mission. Cosponsored by United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries.

April 30–May 4
Transformational Leadership: An Entrepreneurial Approach.
Rev. George Kovoor, Trinity College, Bristol, United Kingdom, brings wide ecclesiastical and international experience to evaluation of differing models of leadership for mission. Cosponsored by Christian Reformed World Missions.

May 7–11
Spiritual Renewal in the Missionary Community.
Rev. Christine Sine, Mustard Seed Associates, blend classroom instruction and one-on-one sessions to offer counsel and spiritual direction for Christian workers. Cosponsored by Mennonite Mission Network.

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Volz, Stephen C. African Teachers on the Colonial Frontier: Tswana Evangelists and Their Communities During the Nineteenth Century. New York: Peter Lang, 2011. Pp. xii, 293. $74.95 / SFr 75 / €48.30 / £43.50.


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