On March 24–25, 2011, Duke Divinity School, Durham, North Carolina, hosted a two-day conference focused on the somewhat cumbersome theme “Saving the World? The Changing Terrain of American Protestant Missions, 1910 to the Present” (see http://isae.wheaton.edu/projects/missions). Organized and sponsored by Wheaton College’s Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, the conference involved nearly one hundred academics, who presented and listened to papers and lectures exploring the evolving nature of American Protestant missions since the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910, and who discussed the nation’s continuing influence on Christianity globally. This issue of the journal is pleased to feature five of the papers presented at this conference.

“Americans,” the late Tony Judt observed, “have trouble with the idea that they are not the world’s most heroic warriors or that their soldiers have not fought harder and died braver than everyone else’s” (Thinking the Twentieth Century [Penguin, 2012], p. 76). This foible—by no means a uniquely American vanity—has its analog in missions.

The seemingly natural inclination is for all humans to imagine themselves, their tribe, their religion, their nation as part of an exceptional story of a singular people. Such stories—“myths,” we call them when observing the predisposition in others—offer us humans a way of merging our temporal lives with the eternal. The histories in which we locate ourselves are older, bigger, and grander than our puny finite selves. A collage of highly selective partial truths and sometimes outright lies, our constructed histories are uncritically absorbed and internalized by children, in the process becoming incontestable truth. To question or deny them can in perilous times be interpreted as an act of sedition.

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Christianity—which, if one reads Paul and the Gospels carefully, helps us to recognize and resist the self-flattering reductionist anthropologies of nationalism—has often been employed in the service of various egocentric schemes of order and domination. From where I sit, this phenomenon is most visible right here in the United States, where church-going visitors from abroad are startled to discover that the Star Spangled Banner has been granted conspicuous pride of place behind the altar, as though belief in God and fealty to nation were inseparable.

I write as a Canadian Mennonite whose proclivity, sadly, is to make sniffily invidious comparisons between the two countries by highlighting the imperfections of one and exalting the virtues of the other. While the various shortcomings of the United States, given its size, power, and global reach, draw the attention and self-righteous ire of citizens of lesser nations, in truth the country does not have a monopoly on the fusion of “Christian” with nationalistic self-promotion. Jesus’ third temptation—in which he is offered temporal suzerainty in return for his obeisance to the one who asserts controlling interest in “the powers of this dark world” (Matt. 4:8–9; Eph. 6:12 NIV)—is a universally effective ploy. The ease with which we humans succumb to the siren allure of nationalism’s collective “me first” modus operandi attests to that.

Things are by no means as simple as my characterization might seem to imply. In his carefully researched lead article, Peter Bush describes how Canadian missionaries to the indigenous peoples of Canada could not claim—unlike the authors of the report of Commission I of Edinburgh 1910—that “the reproach that missionaries desire to Europeanise the inhabitants of mission lands, if ever true, is now absurdly false.” As he explains, the Presbyterian Church in Canada’s mission to the nation’s Native peoples became integral to the colonial system’s management of the indigenous population, despite missiological and ecclesiastical theory to the contrary. The fateful results, evident for some time but only more recently acknowledged, elicited an official confession but raised troubling, deeply complex “now what?” questions. How can present and future generations of Presbyterians, unwitting beneficiaries of the unintentional sins of their fathers and grandfathers, “bring forth fruit in keeping with repentance” (Luke 3:8 NASB)? The institutional church’s response has been to shift the church’s emphasis from customary mission programs (indigenous churches, boarding schools, theological training) to justice, healing, and reconciliation. Too little? Too late? Undoubtedly. But one must start somewhere.

In her essay, Heather Curtis notes that Pentecostals—at the time of Edinburgh 1910 a small, marginalized, and fragmented group within the larger Protestant mission pantheon—were doubtful about the popular notion that spiritual light and darkness were neatly demarcated civilizationly between the West and the rest. There was no direct correspondence between spiritual darkness, on the one hand, and geography, race, or nationality, on the other. The West was at least as lost as the rest.

Missionaries from the West have sometimes embraced as their own the memories and narratives of other peoples, at considerable cost to their own identities as citizens of Western lands. Benefit has come when these stalwarts have been able to share their hard-gained perspectives with their fellow citizens—but only insofar as the latter are willing to receive these subversive notions. Such a process is much to be valued. After all, only the truth, known and applied, will set us free.

—Jonathan J. Bonk
Change and Continuity in American Protestant Foreign Missions

Edith L. Blumhofer

When Protestant delegates from around the world convened in Edinburgh in May 1910 for the World Missionary Conference, they knew they were engaged in strategic work. Their confidence in Christian progress found expression in the motto The Evangelization of the World in This Generation. Overwhelmingly Western, participants readily thought of the global expansion of Christianity as a movement proceeding outward from the West. Conference participants confidently anticipated that the momentum generated by recent decades of phenomenal Protestant growth would continue.

A century later, Christians around the world marked the centennial of the Edinburgh conference with a series of events that celebrated Edinburgh’s ecumenical legacy amid a burgeoning world Christian movement. The anniversary prompted the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals (ISAE) to consider change and continuity in American Protestant foreign missions since Edinburgh. Hindsight makes it as easy to list what Edinburgh delegates did not foresee as it is to recognize what they achieved. But our interests went beyond either celebrating Edinburgh or criticizing its limits. In 2007 the Lilly Endowment awarded the ISAE a grant to explore a century of change within Protestant foreign missions. The grant funded twenty studies that addressed various moments and movements. Several of them—the first five articles—are presented in the pages that follow. Dealing with a century of turning points and decisive moments, they use case studies to explore changing conceptions of mission. We are grateful for the generous Lilly Endowment support that made this work possible, and we hope that these articles both promote a fuller understanding of American Protestant missions and stimulate further studies of the changing place of American Christians in the world Christian movement.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission to Canada’s Native Peoples, 1900–2000

Peter Bush

Christian missions to the Native peoples of North America pushed the boundaries that organizers of the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference had so carefully defined. None of the members of Commission I, charged with delineating the boundaries of the Christian and non-Christian worlds, would have suggested North America was non-Christian, yet they needed to account for the mission to the Native peoples in Canada and the United States. Near the end of Commission I’s report, almost as an afterthought, the mission among North America’s Native peoples was included as proclamation to “the non-Christian world.”

If the Native mission was among non-Christian people, then it was cross-cultural foreign mission, with the values and practices of that type of mission influencing the method of carrying out the work. If, however, the Native mission was being carried on within a Christian country, then the values and practices of home mission applied. The authors of Commission I’s report were uncertain how to categorize the work among Native peoples of North America, an uncertainty they shared with those involved in that mission, both missionaries and mission planners. The ambiguity was exacerbated by questions about the relationship between the mission and the government. The lines boldly drawn in the Commission VII report—“The reproach that missionaries desire to Europeanise the inhabitants of mission lands, if ever true, is now absurdly false”—were far harder to maintain when there was no distance between the mission and the government. While North American missionaries serving outside of North America could maintain some distance, fragile and limited as it was, between themselves and the colonial powers, missionaries serving in North America had no such distance from the colonial powers. Those who funded the mission were the same people who elected the governments and expected their elected officials to function as colonizers.

Categorizing the mission to Canada’s Native peoples remained problematic for the Presbyterian Church in Canada throughout the twentieth century. This uncertainty resulted in a failure to nurture a Native Presbyterian church. Furthermore, the inability of the mission to distance itself from the government of Canada caused the church to be regarded as part of the colonial system. By the end of the twentieth century, Canadian Presbyterians defined the mission to the Native people as social
justice: caring for the poor and seeking reconciliation with those Native people the church had sinned against.

Early Vision for Building a Native Church

A group of Canadian Presbyterians involved in Native missions on the Prairies met in 1908 to articulate a vision. Men and women, Native and non-Native—all had opportunity to speak and participate in drafting the recommendations. The group included missionaries on reserves seeking to raise up Native congregations, along with principals and teachers from the residential and industrial (vocational training) schools run by the church, with financial support and bureaucratic guidance from the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs. A number of the school principals served as preachers and worship leaders in Native congregations on Sundays, further blurring the line between congregation building and cultural assimilation.

The unspoken assumption behind the 1908 recommendations was that mission work among the Native peoples of Canada was foreign mission. The recommendations emphasized the need to learn the language of the people. Even residential school principals and teachers were urged to learn Native languages. Native spirituality was regarded as a potential evangelistic tool, and its helpful aspects were to be preserved in the development of a Native Christian faith. The group called for buffer zones around reserves to protect Native people from being harmed by the unsavory aspects of Euro-Canadian culture.

In hope of developing Native congregations, evangelistic meetings were held on every reserve and in each residential school where the Presbyterian Church had a presence in 1908–9. The meetings, conducted in Native languages and with Native Christians playing prominent roles, sought to bring new people into the kingdom of God. While not explicitly stated, the vision was to build a Native church that fulfilled the first two of the three goals of becoming a self-reproducing, self-governing, and self-supporting church.

Native Missions Brought Under Home Missions

While the missionaries sought to develop Native congregations, denominational leaders had a very different approach. In 1908, U.S. denominations shifted Native American mission from the responsibility of foreign mission boards to being a home mission challenge. Canadian church leaders saw advantages in a similar move. One of the goals of home mission work in Canada was “the Christianization of our Civilization,” which was understood to mean the Canadianization of non-Anglo-Saxons. Shifting Native missions from the foreign missions board to the board of home missions supported culturally assimilative patterns of mission. Second, those concerned about the business of church saw possible efficiencies in the change. Edinburgh’s Commission I report section on Indians in Canada, almost certainly written by R. P. MacKay, secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, stated: “In districts where mission work among the white population is contiguous to Indian communities, the two should be brought as closely together as possible.” Sharing a minister was easier when both congregations were under the responsibility of one board, the Home Mission Board. The non-Native congregation would likely demand a minister fluent in English, believing this best not only for themselves but also for the Native community, whose future lay in assimilation into the dominant English-speaking culture.

Structural changes in 1912 in the Presbyterian Church made Native ministry the responsibility of the Home Missions Board and merged the two sections of the Women’s Missionary Society (Foreign Mission and Home Mission). Overnight, work with Native peoples was no longer built on foreign mission understandings but rather around the goals of Christian nation-building found in the home mission community. As R. Pierce Beaver has noted, categorizing Native mission as home mission cut its links to cross-cultural mission thinking.

A Separate Church or an Integrated Church?

Throughout the twentieth century, searching questions were asked about the mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to and with the Native peoples of Canada. Sometimes the debate was precipitated by events external to the church; at other times the discussion was rooted in developments within the church. This soul-searching reached a new boiling point approximately every twenty to twenty-five years, leading to new formulations of mission’s purpose. Throughout this period the question was repeatedly raised whether the ministry to Native peoples is (1) a cross-cultural mission, with the goal of establishing a Native church, or (2) ministry to an ethnic group in Canada, with the goal of integrating that group into the Canadian church.

Throughout the 1930s, especially at the peak of the Great Depression on the Prairies in 1935 and 1936, the Native missions struggled to justify the funds expended on them. Reports from residential schools cited the number of students making professions of faith, highlighted graduates integrating into the dominant culture, and noted that students helped to fund the schools through farmwork and the sale of crafts—all in answer to the question, Does Indian work pay? Even though the schools were expensive, they proved difficult to close; it was easier not to replace missionaries who moved on from congregations on reserves than to leave the position of a departing missionary-teacher or missionary-principal vacant. Through the 1930s the schools became the primary mission tool reaching Native peoples. In theory, the schools nurtured children and young people in the faith so that on their return home they would take the lead in developing Native congregations. Little was done, however, to prepare spiritually awakened students for the task of leading congregations on reserves. The organizational challenges of running a school meant there was little time to follow up graduates when they returned home. Instead of being places where Native church leaders were formed, the schools became institutional ministries and symbols of the church’s partnership in the dominant culture’s assimilation of Native peoples.
Residential Schools

A brief account of the Canadian Presbyterian Church’s involvement in the Indian residential school system will provide useful context. The twentieth century opened with the Presbyterian Church operating seven residential schools, one industrial school, and about eight day schools (the number of day schools changed from year to year) located in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario. Following Church Union in 1925, the Presbyterian Church was left with two residential schools (Birtle, Manitoba, and Shoal Lake, Ontario—later relocated to Kenora, Ontario) and one day school (Mistawasis, Saskatchewan). Residential schools at the start of the twentieth century usually housed 30–60 students, growing by the 1950s to have as many as 120–150 students. The school staff included the principal, a requisite number of teachers, a matron and assistant matrons who oversaw dormitory life, kitchen staff, including cook and sometimes an assistant, and a maintenance person, who usually oversaw the school garden and any livestock. Over time, the Department of Indian Affairs took a larger and larger role in directing school operations. In the first part of the century the churches provided and managed all staff, receiving financial support from the government as capital grants and per diem support. By the 1940s the government took over the hiring of teachers, directly paying their salaries. In 1958, on instructions from the Department of Indian Affairs, students attending residential schools were integrated into the public school system in the closest town. The residential schools became residences built and maintained by the government and operated by the churches through funds the government provided. In 1969 the government took over full responsibility for the operation of the residences, and the church was out of a job.

Church leaders commonly criticized the schools for their lack of lasting impact. After many years in the schools learning the ways of the dominant culture, graduates returned home and in a matter of months returned to the patterns of reserve life. The schools failed to effectively integrate Native students into the majority culture. Even staff members open to seeing value in Native culture had difficulty setting aside their cultural biases, using their authority to seek changes in such things as the cleanliness of houses on reserves and students’ diets when at home. Walter Donovan, a missionary on reserves in Manitoba during the 1960s, noted, “Little evangelizing has resulted from attendance at residential schools. In the past, such a school may have been regarded as a prison by pupil and parent. Under such circumstances it would be doubtless difficult for the Gospel to reach ‘ears that hear.’” The schools were institutional ministries, failing to bring self-reproducing, self-governing, self-supporting Native churches into being.

Through the late 1940s and into the 1950s, the postwar economic boom provided the church with resources, both finances and people, to again send missionaries to the reserves. Furthermore, the changes introduced to the residential school system by the government of Canada in 1958 made the schools less effective drivers of the mission. These changes provided an opportunity for the Presbyterian Church to evaluate how mission was being done and how it should be accomplished. Missionaries ministering in the Native community were asked to comment on the state of the mission. A consistent message was heard: To work effectively with the Native people, missionaries needed to live on the reserves with the people, immersing themselves in the Native culture. The missionary did not need to be able to preach in “the Indian language,” since “on most reserves English is acceptable and understood by practically all the people.” However, “it is advisable for [the] missionary to be able to read portions of Scripture and to lead in prayer in the language of the people.” Even though English was widely understood, the Christian faith needed to be incarnated in the mother tongue of the people if it was to be given a hearing. The operative vision should be “working with the Indian not for him. . . . Being sensitive to their needs and values.” This approach articulated a definite purpose: “What is good in the Indian culture should be recognized and used to point to Christ.” One suggestion was the creation of Native Christian dances. Stephen How, a Taiwanese serving with the Canadian Presbyterian Church, argued eloquently for the retention of Native languages: “They are a lost people in the sense that their values and their culture which they once cherished have completely gone, except for their own language. . . . If the language is the only thing left to them out of their past glory, it also supplies the key to their inner holy of holies.” How was under no illusions about the church’s ability to solve the social and economic problems facing the Native people of Canada, writing, “It is my humble prayer that under this trying situation the preaching of the Gospel will be the challenge and hope to the people.” The Gospel would need to do the work of transformation; all the missionary could do was proclaim the message.

Urban-Based Native Ministry

The written input provided by missionaries was used in preparation for the Indian Workers Workshop held in the summer of 1962. This was one of a series of occasional gatherings in which denominational mission leaders and missionaries on the ground would meet together to talk about Native missions. At the 1957 “Indian Workers” gathering, conversation about evangelism among Native people played a prominent role, along with discussion about the operation of residential schools. Five years later, the agenda included presentations on the development of institutions designed to reach urban Native peoples, but the evangelistic vision was significantly attenuated. This change in emphasis signaled a change in direction as the mission went from being reserve- and school-based to adding urban-based Native ministry. Denominational leaders recognized that the government would eventually take over the operation of the school residences, leaving the church without institutional means of ministering to Native people. Furthermore, demographic studies indicated that the move from rural areas to the cities,
The missionaries believed the future lay in nurturing Native leaders for a Native church.20

Despite the consistent call from those involved in doing Native missions for missionaries to immerse themselves in the Native community, learning the language and culture of the reserves, during the 1960s and 1970s the Presbyterian Church in Canada chose to establish a series of inner-city institutions addressing the social and physical needs of urban Native people.21 The Kenora Fellowship Centre in Kenora, Ontario, was the first such mission. Opened in 1961, it provided material support to Native people in need and acted as a meeting space for Native and non-Native residents of the community. Annual reports from the center’s first ten years make no mention of gatherings for worship, nor of any attempts to raise up Native leaders for a Native church.22 In 1972, as the Fellowship Centre passed its tenth anniversary, none of the eight staff members were Native persons. While the chair of the board was a Native person, only four others on the fifteen-member board were.23 Similar patterns emerged in the creation and development of Flora House and the Anishinabe Fellowship Centre, both in Winnipeg, and the Saskatoon Native Ministry Circle.

Focus on Institutions or on Congregations?

Throughout the twentieth century the Presbyterian Church’s ministry with Native people was dominated by a series of institutions: first, day schools and residential schools, followed by school homes and then the fellowship centers and city missions. While the mandates of these institutions differed significantly, their existence was rooted in a commitment to an institutional approach as opposed to a congregational vision for the Native mission. Maintaining institutions such as schools and fellowship centers required significant financial and human resources. By choosing institutional ministries to be the centerpiece of their work among Native peoples, Canadian Presbyterians created a double dependency. It was impossible for the institutional ministries to be fully funded by the Native community, which created the need for official structures of the non-Native church to play a significant role in the life of these ministries. It also proved impossible for the non-Native church to fully fund the ministries, and therefore government aid was enlisted. As both the schools and the fellowship centers became dependent on government financial aid, the ministries had difficulty maintaining goals that were distinct from the goals of the state. The consequences of this converging of goals are evident in the church’s complicity in the assimilative and abusive Indian residential school system—a guilt the Presbyterian Church in Canada confessed in 1994.

The round of soul-searching leading to the confession began in 1986 as a group of missionaries among the Native people and observers of the mission demanded that a new vision be enunciated for the work. As the critics stated, “The mission period has passed.” The new executive director of the Presbyterian Church’s Board of World Mission, Chris Costerus, a former missionary in Taiwan, took the criticisms seriously and launched a detailed analysis of the work among Native peoples. Early in this study Costerus wrote, “I have been reading much of the earlier review material and have studied the recommendations made to previous General Assemblies, which were approved but not acted on. I want to know what went wrong? Did we assume too much? Were the approvals emotionally right but impractical? Was/is our approach to the Native peoples wrong? Is our training of would-be workers faulty? What Gospel have we been preaching by word and deed?”24

Costerus’s frustration was shared by many other observers of the Presbyterian Church’s Native ministry. Significant resources, both human and financial, had been expended over many years, with few tangible results. While the final report said it more bureaucratically, Costerus’s notes were clear: “My goal is to allow space and opportunity for native leadership to appear—which is acceptable and suitable for native believers. I believe that present structures inhibit this.”25 Both lay and ordained Native leadership needed to be developed, even if that meant lowering the academic qualifications required for ordination. The Native leadership, it was hoped, would arise from the handful of Native Presbyterian congregations. Costerus saw Native ministry through the matrix of cross-cultural ministry with the goal of raising up church leaders from within the people group being reached by the Gospel. Although not explicitly stated, his vision was to nurture a self-reproducing and self-governing Native church into being. As this new vision for Native ministry was being honed, a series of events both within and outside of the church overtook the plan.

The system by which theological college graduates received a first call to a congregation changed in 1988, shutting down the major source of missionaries being deployed to congregations on reserves. Until that point, newly graduated clergy were required to accept an appointment to a ministry chosen for them by the superintendents of mission if they wished to be ordained. In this way, difficult-to-staff ministries, such as congregations on reserves, were supplied with ministers. The end of the appointment system allowed graduates to make their own choices about where they would serve, which meant that the supply of potential missionaries on reserves dried up.26 While the ultimate goal of Costerus’s vision was to raise up Native leaders, in the interim period the Native congregations required non-Native clergy to walk with them as Native leaders were being identified and nurtured into their roles.

A further personnel challenge has arisen from the decision to emphasize urban institutional ministries over congregations on reserves. Observers of the urban Native ministries contend that these ministries will not supply the volume of Native leaders required to develop self-governing Native congregations.27 The spiritual dynamism of the Native community, whether traditional or Christian, focuses often on the Creator and the creation. Spiritual leaders in the Native community come from the reserves to speak to the urban context and then return to the land for renewal. It appears unlikely, then, that urban ministries will be fruitful contexts for nurturing leaders for a self-reproducing, self-governing Native church.

The Confession of 1994 and Reconciliation

The vision of raising up Native churches was further eclipsed by the bringing to public consciousness of the physical, emotional,
psychological, and cultural abuse that had occurred in Indian residential schools. The conversation that had been taking place through the late 1980s gained intensity in 1989, when CBC-TV ran *Where the Spirit Lives*, a docudrama of one girl’s experience in an Indian residential school on the Canadian Prairies. Phil Fontaine, grand chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, spoke publicly in 1990 about the emotional and cultural abuse he experienced in a school run by the Roman Catholic Church and funded by the federal government. This was followed in 1991 by the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops’ presenting a statement of regret regarding the residential schools. Against this backdrop a small group within the Presbyterian Church’s Board of World Mission started work on what would become the 1994 Confession regarding the relationship between the Presbyterian Church in Canada and Canadian Aboriginal peoples. An attempt was made in 1992 to have the confession adopted by the General Assembly. The document was referred back so “a more balanced presentation of this Church’s mission and ministry to native peoples” could be developed. Two years later, a slightly reworded form of the confession was introduced by Justice Ministries, together with a longer historical background piece. This time the document passed. The confession passed on the second attempt in part because two additional years of public debate in the secular press about residential schools had had an impact on the commissioners. Worth noting is that the confession’s second introduction was under the auspices of Justice Ministries rather than through Canada Ministries. The issue had become one primarily of justice, not of mission. Since 1994, discussions related to the residential schools and to the Presbyterian Church’s ongoing work of reconciliation with Aboriginal peoples have been led by the Justice Ministries portfolio of the national church. The confession, directed toward God, did not address the Aboriginal peoples of Canada directly until the seventh clause, “We ask, also, for forgiveness from Aboriginal peoples.” Theologically, the wrongs done were primarily a sin against God’s vision for the relationship between peoples (in this case, newcomer and Native). The confession highlighted the church’s complicity in the government’s assimilative vision through supporting colonial practices, urging the banning of some Native spiritual practices, and operating residential schools where pupils experienced abuse and Aboriginal cultural identity was destroyed. The confession uses the word “mission” only once, and then in combination with the word “ministry”: “We regret that there are those whose lives have been deeply scarred by the effects of the mission and ministry of The Presbyterian Church in Canada.” The authors of the confession seem unsure as to what an appropriate mission to the Aboriginal peoples would have looked like. The confession offers no discussion of what forms of Gospel proclamation were appropriate beyond the “unstinting . . . love and compassion” with which many missionaries served “their aboriginal brothers and sisters.” Strikingly, the confession does not name failing to nurture a Native-led church into being as something for which Canadian Presbyterians were sorry.

In the wake of the confession, Canadian Presbyterian ministry to Native peoples focused on finding healing and reconciliation. Such a focus further emphasized the institutional nature of the ministry to Native peoples, not only because of the institutional nature of the schools, but also because the Settlement Agreement signed in December 2002 between the government of Canada and the Presbyterian Church in Canada dealt with legal and financial liability, which by their nature are institutional concerns.

The Canadian Presbyterian mission to Native peoples in the twentieth century reveals conflicting visions. The missionaries on the ground saw their work as cross-cultural mission and called on the denomination to foster the creation of a self-reproducing and self-governing Native church. Denominational leaders and the financial supporters of the mission saw the work in institutional ministry terms, with goals of integrating both individual Native people and Native congregations into the structures and patterns of the denomination’s dominant culture. By the end of the twentieth century the institutional approach had become the dominant approach, although, as evidenced in the residential schools, this approach caused great heartache for both Native and non-Native Presbyterians. One wonders whether a different story would have emerged had the vision set out in 1908 been allowed to reach maturity: Or would it have proved impossible to nurture and maintain a cross-cultural mission to a non-Christian community within a Christian nation?

Notes

1. Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), pp. 49–72, discusses the debate regarding what constituted the Christian world. He notes: “The exclusion of Latin America from the conference agenda had the further effect of accentuating the existing Protestant tendency to identify the West with Christianity and the Orient with heathendom” (p. 72). An integration of the Native people of North America as part of the non-Christian world could have challenged the bifurcation of the world, for the Native people were a non-Christian community in the midst of the so-called Christian world.


4. For more on the 1908 gathering, see Peter Bush, “‘Spoken with Native Languages’: Presbyterian Evangelistic Efforts Among the Native People of the Prairies, 1908–1909,” *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 33 (2008): 29–42.

5. Minutes, Convention of Presbyterian Workers among the Indians in the Synods of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Mission to Aboriginal Peoples in Manitoba and the Northwest, Box 6, File 113, United Church Archives, Toronto.

6. Stanley writes of the Commission II report, “The assertion that in
many lands the objective of a genuinely independent ‘three-self’ church was now within reach was perhaps the central claim of the report” (World Missionary Conference, p. 133).  


8. For example, Canada’s Missionary Congress (Toronto: Canadian Council Laymen’s Missionary Movement, 1909), pp. 99–121, 330. Preaching the Gospel to recent immigrants and Native peoples was discussed under the topic “The Place of the Church in the Making of the Nation” (pp. 99, 330). The final presentation in this section, by J. A. Macdonald, is entitled “The Christianization of Our Civilization.”  

9. World Mission Conference, Commission I, p. 262. MacKay was the only Canadian on Commission I.  


17. Ibid.  


20. The Anglican Church of Canada went through its own soul-searching about Native ministry, publishing Beyond Tralines: Does the Church Really Care? Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canada’s Native Peoples (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969), commonly called the Hendry report, for its author, Charles Hendry. It became a roadmap as the Anglicans sought a new way to do mission with the Native peoples.  


26. A number of former missionaries identified the end of the ordained missionary system as killing congregations on reserves almost overnight, for it became impossible to find personnel to do work on reserves. On this system, see Peter Bush, “A Brief History of the OM (Ordained Missionary) System,” Presbyterian History 46, no. 1 (May 2002): 4–6.  


29. A&P, 1992, p. 73. I was present at the 1992 Assembly, where I saw how little Presbyterians knew about the denomination’s involvement in the schools; this realization led to my initial writing on the topic.  


Errata  

In the article “Toward a Broader Role in Mission: How Korean Americans’ Struggle for Identity Can Lead to a Renewed Vision for Mission,” by S. Kang and M. Hackman (IBMR, April 2012), the first paragraph mentions “Urbana Missions Conferences between 1990 and 2009” (p. 72). This phrase should have read “Urbana Missions Conferences in the 1990s.” The editors regret the error.  

In “Missions from Korea 2012: Slowdown and Maturity,” by Steve Sang-Cheol Moon (IBMR, April 2012), the data and observations draw on a 2011 survey of Korean missions. Percentage breakdowns on page 84 (paragraph 4, beginning “The following describe”) and on page 85 (sections 4 and 5, “Deployment” and “Personal data”), however, are drawn from a 2008 survey, one based on a larger data set that, overall, shows percentages quite comparable with those based on the 2011 survey. The editors regret omission of a note explaining the use of the two surveys.
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Pentecostal Missions and the Changing Character of Global Christianity

Heather D. Curtis

As American delegates to the World Missionary Conference were preparing to sail for Edinburgh in the spring of 1910, another gathering devoted to the “subject of world-wide missions” was taking place in Chicago, at the Stone Church. From May 15 to 29 a group of “God’s dear children” assembled daily for meetings that pressed “the claims of the world field upon young and old for prayer, for giving, and for going.” The semiannual pentecostal Convention at the Stone Church was, by comparison with the World Missionary Conference about to open at Edinburgh, a humble affair. Participants numbered in at most the hundreds rather than the thousands. Publicity for the event consisted of a few notices posted in the Latter Rain Evangel, a periodical produced at the Stone Church, and a “large sign bearing the striking head-line ‘A Glorious Convention’” hung on the outside of the building. Planning was minimal: “the only definite date we have fixed upon is the opening day,” the organizers declared; the duration of the convocation would depend on the “Lord’s leading.” This reliance on the Holy Spirit was, according to many attendees, the distinguishing feature of the pentecostal Convention. Convinced that “God was working all through the Convention to bring things to pass for foreign fields,” participants were confident that the gathering would “mean much for His work . . . . It is not His will that the influences set forth by the pentecostals who gathered in Chicago were clear about the mission of pentecostal movements that have transformed the shape of global Christianity since 1910. Depravity, they believed, was not necessarily determined by geography, nationality, or race; in fact, the “Occidental” could be just as susceptible to sin as the “ Oriental.” Preaching in the Stone Church on March 3, 1910, evangelist Charles F. Hettiaratchy, “a native of Ceylon” who “had a very deep baptism in the Holy Spirit,” challenged potential missionaries who wanted “to go and convert the heathen” to ask, “Have you been used in this country to convert the heathen here?” Heathenism, he contended, was not only abroad, but also within. The devil was active everywhere, pentecostals believed; therefore, even so-called Christian lands and institutions were susceptible to corruption.

One of the most salient disparities between the architects of the WMC and the leaders of the Stone Church Convention centered on their differing perspectives on Western “civilization.” While the pentecostals who gathered in Chicago were clear about the contrast between “heathen darkness” and “gospel light,” they seemed less certain than their Edinburgh counterparts that these categories clearly corresponded with the “civilized Christian West” and “the non-Christian world.” Depravity, they believed, was not necessarily determined by geography, nationality, or race; in fact, the “Occidental” could be just as susceptible to sin as the “Oriental.” Preaching in the Stone Church on March 3, 1910, evangelist Charles F. Hettiaratchy, “a native of Ceylon” who “had a very deep baptism in the Holy Spirit,” challenged potential missionaries who wanted “to go and convert the heathen” to ask, “Have you been used in this country to convert the heathen here?” Heathenism, he contended, was not only abroad, but also within. The devil was active everywhere, pentecostals believed; therefore, even so-called Christian lands and institutions were susceptible to corruption.

Pentecostal Qualms About Christian Civilization

They need the simple Gospel

International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Vol. 36, No. 3
Archibald Forder insisted that the Arab people among whom he worked did not “need civilization.” In fact, Forder argued, an increase in trade and the introduction of Western ways would undermine exemplary aspects of Arabian society—particularly the prohibition against destructive “intoxicants” such as alcohol and opium. “I am anxious for only one thing,” Forder proclaimed, “that they get Jesus Christ. As sure as civilization gets in, they will become contaminated with the curses of civilization . . . they do not need electric cars, railroads, and all these things we think are necessary. . . . They need the simple Gospel.”

Pentecostals were not the only missionaries who expressed ambivalence about how features of Western civilization would affect indigenous cultures. For decades prior to the 1910 WMC, missionaries from a variety of denominations had protested against the opium trade in China, the liquor traffic in Africa, and the legalization of prostitution in India. Each of these evils, they argued, was exacerbated if not caused by Western agents and impeded efforts to Christianize local societies. In responses to questionnaires sent out by the WMC’s organizers, some missionaries complained that the immoral (and imperial) behavior of European traders and officials constituted “a great barrier to the spread of the Gospel.” The official report of Edinburgh’s commissioners additionally warned that “the spread of infidel and rationalistic ideas and materialistic views . . . traceable to western sources” threatened “the extension of Christ’s Kingdom.” Despite these concerns, most WMC delegates remained convinced that the “pure and hopeful influences of western civilization” would triumph over “antagonistic” pressures so long as the church mustered “all its powers on behalf of the world without Christ.”

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For both theological and social reasons, pentecostals simply did not share this sanguine outlook. By the early twentieth century, most radical evangelicals had embraced a premillennial eschatology that predicted Christ’s imminent return after a period of pervasive and rapid decay. In contrast to their counterparts at the WMC, the majority of whom still subscribed to the more optimistic postmillennial view, participants at the Stone Church believed that “the world to-day is wobbling in its orbit, madly plunging towards despair and destruction.”

As pentecostal missionary Albert Norton put it, “The signs are multiplying that the world is out of joint on a scale that it never was before. . . . What does this portend . . . but the greatest national overthrow, ruin and disaster, that the world has ever seen.” Civilization, from this perspective, was a slender reed upon which to rest one’s hopes.

**Pentecostals and Missionary Science**

_A we are made one in the Spirit_

A second, and related, distinction between delegates at Edinburgh and attendees at the Stone Church Convention was the extent to which each group stressed the centrality of technological developments and scientific methods for the missionary enterprise. As historians have pointed out, premillennial pessimism about the prospects of contemporary society and Western civilization did not preclude pentecostals from making full use of modern technologies for missionary purposes. While they interpreted the “increased modes and rapidity of travel, evidenced by railways, steam ships, electrical devices, liquid air, telephone, telegraph, wireless telegraphy . . . within the past one hundred years” as “signs of the imminence of our Lord’s return,” participants in the holiness and pentecostal movements eagerly employed these resources as they worked to cultivate a universal Christian fellowship. 

Communication tools were especially instrumental in helping pentecostals (and other Christians) nurture a sense of worldwide community that transcended territorial borders, cultural boundaries, and social barriers. Periodicals such as the *Latter Rain Evangel* explicitly sought to forge bonds among like-minded believers across the globe. On the periodical’s second anniversary, the editor rejoiced that the paper had fostered “a blessed fellowship with God’s dear children all over the world.” By embracing communication and travel technologies in order to create translocal connections, pentecostals participated in broader patterns characteristic of many social and religious movements in an increasingly international era. Gatherings like the Stone Church Convention and the WMC of 1910 both reflected and contributed to the globalization of Christianity during this period.

While participants in these events eagerly employed modern means to spread the Gospel and promote Christian unity, pentecostals were less convinced than their Edinburgh peers that the success of these endeavors depended on the development and “advancement of missionary science.” As Brian Stanley has shown, conveners of the WMC “believed that the time had come for the application of the rigorous methods of modern social science to the challenges and problems which missionaries faced on the field.” Although spokespersons like John Mott acknowledged the role of the Holy Spirit in the evangelistic enterprise, they were apt to downplay “signs and sounds and wonders” in favor of “ascertained and sifted facts.”

Organizers of the Stone Church Convention did just the opposite. Rather than systematically collecting data and presenting their findings in carefully crafted reports on practical policy, they insisted that mighty manifestations of supernatural power were precisely what was needed for inaugurating a new era in world evangelization. “It isn’t in my thought to go into the matter of statistics,” declared missionary stalwart Levi Lupton at the Stone Church Convention. Instead, he and other speakers put particular emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit to bridge divides and create attachments. “This is the intent of Pentecost,” evangelist D. Wesley Myland proclaimed, “that my heart might be bound with men and women in Africa, in Japan, in the fastness of Tibet. That my spirit might be bound with men and women in India and we are made one in working out the purposes of God.” William Piper, pastor of the Stone Church, contended that Holy Spirit baptism was not only drawing together believers of different nations, but also uniting Christians across doctrinal and class lines. “In this, His Pentecostal sweep of the earth, . . . God is doing a marvelous thing in reaching down into every denomination, and reaching down into the slums where there is no denomination, and baptizing His disciples,” Piper proclaimed. “What else could so
effectually break down bigotry than the fact that God is bigger than our denominational difference? Thus there is left little or no room for one set of people to exalt themselves over another.”19

According to Piper, the experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit leveled hierarchies in ways that enabled pentecostal missionaries to surmount spatial, social, and theological separations in pursuit of a global fellowship. Many speakers at Stone Church conventions confirmed this conviction. Recalling that the first person to receive “the baptism of the Holy Ghost” during the recent pentecostal revival in India was an “ignorant little mite named Jeejee” who went on to become one of the movement’s leaders, missionary Minnie Abrams argued that the Holy Spirit empowered individuals for service regardless of their age, social status, intellectual sophistication, or even theological acumen.20 From this perspective, statistical analysis, scientific expertise, and technological advancement were secondary (if not irrelevant) to the practice of missions or the creation of a global church.

Azariah’s speech went off “like a bomb” in the “electric silence” of Edinburgh’s Assembly Hall.

Pentecostal Missions and Indigenous Leadership

I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh

Minnie Abrams’s account of the revival in India reveals a third contrast between pentecostal approaches to missions and the dominant assumptions on display at Edinburgh. As the story of Jeejee suggests, pentecostals were open to the possibility that the outpouring of the Holy Spirit had initiated a great reversal—not only collapsing hierarchical distinctions between Western missionaries and local believers, but even beginning to re-center Christian leadership in “heathen” lands. While most delegates at the Edinburgh WMC endorsed the “formation, growth, and nurture” of self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating national churches as “the central goal of all foreign missionary activity,” they were less confident than their pentecostal peers that the experience of Holy Spirit baptism qualified native converts to serve as partners in the missionary enterprise, let alone leaders of indigenous churches.21

In fact, the issue of relationships among missionaries and national Christians was a major topic of discussion—and source of consternation—among participants in the WMC. V.S. Azariah, an Anglican clergyman from South India who had helped to establish the indigenous Indian National Missionary Society, highlighted this concern in an address entitled “The Problem of Co-operation Between Foreign and Native Workers” that he delivered at Edinburgh on the evening of June 20. “The official relationship generally prevalent at present between the missionary and the Indian worker is that between a master and servant,” he declared. “As long as this relationship exists, we must admit that no sense of self-respect and individuality can grow in the Indian church.” Taking the “problem of race relationships” head-on, Azariah asserted that “bridging the gulf between East and West, and the attainment of a greater unity and common ground in Christ” was essential if the Indian church was ever to become self-governing. Although he conceded that both sides were to blame for the unequal situation, Azariah challenged “the foreign missionary” to offer “proofs of a real willingness . . . to show that he is in the midst of the people, to be to them, not a lord or a master, but a brother and a friend.”22

According to observers, Azariah’s speech went off “like a bomb” in the “electric silence” of Edinburgh’s Assembly Hall. While a few attendees appreciated Azariah’s challenge, others protested, and some argued that he ought to be publicly censured. According to conference historian Brian Stanley, “Most of the Christian press either ignored his address or took exception to it . . . Hardly anyone in the western churches in 1910 seemed ready to listen.”23

But if Azariah’s admonitions fell on deaf ears in Edinburgh, his sentiments resonated with partisans of the pentecostal movement who were making similar proposals. Although few pentecostals attended the WMC, a number of correspondents—including American Agnes Hill, who served as the national secretary for the YWCA in India, and Eveline Alice Luce of the British Church Missionary Society—had participated in the Holy Spirit revivals that swept through many places across the world in 1904 through 1906. These women had become part of the emerging global pentecostal network, even as they remained connected with their sponsoring missionary agencies. In responses to questionnaires sent out by Edinburgh’s organizers, both Luce and Hill identified social distance and unequal partnerships between Western missionaries and the people with whom they worked as major challenges to spreading the Gospel. Luce wrote that the “different economic circumstances of missionary and people . . . is one of the most difficult problems in our missionary work” in India. “We long to get near the people among whom we work, and we mourn the fact that a great gulf seems to separate us from them as we live in such a different style and with so much more of what to them is luxury.” Hill concurred with this assessment. “This difference is a great stumbling block,” she wrote. Both women acknowledged that social and economic disparities often reflected and exacerbated relational rifts between missionaries and local communities. The perception that Indians—even those who embraced Christianity—were inferior to Westerners rankled indigenous believers and frustrated cooperative efforts. “Many in the native church resent the call to work under the missionary,” Hill admitted. Luce agreed, blaming a hierarchical and inadequate pay structure for perpetuating interactions that mirrored the dynamics of imperial rule.24

Based on their experiences in the India revivals, both Hill and Luce echoed Azariah’s recommendations for bridging “the gulf between missionary and native helper.” In fact, Hill’s recommendations for fostering reciprocal relationships were more radical than Azariah’s proposals. Where he called for an increase in missionary hospitality—encouraging Europeans to shake hands with their Indian workers and to invite them to dinner—Hill exhorted missionaries to adopt a “simpler life,” challenging unmarried workers to cohabitate with their “native helpers, taking them all into his bungalow as brothers or in the case of the woman as sisters.”25 Although Luce’s proposals for missionary living arrangements were more modest than Hill’s, she agreed that missionaries should strive to live more simply “in small tents” or “rest-houses . . . thus getting as near to the daily lives of the people as possible, and living in their presence, as it were, seeking to shew [sic] them that Christ is not merely the Savior of the West, but that He is an Oriental Saviour, and His salvation comes down to the little details of everyday life.” Like Hill, Luce believed that proximity and humility were essential
for cultivating mutual affection and for revising presumptions about the superiority of Western Christianity.28

For both Luce and Hill the most significant factor in spreading the Gospel and creating multiracial, intercultural, egalitarian friendships among Christians was the Holy Spirit. In keeping with William Piper’s conviction that the baptism in the Spirit was essential for vanquishing social and theological chauvinism, Hill contended that “what the whole missionary body yes and the Indian Church and the Church at home need most is a special equipment of power from on High to put things into proper perspective and to make the message effective as the Master intended it to be.” Luce was even more adamant. Describing the revival that had spread through India in recent years, she recounted how the Holy Spirit had surmounted seemingly insuperable divides. “We have seen . . . how He takes up the poor and illiterate and does wondrous works through them, how His presence is like a Fire, melting down all barriers, uniting the whole church (native and foreign) and melting them together as one in the love of Jesus, and how He sets them on fire with love and zeal for the salvation of souls.” Given this evidence, Luce told the organizers of the Edinburgh Conference, it only made sense to conclude that “the answer to all these difficult questions” of missionary endeavor, “the one all-important need,” was “a mighty outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Christian Church in every land.”27

Despite the testimony of missionaries like Luce, Hill, Azariah, and Abrams, leaders of the Edinburgh conference concluded that relying solely on the transforming power of the Spirit was not wholly sufficient for spreading the Gospel. Although Edinburgh’s commissioners did acknowledge that “it seems evident that the Indian Church must ultimately be under the guidance and control of Indian Christians,” their final report suggested that such a transfer of power could take place only after proper “development and education of the native church.”28 For pentecostals eagerly anticipating Christ’s imminent return, such a gradual approach seemed impractical. Time was short, the task was urgent, and the Holy Spirit was anointing workers all over the world to spread the message of repentance and salvation. Drawing on biblical passages such as Joel 2:28 and Acts 2:17, which promised that “in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh,” participants in the Stone Church Convention claimed that this long-awaited prophecy was being fulfilled in the present—and they acted accordingly.

Pentecostal Missions in Practice

Bridging the gulf between East and West

Several months after the conventions in Chicago and Edinburgh concluded, Minnie Abrams returned to India with a group of seven women who shared her belief that baptism in the Holy Ghost was the indispensable key to the evangelization of the nations and the unity of the Christian church. Forming the “only known Pentecostal women’s missionary society”—the Bezaleel Evangelistic Mission—these women strove to embody the ethos and ideals that speakers at the Stone Church Convention promoted. As faith missionaries relying on God rather than an established organization for their financial support, they were also poised to practice the close relations with local people that experienced missionaries like Luce, Hill, and Azariah were advocating. With little advanced training, no language skills, and limited monetary resources, Abrams’s recruits were compelled to live simply in close proximity with the native population, and to partner with the Indian Christians upon whom they were in many ways dependent.29

Moving out into the “regions beyond,” where few missionaries had gone before, meant that Bezaleel workers were often the only Westerners in their area. Writing back to her Stone Church supporters one year after sailing with Abrams, Blanche Cunningham described the “pioneer work” she and Lillian Doll had undertaken in Basti, North India. “Outside of one or two officials there is no one here but Indian people,” she wrote. Nor was there any European-style housing. When they eventually procured facilities abandoned by a British mission, Doll “moved in at once, even before it was fit to live in, and slept on the floor with the rats and moles crawling around.” Cunningham lived in another building “with the Indian girls” who were to be her partners in village evangelism. By forgoing the comforts typical of most missionary compounds, by eating chapatis and other Indian food, and by sharing a home with their Indian coworkers, Doll and Cunningham practiced what Edinburgh correspondents such as Hill and Luce preached. As a result, the “gulf” that separated these Western women from their “native helpers” was narrower, and reciprocal relationships that encouraged mutual esteem developed more readily.30

From their arrival in India, the Bezaleel novices worked closely with Bible women and native preachers. In letters sent back to the Stone Church, missionaries praised their Indian associates, presenting them as fellow workers and exemplary Christian evangelists to the home audience. “Nannu was a carpenter,” Abrams wrote of one convert who joined their mission in North India. “He can hardly read and make up his accounts, but does most of my business and is a leader among the others. His wife . . . is the ‘mother in Israel’ at Uska Bazar.”31 Although they did value basic Christian training and the ability to read the Bible, missionaries like Abrams could overlook a lack of literacy as irrelevant if the Holy Spirit anointed workers such as Nannu to preach the Gospel. Believing that the pentecostal revival that began in 1905 had inaugurated a new era in Indian Christianity, Abrams exhorted American believers to come alongside their “yokefellows” through both intercessory prayer and physical presence.32

Indian Christians touched by the pentecostal revivals agreed with Abrams’s assessment. “India is awakening. God is speaking to our age and to our land in the mighty reviving work of His Spirit. . . . The spirit of Pentecost is arousing the Church today,” declared the founders of the Indian National Missionary Society in December 1905. Organized by Azariah and other Indian church leaders, this interdenominational association urged Indian Christians to recognize “the solemn obligation alike of ownership and of opportunity, of sacrifice and responsibility.”33 According to historian Gary McGee, this “appeal to Indian Christians’ to
evangelize their own nation” was an outgrowth of the “greater indigenization of the faith” that resulted from India’s pentecostal awakening. “The Spirit’s outpouring,” McGee argues, “signaled that the hour for indigenous leadership had arrived.”

When Minnie Abrams and her American apprentices arrived in Bombay in October 1910, self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating Indian churches of any theological persuasion were still more of a future hope than a present reality. Despite their affirmation of the “three-self” principle, most denominational missionaries postponed the process of transferring power to indigenous leaders for decades after the Edinburgh conference. This became the experience even of some pentecostals. Although they were more apt to acknowledge the authority of Spirit-filled evangelists, to see their “native helpers” as equal partners in the task of spreading the Gospel, and even to live in intimate proximity with their non-Western associates, pentecostals sometimes “struggled to turn over the reins of control.” Once the floodwaters of revival receded and Christ had not yet returned, some pentecostal missionaries followed in the footsteps of their denominational predecessors by establishing mission stations, maintaining a distance from Indian partners, and, as Gary McGee put it, “retaining tight control over local pastors and evangelists by paying them with funds raised in North America.”

In his recent comprehensive survey of pentecostal missions, McGee also asserts that pentecostals were not immune to the cultural prejudices and anxieties that came along with their privileged status as Westerners in an imperial setting. “Like most Westerners who lived abroad,” he contends, “Pentecostal missionaries accepted their racial and cultural superiority as a given.” His observations suggest that the Spirit-filled women and men who resisted the rhetoric of civilization and insisted that “the Gospel of Jesus Christ makes us all one, no matter of what race or color we are,” were somewhat unusual. In fact, leaders of the Stone Church do seem to have been more committed to pursuing what they termed “cosmopolitan” interests and sympathies than some of their pentecostal peers. They were also less inclined to engage in doctrinal hair-splitting or heresy-hunting. From the first issue of the Latter Rain Evangel in 1908, contributors condemned the rampant theological controversies that were undermining unity in the Holy Spirit and distracted believers from the primary task of cultivating a universal Christian community. As the pentecostal movement developed more structure through the establishment of denominations such as the Assemblies of God in 1914, however, the doctrinal fluidity and irenic posture to which Stone Church leaders were dedicated in the early years became increasingly difficult to maintain. On the “mission field,” the drive for greater organization and standardization pushed some pentecostals to adopt “paternalistic practices” that impeded the expansion of indigenous leadership and mutuality. Within several years the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God was wrestling with many of the same strategic dilemmas that dominated the agenda at Edinburgh: what methods of evangelism were most effective, whether charitable or humanitarian efforts “paid” or fostered dependency, and how to promote a self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating church.

Conclusion

The baptism in the Holy Ghost should make us world-wide

Despite the obstacles that increasing organization erected between pentecostal missionaries and their indigenous associates, many of the subtle tendencies that distinguished participants in the Stone Church Convention from delegates at the Edinburgh WMC of 1910 continued to shape how Spirit-filled Christians envisioned and enacted the creation of a global fellowship in years to come. “The baptism in the Holy Ghost should make us world-wide. It should enlarge us,” Minnie Abrams proclaimed in 1911. When she and the American women of the Bezaleel Evangelistic Mission partnered with Indian evangelists and Bible women to spread the Gospel in small villages like Basti and Uska Bazar, they acted on a set of assumptions that would become increasingly influential among Christian communities over the course of the twentieth century.

First, Western civilization was not equivalent with the kingdom of God, and missionaries had no monopoly on God’s grace. Second, while Christians might use all available means—including the improved methods of travel and communication—to spread the Gospel, their success hinged on the Holy Spirit, not on a supposed technological or cultural superiority. Third, in these “last days” the love of Christ was eliminating “all distinctions of race or color,” binding people of “all color, caste and nationality” into “one unified, sympathetic body.” Within this context, the “latter rain” of God’s Holy Spirit was anointing individuals of every age, social background, economic class, and ethnic origin to serve as leaders of the pentecostal revival. Because God was “no respecter of persons,” missionaries needed to acknowledge the authority of Spirit-filled native workers, working in close proximity and partnership with their fellow evangelists to “convert the heathen” of every nation. During the ensuing century, pentecostal evangelists of all “kindreds and tongues” adopted this approach, spreading Spirit-filled faith “to the uttermost parts of the earth,” and in so doing, transforming both the nature of the Protestant missionary enterprise and the shape of global Christianity.

Notes

1. W. H. Cossum, “A Glorious Convention,” Latter Rain Evangel (LRE), June 1910, pp. 2–5; and “Notes,” LRE, April 1910, pp. 12–13. Because the boundaries of pentecostalism were fluid in this period, I use the lower case form to refer to the movement. Use of upper case “Pentecostal” would imply a uniformity that did not then exist.


7. Archibald Forder, “And Ishmael Will Be a Wild Man: Thrilling
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15. As Benedict Anderson and others have persuasively argued, the use of new communication technologies was a key factor in the development of both national and transnational affiliations in the modern era; see his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
24. “Report to the Commission by Miss Eveline A. Luce,” WMC Papers, series 1, box 3, folder 9, Missionary Research Library (MRL) Series 12, the Burke Library Archives (Columbia Univ. Archives) at Union Theological Seminary (UTS), New York; and “Report to the Commission by Miss Agnes Hill Gale,” WMC papers, series 1, box 3, folder 6, MRL Series 12, UTS, New York.
27. “Report by Agnes Hill Gale” and “Report by Eveline A. Luce.”
40. For a discussion of how organization within the Assemblies of God affected pentecostal missions, see McGee, “Missions, Overseas,” p. 896; and McGee, *Miracles*, especially chaps. 7 and 8.

Global Survey on Theological Education

Institutions and individuals engaged in theological education are asked to participate in the Global Survey on Theological Education. Not since the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh has empirical data on worldwide theological education been assembled. The survey aims to redress this lack of objective information. This initiative is part of a research project focused on major trends, needs, and processes of transformation in theological education around the globe. The survey casts a wide net, seeking information and opinions on both theological institutions and non-formal training centers, including distance training initiatives.

A cooperative project—undertaken jointly by the Ecumenical Theological Education program of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, in partnership with the Institute for Cross-Cultural Theological Education, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois, and the Center for the Study of Global Christianity, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts—the Global Survey on Theological Education seeks input from both institutions and individuals. Representatives of training centers will fill out one form of the survey; individuals interested in theological education a briefer version.

One objective of the survey is to create an online directory of theological education institutions and centers. Institutions and centers that supply data will have the opportunity to opt out of the directory if they desire. Participants in the survey will receive a copy of the summary evaluation at the end of the project.

The survey is available in multiple languages, including Chinese, French, Korean, Spanish, and Russian, with more versions in preparation. To participate, go to www.research.net/s/globalsurveyonthologicaleducation.
The Sister Church Phenomenon: A Case Study of the Restructuring of American Christianity Against the Backdrop of Globalization

Janel Kragt Bakker

Since 1987, Narok Presbyterian Church in the Limuru Mission area of Kenya has functioned as the “second home of ministry” for the parishioners of Kensington Woods Presbyterian Church in an exurb of Washington, D.C.1 Eschewing the one-directional flow of resources from so-called mother church to daughter church in favor of North-South partnerships, the two congregations entered into a long-term sister church relationship to support each other in ministry. When the partnership began, the Limuru Mission area had been all but abandoned. With the support of Kensington Woods, Narok Presbyterian parishioners now worship in an attractive cinderblock sanctuary and send their children to Limuru Mission schools. Conversely, the Limuru partnership is a “spiritual wellspring” for the members of Kensington Woods Presbyterian on the other side of the world. “We are mutually enriched by sharing resources, ideas, and faith—working and worshiping together . . . in a partnership of faith in action,” wrote the Kensington Woods sister church committee in a brochure about the partnership.

The relationship between Kensington Woods and Narok Presbyterian is part of a larger movement that began in the 1980s among Catholics and mainline Protestants and that since then has become increasingly popular among Christians from virtually all traditions. Sister church relationships are designed to build faith-based partnerships between groups of people and cultures who would otherwise be strangers. Proponents of such partnerships place a high premium on solidarity, the sharing of power between Christians from North and South, and interpersonal cross-cultural connections at the grassroots level—often in contrast to an emphasis on efficient programs or measurable results. A new breed of contemporary transnational relationships among Christians, international congregational partnerships blur the lines between sender and receiver, donor and dependent.

The sister church phenomenon is an outgrowth of the refashioning of the world map of Christianity in the twentieth century, representing shifting patterns of global religious engagement and changing paradigms in the practice of mission. In 2008, tapping into this movement from the perspective of American congregations, I conducted an ethnographic study of twelve congregations/parishes in the Washington, D.C., area involved in partnerships with congregations in the global South. As a way of comparing relationships across traditions, I selected three Roman Catholic, three mainline Presbyterian, three evangelical Anglican, and three African American Baptist congregations for this study. Interviews with representatives from denominational agencies and parachurch organizations provided a wider angle to these case studies.

The participation of American congregations in sister church relationships illustrates not only shifts in global patterns, but also reformulations in American religious life. Interview material highlighted the waning salience of denominations, the growing role of local congregations in mission efforts, the ascent of practice-oriented spirituality, and the changing demographic composition of American Christianity—not to mention the heightened role of non-European immigrants.2 American Christians engaged in sister church relationships reflect trends in the structure, spirit, and demography of contemporary American religion.

Structure: Attending to Religious Reorganization

The character of American religion has undergone seismic shifts since the mid-twentieth century—from the religious and cultural hegemony of mainline Protestantism to religious pluralism, from a spirituality of “dwelling” to a spirituality of “seeking,” from prescribed and institutionalized religious identity to voluntarism and reflexivity, and from centralization and bureaucratization within religious institutions to fragmentation and localization.3 In the arena of mission, the institutional crisis that has befallen American Christianity has been particularly destabilizing. In the face of shrinking financial and moral support from church members and the increasing demands of organizational maintenance, by the 1990s mission agencies were forced to drastically reduce their programming.4 Many denominational agencies and parachurch organizations, if they survived, changed their focus from administering broad programs to supporting grassroots efforts.

The story of the relation of Kensington Woods Presbyterian with Narok Presbyterian is indicative of the institutional restructuring of American mission efforts. When Ruth Eaton, senior pastor of Kensington Woods, began to set in motion her dreams for a missional partnership with an East African community in 1986, contacting her congregation’s denominational headquarters seemed like a natural first step in the process. At that time, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) was just beginning to encourage the formation of international presbytery-to-presbytery relationships and advocate for missional partnerships. Eaton recalled that the General Assembly seemed rather bewildered by her idea of a long-term partnership between Kensington Woods and another faith community abroad. The General Assembly put her in touch directly with the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, and the relationship between Kensington Woods and Narok evolved from there. Eaton recalled sending annual reports to the General Assembly in the early years of the partnership. Never receiving correspondence in return, she eventually stopped sending the reports.

In 1996, partly because of the excitement among presbytery leaders generated by the Kensington Woods–Narok relationship, the National Capital Presbytery entered a relationship with a presbytery in another area of Kenya. A decade later, the formal relationship crumbled because of conflicts over homosexual-
ity, though projects were sustained under the auspices of several congregations within the two presbyteries. The Kensington Woods–Limuru relationship, which was not subject to either denominational or presbytery oversight, steadily progressed and even flourished in the midst of this controversy.

Kensington Woods’ near circumvention of denominational or regional bodies as it formed and carried out its sister church relationship was typical for the profiled congregations. Of the twelve congregations, only two entered into sister church relationships as part of a denominational initiative. Those two congregations received occasional technical assistance from denominational bodies. The congregations themselves, however, in concert with their partners abroad, were solely responsible for designing and managing their relationships. One congregation’s international partnership committee even took on a role of a denominational mission agency by educating other congregations regarding best practices in sister church relationships. Of the other ten congregations, five relied on the help of parachurch organizations to birth their sister church relationships but maintained increasingly less contact with intermediaries over time. The remaining five congregations conducted their sister church relationships with little or no assistance from intermediary organizations.

Regardless of polity, theological tradition, or whether an intermediary was involved, the sister church relationships were steered by local congregational leadership. While much of the congregations linked with sister congregations within their tradition, these partnerships were formed primarily on the basis of grassroots networking rather than denominational oversight. Denominational or parachurch bureaucracies were unnecessary in effectively administering congregation-to-congregation partnerships, though such intermediaries often performed the useful function of resourcing sister church relationships. They served congregations by helping them connect with their partners, determine the mission and vision for their relationships, ascertain best practices, or measure effectiveness. Their role was supportive and consultative rather than directive. The twelve relationships functioned bottom up rather than top down through the chain of religious organization.

In an era in which umbrella religious institutions are weakening and restructuring, sister church relationships illustrate how American Christianity has adapted to these changes by focusing on grassroots initiatives and harnessing practice-oriented spirituality. The reverse side of the diminishing role of denominations and parachurch organizations in American religion is the renaissance of the local congregation as a focal point of religious life. Heralds of the demise of religious institutions over the last half century, Americans may simply be more likely to engage with religious institutions on the local level. As denominations and other umbrella organizations change their roles and reduce their scope, local congregations are gaining importance in the religious expressions of many Americans.

Indeed, despite the weakening of religious institutions over the last half century, congregations clearly remain the central focus of the social organization of American religion. Congregations play a central role in the religious formation of individuals, as well as the collective identity of groups in contemporary society. In particular, the mission and outreach efforts of American Christians, while ever more global in scope, have increasingly been overseen by congregations and other grassroots organizations. Facing less competition from broadscale mission programs and better able to meet participants’ desire for hands-on, relationally driven programs, locally initiated ministry efforts have been given new buoyancy. As Nancy Ammerman has shown, informal coalitions such as clergy associations, loose networks of local congregations, and ad hoc grassroots partnerships are just as important to congregations as their affiliations with formal nonprofit organizations and denominational agencies. When congregations do link with expansive intermediaries and service providers, they do so in the interest of extending the reach of their congregations and forming strategic alliances to mobilize needed resources. Congregational actors tend to see themselves as partners rather than subsidiaries in these relationships.

Moreover, when mission efforts arise out of local congregations rather than distant hierarchies, they seem to have more appeal for prospective participants. The Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, for example, found that when relationships of solidarity between Catholic parishes in the United States and parishes in Latin America were initiated by either a lay minister or a parish council, nearly two-thirds sent at least five parishioners to visit their sister parishes. By contrast, when relationships were initiated by a bishop or religious community, only a quarter sent five or more parishioners to visit. In addition to this research, Ammerman found that giving is more generous in congregations that have personal and direct connections to specific projects.

The institutional restructuring of religion among Americans over the last half century, while spelling decline for various forms of religious expression, has also created new opportunities in religious life. Congregation-based programs such as sister church relationships often demonstrate new life in the current religious climate. The shift away from institutions and toward private spirituality does not tell the whole story. Institutional religion in America has certainly restructured, but its vitality has resurfaced in new ways.

Mood: Tapping Practice-Oriented Spirituality

Sister church relationships are attractive to American Christians not just because they empower local congregations, but also because they appropriate a newfound interest in practice-oriented spirituality. In his widely influential study of American religion since the Second World War, sociologist Robert Wuthnow framed the story of postwar religion as a shift from a spirituality of “dwelling” to a spirituality of “seeking.” Wuthnow further suggested that a spirituality of “practice” has been gaining strength in recent years against the dominant backdrop of seeker-oriented spirituality. While dwelling-oriented spirituality has become unsustainable because of “complex social realities [that] leave many Americans with a sense of spiritual homelessness,” and...
seeking-oriented spirituality has left many unfulfilled because it “results in a transient spiritual existence characterized more often by dabbling than depth,” practice-oriented spirituality offers a recipe for religious vitality in the contemporary milieu. Like seeker-oriented spirituality, practice-oriented spirituality respects the individualist temper of American culture. But by emphasizing strong connections to a community, it also meets the contemporary need for belonging. In practice-oriented spirituality, sacred space is revered, though negotiable, and discipline and intentionality are valued alongside freedom of exploration. The giving of self, often envisioned as an outgrowth of devotional life, is a central component of this spirituality.13

The significance of practice. Particularly among American Christians, as Craig Dykstra and Dorothy Bass have underscored, the role of practice for vital religious life is critical. Borrowing from Alasdair MacIntyre, Dykstra and Bass define practices as “those shared activities that address fundamental needs of humanity and the rest of creation that, woven together, form a way of life.”14 Dykstra and Bass invite Christian communities to see themselves as constituted by practices of faithfulness. Their project has achieved wide resonance among theologians and practitioners alike.

Sister church relationships capitalize on the participatory, communal, and service-minded nature of the practice-oriented spirituality to which Dykstra, Bass, and Wuthnow point. Respondents who organized partnership initiatives at the denominational or parachurch level commonly referred to their programs’ intent to enable parishioners to participate in mission firsthand. Alisa Schmitz, senior director of advocacy and short-term team ministry at Food for the Hungry, reported that Food for the Hungry’s sister church program began in an effort to offer “opportunities for engagement,” beyond giving money, to people in the pew. Dan Shoemaker, president of Reciprocal Ministries International, attributes the formation of his organization’s partnership program to its leaders’ recognition that people “wanted to get their hands dirty” in mission. Patrick Friday, director of the In Mission Together partnership program of the United Methodist Church’s General Board of Global Ministries, spoke of his work as an effort to “catch the wave” begun by grassroots initiatives—to help guide and organize “the movement of the Spirit” among ordinary people.15 At the congregational level as well, multiple respondents indicated that participating in a sister church relationship was a response to their desire to “do something” in the name of their faith.

Sister church relationships enable ordinary parishioners to become involved in mission in a tangible way. While many of the congregations relied on individuals with professional expertise in relief and development or other relevant fields to help steer the course of their participation in a sister church relationship, these individuals were usually congregants who worked alongside other members with no such expertise. The experience and skills of “experts” were generally helpful resources, but it was the congregations that were also able to employ the passions, time, labor, and relational gifts of a broad swath of congregants whose sister church initiatives most thrived. Congregations in which participation was limited to a committee of experts had difficulty generating enthusiasm and creating a congregation-wide sense of ownership. By contrast, congregations that provided opportunities for a variety of parishioners to express their faith through service and commumal spiritual practices saw their sister church relationships thrive—and their parishioners enriched in the process.

The convergence of practice-oriented spirituality and the local congregation. The ascent of practice-oriented spirituality and a renewed sense of the importance of the congregation are ever coalescing, especially through phenomena like sister church relationships. Wuthnow noted that the collective dimension of religion, particularly as expressed in local faith communities, is a prominent feature of practice-oriented spirituality. According to some proponents of practice-oriented spirituality, the vitality of the congregation is the measure of true religious commitment.16 In Practicing Congregations (2004), historian Diana Butler Bass charts the reinvigoration of congregations that have shifted focus away from propositional doctrines and toward the practices and narratives of the Christian faith. In the last generation, said Bass, the story of mainline Protestant decline has been rewritten through the emergence of practicing congregations.17

Extending Brooks Holifield’s periodization scheme of congregational history, Bass contends that practicing congregations signal a new wave of religious identity in the United States.18 As Bass explains, participatory congregations, which began in the 1950s and which serve as Holifield’s last classification, still dominate the landscape. They tend to be democratic, experimental, therapeutic, and market savvy, and they focus on techniques and programs. Recently, however, practicing congregations have emerged alongside these participatory congregations. Thriving in a postmodern setting of fragmentation and pluralism, practicing congregations construct faith as a way of life in community as they prioritize worship, spiritual formation, justice, and social action. Practicing congregations seek to overcome the moral fragmentation of the contemporary world by making faith-filled meaning together. While voluntarism is a mark of contemporary religious participation in general, practicing congregations specifically celebrate intentionality as parishioners embrace a sense of their own spiritual and ethical responsibility.19

Though not all of the congregations that participate in sister church relationships could be considered practicing congregations, the two trends are related. While rituals are at the center of religious meaning, social service and mission activity often go hand-in-hand with rituals by linking moral virtue to sacred presence. The profiled sister church relationships straddle the line between social service and specifically religious activities. They promote “bonding” among parishioners and “bridging” with those beyond parish walls.20 Because of their dual focus on social service and spiritual solidarity, they enable participants to express and transmit religious meaning while seeking to meet others’ needs. And because of their rootedness in local faith communities, these sister church relationships are particularly equipped to function in a decentralized organizational milieu.

Demography: Harnessing Patterns of Migration

Born out of practice-oriented spirituality at the local level, while tangibly linking Christians from around the world to each other, sister church programs among American Christians thrive amid
the complex interface of the global and the local brought on by
globalization. The contemporary setting of globalization, which
signals an expanding sense of interconnectedness and border-
lessness around the globe, has made cross-cultural missional
partnerships feasible as never before. Participation in sister
curch relationships illustrates the changing demography of
American Christianity and new patterns of movement among
American Christians.

Through their encounters with non-Westerners, especially
because of South-North migration but also because of interna-
tional travel, Americans are increasingly brought face to face with
alterity or otherness. Though an increased sense of borderless-
ness has heightened religious conflict in some cases, it has also
facilitated transnational religious connections. Globalization not
only causes American Christians to encounter members of other
religious traditions, it also puts them in touch with coreligionists
from other cultures—fellow pilgrims whose journey of faith is
separated by geographic and cultural boundaries. Nonwhite
immigrants, students, and other sojourners from the Global
South featured prominently in the partnerships, serving as
catalysts or intermediaries. At Mount Shannon Presbyterian, a
Liberian couple who had attended the congregation for fifteen
years while exiled in the United States initiated the church’s
connection to a Liberian community after the couple returned
home to Liberia. When Christ the King Anglican’s relation-
ship with a Nicaraguan community church began, it was forged
by the rector’s wife, who was a Nicaraguan refugee. Victory
Baptist’s partnership with a Jamaican congregation also resulted
from a transnational connection, for Victory’s pastor was a
Jamaican immigrant to the United States.

For other congregations, different types of what Peggy Lev-
itt has called “transnational villagers” served as stimulants of
sister church relationships. Living Faith Anglican was drawn
into its sister church relationship in Rwanda because of its rector’s
respect for leaders of the Anglican Church of Rwanda such as
Bishop John Rucyahana and Archbishop Emanuel Kolini,
both of whom traveled extensively in the United States and met
face-to-face with the rector on several occasions. Christ the King
Anglican became the worshiping community of two Tanzanian
priests during their time as seminarians in the United States.
Both of these men later became bishops in the Anglican Church
of Tanzania, and the U.S. parish continued to support their work.
Similarly, parishioners at Trinity Anglican were drawn into a
relationship with a large cathedral congregation in Uganda by
rubbing shoulders with its provost, who visited Trinity numer-
onous times while a doctoral student in the United States.

In her or his own way, each of these immigrants or other
transnational figures was catalytic in the formation of sister church
relationships. They bridged oceans and cultures by personally
connecting global southerners and North Americans, both logis-
tically and symbolically. Turning the “other” into “one of us” by
their presence in their congregations, they helped pave the way
for partnership by transferring ownership and creating a sense
of shared identity.

In addition to serving as catalytic leaders, immigrants were
also long-term intermediaries. At Kensington Woods Presbyte-
rian, a Malawian immigrant, Felix Mapanje, chaired the orphan
care program and served for three summers as a global mis-
sion intern—each term spending several months in Kenya as
an intermediary between the two communities. He explained
that much of his role was “to bring some of the thinking of the
American congregation to our friends and brothers and sisters
in Kenya.” Conversely, Mapanje believed that his African back-
ground helped him better understand his congregation’s Kenyan
partners. Mapanje saw himself as an interpreter, mitigating this
risk of miscommunication between the two communities: “I can
relate very well to the people there, and they feel that I can be in
the position to tell our friends here exactly how they feel. I can
help everyone understand each other.” Leaders like Mapanje
promoted sister church relationships within their American
congregations and helped to sustain these relationship through
their ability to build trust and communicate cross-culturally.

The ease of migration between the Northern and Southern
Hemispheres on a short-term basis also facilitates sister church
relationships. Through modern technological innovations, both
time and distance are collapsed in this globalized era, making
close contact and communication between distant regions of the world
increasingly feasible. Respondents were quick to acknowledge
the important role of technology in their sister church relation-
ships. Many of them, especially congregational leaders, routinely

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Respondents were quick to acknowledge the important role of technology in their sister church relationships.

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at once shared and alien. Coreligionists from disparate cultures
who desire to form connections with each other are aided by the
fluidity of travel and communication in the current era. In addi-
tion, increased migration and the integration of markets have
equipped religious groups to expand their influence around the
world and foster greater bonds among adherents. The forces
of globalization have refashioned the geographic and cultural
boundaries of American Christianity, thereby paving the way for
new types of cross-cultural religious encounters.

Transcontinental migration. Even if native-born American Chris-
tians never leave their own country, they are still more likely
than ever before to rub shoulders with coreligionists whose skin
color, country of birth, and cultural identification are different
from their own. Scores of global southerners, most of whom
are Christians, have immigrated to the United States since the
Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Religion is opera-
tive, not only in immigrants’ ties to their homelands or integra-
tion into American life, but also in the connections they forge
between their old and new homes.

As the participation of American congregations in inter-
national partnerships exemplifies, immigrants from the Global
South represent an increasingly influential swath of American
Christianity. In recent decades immigrants from the Global
South have significantly altered the social composition of Ameri-
can congregations. The National Congregations Study found
that predominantly white and non-Hispanic congregations
were measurably more ethnically diverse in 2006–7 than they
were even a decade earlier. For example, the number of people
belonging to completely white and non-Hispanic congregations
decreased from 20 percent in 1998 to 14 percent in 2006–7. While
many new immigrants worship in expatriate congregations,
enough worship in predominantly white, native-born congrega-
tions to diversify such congregations considerably.

Immigrants from the Global South played a crucial role in
the sister church relationships I profiled, linking coreligionists

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exchanged correspondence with leaders in their partner congregations. The majority of respondents relied so heavily on the availability of airplane travel, cellular telephone communication, electronic mail, and the Internet to sustain their sister church relationships that they believed that any recognizable form of the relationship would not have been possible even a generation ago. Americans are increasingly able to build and sustain connections with people from all over the world, and many American Christians are keen to take advantage of this opportunity. For instance, an estimated 1.6 million American Christians participate in short-term mission trips to another country each year, a staggering leap from previous decades. American participants in sister church relationships redouble this trend, many of them visiting their partner congregations year after year.

Local migration. Sister church relationships are aided not just by transcontinental migratory trends but also by patterns of movement within local communities in the United States. The evolution of American spirituality from “dwelling” to “seeking,” among other factors, has resulted in increased geographic dispersion among church members. Contemporary Americans not only commute to work, they also commute to church. Most North American congregations, whatever their tradition, are now “niche congregations” that cater to a particular set of needs, style of worship, demographic group, or cultural posture rather than functioning as parishes defined by geographic boundaries.

The geographic diffusion of congregational membership and the shift in self-understanding of congregations from parish to niche have left many congregations with no particular sense of belonging or responsibility in their physical neighborhoods. While it is important for congregations to build a shared sense of community and purpose among their members, congregations’ collective sense of “neighborhood” could just as well be international as local for many American congregations. Congregations’ environments are increasingly wide in scope and open-ended in character. Congregations are linked to networks and events across geography and temporal space, bound to the global village through conversations, practices, and structures.

Sister church relationships capitalize on the interpenetrating and reflexive relationship between the global and the local brought on by globalization and the restructuring of North American religion. These relationships are quintessentially local in that two geographically bound communities partner with each other for the sake of ministry that takes place in their respective localities. But they also transcend the boundaries of local communities, countries, and even continents—forging connections that, though they are rooted in congregations and grassroots relationships, are far from local.

The sister church model of mission is uniquely equipped to function in the structural and ideological climate of contemporary American Christianity. The processes of globalization do not preclude the tendency toward empire building in mission, but they do facilitate a salutary sense of cross-cultural interconnectedness and collaboration, which participants in sister church relationships embrace. Sister church relationships are well poised to take advantage of the compression of time and space brought on by globalization. Americans who participate in international congregational partnerships find themselves in an organizational field and a spiritual climate that encourages such participation. American participants in sister church relationships capitalize on the restructuring of American religion by focusing on grassroots initiatives and harnessing practice-oriented spirituality. As they join hands with global southern Christians in mission, they simultaneously steer the course of American religiosity—ensuring its vitality into the future.

Notes
1. In order to comply with federal guidelines for the protection of human subjects, pseudonyms are used throughout this article for all congregations and individuals, excluding public figures.
2. In After Heaven: Spirituality in America Since the 1950s (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998), sociologist Robert Wuthnow identified three types of spirituality and traced their development in American culture. A spirituality of dwelling assumes ascribed religious identity, whereas in a spirituality of seeking religious identity is negotiated and the life of faith is a journey rather than a destination. A spirituality of practice features intentional engagement with activities that deepen relations to the sacred.
11. Ammerman, Pillars of Faith, p. 204.
15. Telephone interviews with author in 2008: by Schmitz (October 14), Shoemaker (September 16), and Friday (May 1).


Theology and Ecumenism: A New Online Focus

The Global Digital Library on Theology and Ecumenism, a multilingual online resource, provides access to more than 200,000 texts and academic documents, with a special focus on intercultural theology and ecumenism, including contextual theologies, world mission and missiology, gender and theology, interreligious dialogue, theological education, and world Christianity. The library is part of a larger online collaboration focused on ethics. The Web site for the Global Digital Library is www.globethics.net/web/gtl.

The library was initiated by the cooperative efforts of Globethics.net Foundation and the Ecumenical Theological Education program of the World Council of Churches (both in Geneva, Switzerland). The objective is to promote “sharing of expertise in theological research and education” and to “counter some of the imbalances at work in the present state of world Christianity and theological education systems worldwide.”

The launch of the Global Digital Library on Theology and Ecumenism (GlobeTheoLib) in 2011 followed several consultations and a workshop in Geneva, held in September 2010. A number of religious bodies are member institutions (see www.globethics.net/web/gtl/consortium-and-structure), including the All Africa Conference of Churches, the Anglican Communion, the Christian Conference of Asia, the Conference of Orthodox Theological Schools, the Forum of Asian Theological Librarians, the Foundation for Theological Education in South East Asia, the Latin American Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, the World Conference of Associations of Theological Institutions, the World Methodist Council, and the Senate of Serampore College (University), India.

A related larger database, Global Digital Library on Ethics (GlobEthicsLib), was launched in October 2008. It provides access to more than half a million full-text documents. Access the full-text holdings of both GlobeTheoLib and GlobEthicsLib at www.globethics.net/web/ge/library/overall-search.

The Globethics.net umbrella group was founded to give “more equal access to knowledge resources” in the field of applied ethics, which will enable persons and institutions from “developing and transition economies” to become “more visible and audible in the global discourse” on ethics. Individuals may use the library without cost. They need only to register on the Web site to access the library’s full-text journals, encyclopedias, e-books, and other resources.

GlobeTheoLib participants may join or form electronic working groups for networking and collaborative research. Two such groups are:

- The quadrennial conference of the Forum of Asian Theological Librarians (www.foratl.org) was held April 10–13, 2012, at Silliman University, Dumagute, Philippines. Heads of theological libraries from ten Asian countries spent half of the conference time on GlobeTheoLib. Commitments are being developed to integrate online content from Asia, such as master’s and doctoral theses, and to allocate part of each library’s acquisitions budget to online content.
- The Fifth ISBEE World Congress (isbee2012.kozmiski.edu.pl) is scheduled for July 11–14, 2012, at Kozminski University, a nonprofit business school in Warsaw, Poland. This International Society of Business, Economics, and Ethics conference will provide a forum for business executives and academicians “to grapple with some of the most pressing ethical problems facing businesses all over the world.”

Additionally, GlobeTheoLib connects existing open-access repositories, using a list of relevant keywords in several languages, and makes commercial content available. It offers partner institutions and other registered participants the opportunity to submit their own documents to the online library and to build specialized collections. In an effort to give greater exposure to resources on theology and ecumenism from all parts of the world, and especially to those from the Global South, GlobeTheoLib, in partnership with a service provider, provides a platform for publishing electronic journals.
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Changes in African American Mission: Rediscovering African Roots

Mark Ellingsen

The African American church has a rich but often neglected heritage of foreign missionary work. In this article I explore how this heritage changed in the twentieth century, especially with reference to the missionary focus of the major historic denominations of the black church, with special attention given to its premier accredited seminary, the Interdenominational Theological Center, in Atlanta, Georgia.

Before 1910 and for decades later, as in most segments of American Christianity, Protestant missions in the black church were carried on with relatively little cultural sensitivity and tolerance for existing indigenous religions on the mission field (especially those of Africa). But a combination of new mission trends with roots in the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, subsequent calls for a moratorium on missions, and the turbulence of the years after the Second World War affected all of American Protestantism (especially the so-called mainline churches) in ways that changed its approach to missions. Although developments in the African American churches share some of these trends, the cultural revolutions of the 1960s (especially the civil rights and black power movements) helped to create a new approach to foreign missions, especially missions in Africa and among the African diaspora.

Nineteenth-Century African American Missions

African American foreign missionaries have a rich history. From 1833 to 1875 the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church enlisted ninety-seven American-born missionaries for the Liberia Mission, and in the mid-1850s they stopped sending white missionaries. Francis Burns (1808–63) was the first of the ninety-seven. Other early missionaries who, like Burns, were well educated included George S. Brown, John L. Morris, Philip Coker, and Lucinda Harris, as well as Eunice Sharpe, the first Methodist female missionary to Liberia. The focus of these missionaries was on the immigrants to Liberia, clearly held this common view. It was his sense of mission that gave rise to the predominantly white missionary establishment. George S. Brown, an early black missionary commissioned by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in 1821 and was active in mission work in Liberia by 1824. He was joined by Collin Teague. Earlier, black Baptist missionaries began missionary work in the Bahamas, and in 1872 George Liele, the first ordained black Baptist minister in America, began work in Jamaica.

In 1886 the Women’s American Baptist Foreign Mission Society appointed Louise (Lula) Celestia Fleming (1862–99) to serve as a missionary to the Congo. She was the first black woman appointed for full-time service by that organization, serving as a nurse and then medical doctor in the Congo until 1899. And black Baptists in the Baptist Foreign Mission Convention of the United States sent William Colley and other missionaries to Liberia in 1883.

Worldview of the Early Black Missionaries

Almost all of the early missionaries considered their efforts to be aimed at “redemption of Africa,” a viewpoint similar to that held by the predominantly white missionary establishment. George S. Brown, an early black missionary commissioned by the Methodist Episcopal Church, characterized the natives of Liberia as “indolent, poor, and ignorant.”

Alexander Crummell, a nineteenth-century black Episcopal missionary to Liberia, clearly held this common view. It was his opinion that the peoples of African descent required “civilization”—that is, an education like that received by refined Anglo-Saxons. He argued that “Gospel Missions are the only hope of the heathen of Africa ever becoming civilized.”

Such views appear in a report of the General Conference Committee on Missions to the 1860 General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church: “Looking over the world,
we see Africa and her teeming millions, still enshrouded in pagan night, with only here and there a gospel light illuminating the dense darkness; we recommend this field to the notice of the General Conference.”

10 Crummell also wrote that if Africa “is ever regenerated, the influences and agencies to this end must come from external sources. Civilization... never springs up, spontaneously, in any new land. It must be transplanted.” Furthermore, “The hand of God is on the black man, in all the lands of his distant sojourn, for the good of Africa. This continent is to be reclaimed for Christ. The faith of Jesus is to supersede all the abounding desolations of heathendom.”

Many in the missionary establishment in the first decades of the twentieth century were influenced by the educational and business approach of Tuskegee Institute and Booker T. Washington’s philosophy of black advancement through American capitalist development. Washington and his private secretary initiated various agricultural training programs in German West Africa (now Togo) and Liberia prior to 1915. British colonial policies in Africa were notably shaped by these ventures. Under the leadership of Tuskegee president Robert R. Moat, the institute emerged as a model for educational systems of British colonial Africa. The Tuskegee philosophy of American capitalist development, coupled with support from white philanthropy, exerted increasing influence on many African American missionaries to the motherland, a significant number of whom were trained on the campus or in this philosophy. This in turn had the impact of nurturing missionaries who were rather conservative in their challenges to the European colonial system, regarding it as a temporary stage necessary to unify Africans and “civilize” them.

Related to these dynamics is the impact that American educational systems had on university education in Africa. This happened in two ways—by the generations of young Africans who came to the United States to study in black church-related colleges, and by the impact American educational models had on the educational institutions evolving in West Africa.

Most of the African American Christian intelligentsia of this era held an attitude of disrespect for indigenous African culture and tended to link the missionary enterprise to Westernization. We see these values reflected in a student essay prize awarded by Wilberforce University to AME member Carrie Lee, who referred to Africa as “a barbarous piece of humanity, speaking an odd language and as wild as the beasts that make their abode there.” Africans’ only hope, she contended, was missionary operations to the motherland, a significant number of whom were trained on the campus or in this philosophy. This in turn had the impact of nurturing missionaries who were rather conservative in their challenges to the European colonial system, regarding it as a temporary stage necessary to unify Africans and “civilize” them.

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The Input of Edinburgh 1910

Given the generally critical portrayal in black church circles of Africa, its culture, and its spirituality, the conclusions drawn by the 1910 World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh are hardly surprising. The most relevant segment of the literature produced by the conference is its Commission IV report, which pertains to the relation between Christianity and other religions, drawn up on the basis of responses to questionnaires sent to experts and missionaries in the field.

African (and Native American) religions are largely grouped together in the report under the category “animism.” Such religions believe that humans, plants, and animals have souls and that some of these entities may be ranked as deities. They are religions based on fear, the report contends. In contrast to the report’s analysis of Islam and Eastern religions, pejorative assessments of this religious orientation and its associated cultural practices abound: animistic peoples usually stand on a low stage of human development.

Reference is made to the problems “created by the social character of tribal life” (p. 16). The religions of these cultures are said to offer no religious help, to be morally deficient (pp. 10, 12–13, 36). Those dissatisfied with such traditional religions are praised for being the most intelligent members of their communities (pp. 17–18), for in the view of some of the missionary respondents on which the report was based, these African religions are evil (p. 23). Granted, the report does refer to points of contact between these religions and the Gospel, but no combination of Christianity and indigenous religions is deemed possible, and no support is given to the thought that Christianity is only one religion among others or that all religions are simply different ways of seeking the one God (p. 24).

It may be significant in understanding this report that, though between six and eight of the delegates were African American, no African Americans were present at the conference as delegates. (Besides African American delegates representing the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention and the Foreign Missionary Society of the AME Zion Church, two African Americans were present as part of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church.) Though in some respects the Edinburgh report did sketch progressive directions reflected in the strate-
gies and techniques of today’s missionary establishment, its largely critical view of African spirituality and culture embodies the old missionary paradigm that the African American church had to deal with before the civil rights era, if not still today.

Changing Times

It is interesting to note that just after the time of the Edinburgh conference and the First World War, a new appreciation of traditional African religions began to emerge among some African Christians as shown in the development of African Independent Churches.21 The growth and significance of these trends, along with a growing sense of African pride, nurtured by the success of African independent movements after the Second World War, had an influence on the new scholarly vision of missions in American Protestantism. The seed planted at Edinburgh of the vision of some non-Christian religions serving as “points of contact” with the Word, especially as this insight was mediated to some African American missions scholars through the work of Rudolf Otto, also contributed to formation of a new ethos.22 At least some of the leaders in the development of a new view of missions and African culture in the African American church found Otto’s view of religion especially useful in developing their own approach toward the religions of the world. Otto’s understanding of the emotional character of religion, of the numinous, is a vision of religion that black scholars can own, insofar as the emotional component is typically very significant in their expression of Christianity.23 The civil rights era promoted freedom in many ways. Black pride and “black is beautiful” have been important sociocultural legacies of the Martin Luther King movement, and these legacies clearly inform African American Christian perspectives on missions today. Linked with this fresh sense of black pride has been the development of renewed appreciation of African roots (evidenced in “black” becoming “African American”). This in turn has significantly changed instructional practices in several

Noteworthy

Announcing

“Rooted in the Word—Engaged in the World” is the theme for the fifteenth International Consultation for Theological Educators, sponsored by the International Council for Evangelical Theological Education (ICETE), October 15–19, 2012, in Nairobi, Kenya. Christopher Wright of Langham Partnership, Douglas Birdsall of the Lausanne Movement, David Baer of Overseas Council, and Geoffrey Tunnicliffe of the World Evangelical Alliance will be the conference leaders. ICETE consultations gather leaders in evangelical theological education from around the world for professional interaction and reflection. For details, go to www.icete-edu.org or http://icete.wordpress.com.

The Institute of English Literature at Zhejiang University, the Institute of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies at the University of Copenhagen, and the Department of History at the University of Durham invite scholars to an international symposium, Sinology and Sino-Foreign Cultural Relations and Exchanges, to be held in Hangzhou, China, November 14–16, 2012. Lauren Pfister, director of the Centre for Sino-Christian Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University, and Xiaoxin Wu, director of the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, will be keynote speakers. For details, e-mail sinoforeign2012@sina.com.

Sponsored by Mission Training International, Palmer Lake, Colorado (www.mti/mhm.htm), the 2012 Mental Health and Missions Conference will meet November 15–18 in Angola, Indiana. The annual gathering seeks to provide mutual encouragement and professional development for mental health professionals active in the care of Christian cross-cultural workers.

“Relations Between East Asia and the United States in the Nineteenth Century” is the theme of an international symposium to be held December 14–17, 2012, in memory of Samuel Wells Williams, an important figure in relations between East Asia and the United States in the nineteenth century. Williams, one of the earliest missionaries to China, was the first university professor of sinology in the United States. Hosted by the Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU), the symposium is sponsored by BFSU’s Research Center of Overseas Sinology, by the Institute for Cultural Interaction Studies of Kansai University, Osaka, Japan, and by the Macau Foundation. For details, go to www.csrshu.edu.cn.

InterVarsity Christian Fellowship will hold its twenty-third Urban Student Missions Conference December 27–31, 2012, at the America’s Center Convention Complex, St. Louis, Missouri. Thousands of college-age participants will be challenged by mission leaders and pastors, meet with hundreds of mission organization representatives, attend focused seminars, study the Bible inductively with other students, and consider mission as a career and a lifestyle. For details, go to http://urbana.org.

The 2012 New Wilmington Mission Conference, a multigenerational Presbyterian Church (USA)–related conference (nwmcmission.org) that attracts youth ages 12 to 24, will be held July 21–28 at Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania.


A Master of Arts in Christian Theology with a mission emphasis will be offered beginning in September 2012 through the Cambridge Theological Federation, Cambridge, England. The “mission pathway” is designed for those who “wish to reflect on a variety of mission practices in Britain and across the globe, informed by the disciplines of apologetics and biblical studies,” according to Emma Wild-Wood, director of the Henry Martyn Centre, Westminster College, Cambridge. The “Mission in Context” module will provide an overview of contemporary mission studies, including inculturation, prophetic dialogue, and fresh expressions. The
noting their church-political and sociocultural contexts. The developments of course cannot be understood apart from missions education in the black church. These curricular missions over the years provide excellent insight into trends in Reconstruction. The changes in its curricular approach to six historic African American seminaries, three with roots Theological Center. Located in Atlanta, the Center is a cluster of six historic African American seminaries, three with roots in Reconstruction. The changes in its curricular approach to missions over the years provide excellent insight into trends in missions education in the black church. These curricular developments of course cannot be understood apart from noting their church-political and sociocultural contexts. The following case study offers rich, insider insights about the black church in America and its changing attitudes toward missionary work.

The largest founding constituent of the Interdenominational Theological Center was Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, whose curriculum, including its mission courses, largely shaped the Center’s first curriculum. At the Center, chartered in 1958, the first instructor of missions was Josephus Coan, eminent AME missionary to South Africa and graduate of Yale Divinity School. Coan was sensitive to the uniqueness of the African American perspective on church life and missions, and he also gave attention to other religions. In teaching world religions, however, Coan and his colleague Darius Swann gave no special emphasis to traditional African religions.

While serving as a missionary in South Africa, Coan displayed a liberation orientation. Being concerned with “development,” he urged people not to become content with inequality but to set new standards. In his view, faith could lift one above

new degree is being accredited by Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge and Chelmsford. For more information, e-mail Wild-Wood at ew273@cam.ac.uk.


Personalia

Appointed. Nancy D. Arnison as executive director of the Theological Book Network, Grand Rapids, Michigan, as of April 26, 2012. Arnison succeeds Kurt Berends, who founded the organization and led it for the past ten years. He will lead the Issachar Fund Initiative, a Christian foundation that provides grants and programming for scholars and church groups to engage in dialogue with leaders of today’s scientific culture. Arnison served as interim vice president of programs and protection for the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service. Before that, she directed the World Hunger Program for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America for five years. The network she leads (www.theologicalbooknetwork.org) helps underfunded institutions to develop theologically trained clergy, church leaders, and academics worldwide.

Appointed. Najeeb G. Awad, lecturer at Göttingen University, as associate professor of Christian theology, Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut, effective August 1, 2012. Born in Latakia, Syria, Awad is lecturer in systematic and contextual/intercultural theology at Göttingen University and at the Evangelisch-Lutherische Missionsseminar, Hermannsburg, Germany. Previously, he taught systematic theology and Christian doctrine at the Near East School of Theology, Beirut, Lebanon, and lectured on Protestant theology at Université La Sagesse, Faculté des Sciences Ecclesiæs, Beirut. Awad also was director of youth ministry and chair of the Religious Work Committee for the Reformed Churches of Syria, the National Evangelical Synod of Syria and Lebanon. In addition to books of poetry in Arabic, he has published three works in theology, including God Without a Face? On the Personal Individuation of the Holy Spirit (2011), and has completed a contextual theology manuscript on the Arab Spring and the role of Arab Christians in the future of the Near East.

Appointed. Grant LeMarquand, missiologist, professor of biblical studies and mission, Trinity School for Ministry, Ambridge, Pennsylvania, as the Anglican area bishop for the Horn of Africa. He was consecrated for the new post on April 25, 2012, at All Saints Cathedral, Cairo, Egypt, and will be installed on October 27, 2012, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Prior to joining the Trinity faculty fourteen years ago, he taught at St. Paul’s United Theological College, Limuru, Kenya. A priest of the Anglican Church of Canada, LeMarquand is coeditor of Theological Education in Contemporary Africa (2004). He and his wife, Wendy, plan to move to Gambella, Ethiopia. Mouneer Hanna Anis, bishop of the Episcopal/Anglican Diocese of Egypt with North Africa and the Horn of Africa, and president bishop of the Province of Jerusalem and the Middle East (www.dioceseofegypt.org), announced LeMarquand’s appointment in December.

Retiring. Daniel H. Bays, professor of history and director of the Asian Studies Program, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, in summer 2012. An IBM contributor, Bays moved to Calvin in 2000 after twenty-nine years on the faculty of the University of Kansas, where he was twice chair of the History Department and was director of the Center for East Asian Studies. His research on the development of Christianity in China during the past 150 years helped to develop an entirely new subfield of modern Chinese history. A book Bays edited, Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present (1996), was considered a watershed volume in the field. He coedited The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home (2003) and China’s Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900–1950 (2009) and is the author of A New History of Christianity in China (2011).
oppression. The heart of his theology included the classic themes of evangelism and mission.

Coan’s successor as mission instructor was George Thomas, who came to the Interdenominational Theological Center in 1969, first to teach church and society, and later to teach world missions and evangelism. Thomas later changed his legal name to Ndugu T’Ofori-Atta, reflecting a personal focus on Afrocentrism. T’Ofori-Atta self-consciously related the Center’s missions program to Pan-Africanism, not just in the classroom, but programmatically, with the establishment in 1969 of a new program called Religious Heritage of the African World. This program has functioned as a clearinghouse and communications center for conducting research and documenting meetings for the various religious heritages with roots in Africa.

In the classroom, T’Ofori-Atta focused on African religions when teaching the course World Missions and Evangelism, though not to the exclusion of the classical approach to missions. During his tenure the course World Religions was mandated by a new curriculum, and this requirement continues to expose all students at the Center to the religions of Africa. Textbooks

We can talk about the evolution of a new model of mission in the African American church since Edinburgh.

T’Ofori-Atta used in this course were ones devoted to African religions rather than to missionary strategies per se. He noted that major influences on his thought had been the scholarship of John Mbti (through correspondence and Mbti’s visits to the Center) and his own studies of African Independent Churches.

In the classroom, T’Ofori-Atta’s successors have largely followed his lead. His protégée Marsha Snalligan Haney affirms her continuity with his heritage, adding to his thinking more express attention to the role of religion in nurturing ethnic cohesion. She attributes her focus on the value and authenticity of African religions as a fundamental supposition for missions to her experience as T’Ofori-Atta’s student and her own exposure to indigenous African religions. The required courses she teaches thus focus on African religions, though not to the exclusion of what she terms “classical approaches” to mission and a preoccupation with Christ. In fact, Haney seeks a middle ground, one affirming the common good shared by all religions (including the communal nature of life, which the African ontology stresses), while still witnessing to Christ and creating opportunities for conversion to Christian faith. She is very concerned that, although she views Christianity as having a “fuller revelation” than other religions, we not negate the beliefs of African religions. In fact, she acknowledges her readiness to affirm the common good of religion more than Christianity’s uniqueness. Affirming a statement of the international Reformed-Pentecostal dialogue, in which she participated, Haney contends that it is possible to accept the idea that salvation might be found outside Christ, that “though we cannot point to any other way of salvation than Jesus Christ, at the same time we cannot set limits on God.”

She adds that she does not insist that students accept her own view of the fuller revelation found in Christianity as a necessary outcome of her courses. She also recognizes that her approach to missions bears affinities with missionary scholarship since Edinburgh and its idea of points of contact between the Christian faith and other religions. In the tradition of her mentor, Haney urges the black church to stress such contact points, devoting more attention to African spiritual elements than the establishment does.

The Bigger Picture

Next we need to survey black theological education more broadly in order to determine whether the emphases of the Interdenominational Theological Center characterize other seminaries and the African American church in general.

Curricular developments in mission classes in other historic black seminaries largely parallel the trends in the Center’s history. At Howard Divinity School (Washington, D.C.) and at Payne Theological Seminary (Wilberforce, Ohio), no course in world missions is required. The seminaries, however, seem to have different reasons for this curricular decision. At Howard, a required course in world religions seems to have replaced a course in missions. At Payne, neither a course in world religions nor courses about indigenous African religions have taken the place of missiological instruction. Evidently the failure to offer such courses (other than a single elective in Islam) stems from there being no one on the faculty for over a decade with an interest or expertise in these subjects. It is not clear, however, whether Payne’s failure to deal with this subject is related to the black church’s breaking with older paradigms of missiology or whether other factors are involved.

Hood Theological Seminary (Salisbury, N.C.) has a required course in missiology, one with a stronger “how to” approach to the discipline than is true of courses at the Interdenominational Theological Center. Although assigned readings in the course do not deal with African religions, in the best traditions of the black church (and along with parallel courses at the Center), missions and evangelism are seen as including social justice and economic uplift. In addition, the Hood faculty member teaching the course introduces students to what he calls the “new paradigm” in missions, which involves an appreciation of the need to conserve and acknowledge the culture in which mission is taking place. If Christ establishes roots, it must be in the culture in which people reside. Very much in line with the viewpoint of colleagues teaching the required missions courses at the Interdenominational Theological Center, mission courses at Hood Seminary aim to help students gain an appreciation that God is bigger than Christianity, that other religions (including those of Africa) can be ways of finding God and salvation.

The model for the study of missions at the Interdenominational Theological Center clearly has parallels in other historic black seminaries. In that sense we can talk about the evolution of a new model of missions in the African American church since Edinburgh. We conclude our study with data indicating a tension on the mission fields between this newer model and the older model, as implemented by some African American denominations.

Tensions Between Missionary Visions

We begin our study of the black church’s actual missionary agenda by considering the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first and oldest historic black denomination. Until recently, it seems that this denomination continued to follow the older model,
for it appointed only American bishops to serve in its overseas dioceses. Recently, however, it has appointed three indigenous bishops in Africa. AME’s focus is not so much on seeking points of contact with the indigenous religions of Africa, viewing them as authentic expressions of faith, as it is on bringing people to Jesus. Yet echoes of the Edinburgh agenda of encouraging missionary work to become self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating seem to be reflected in the AME vision of establishing self-sufficient, self-sustaining churches. George Flowers, executive director of the AME Global Witness and Ministry Department, notes that the AME constituency supports not only the establishing of self-sustaining churches but also the demonstrating of concern for the physical well-being of the Africans who receive this ministry.35

The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (CME) also seems to reflect many of the suppositions of the AME in its work in Africa. In fact, missionary work there occurs only insofar as existing Christian communities invite CME to begin working among them. As a result, CME missionaries rarely encounter people still living in indigenous cultures with their original religions. But when they do, their goal is to convert the indigenous people to Christianity, though in such a way that they can maintain their indigenous spirituality. It was also noted by W. C. Champion, general secretary of the CME Department of Evangelism and Missions, that the denomination’s laity strongly supports these policies, especially when the church seeks to build schools.36

T’Ofori-Atta believed that at least in his own AME Zion Church there would be support in the pews for an approach to mission that appreciated traditional African religions, such as characterizes his seminary and the black academy in general. Institutional dynamics work, however, to keep the mission work of historic African American denominations locked into the more classical models of mission work (i.e., saving souls).37 T’Ofori-Atta’s intuition was supported by Kermit DeGraffenreidt, secretary of the denomination’s Department of Overseas Missions and Missionary Seer. In a conversation he noted that the church presently had no American missionaries in Africa and that all support for missions went to indigenous leadership, who could more effectively do missions in their own context. He believed that the constituency supported his view and the department’s practice of seeking common areas between Christianity and other African religions, that the issue is how one treats the other, since the differences between these religions and Christianity are perhaps not as great as one might think.38 T’Ofori-Atta’s assessment of the openness of his denomination to the approach to missions prevailing at the Interdenominational Theological Center makes it seem on target. It is interesting to note that this more progressive approach to missions is endorsed by one of the two historic denominations that participated formally in the 1910 Edinburgh conference.

The story of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention of America, the other black denomination with official representation at the 1910 Edinburgh conference, is somewhat different. Eric Brown, administrator of the board, notes that the primary function of his organization is to support indigenous leadership of independent Baptist churches.39 In the best traditions of the African American church, this support frequently takes the form of economic and educational ventures. But in accord with older models of mission work, Brown notes that the aim of this work is to bring people to Christ. Though personally open to indigenization, Brown sees some of the teachings of indigenous religions as contradicting the Gospel and needing to be criticized.

Their goal is to convert the indigenous people to Christianity, though in such a way that they can maintain their indigenous spirituality.

He is confident that the average Baptist supporter of the Foreign Mission Board approves of the board’s directions and policies. But this support, he suspects, may be a function of the fact that few members of the National Baptist Convention would want to take up missionary work in Africa, the Caribbean, or South America (where the denomination works). Indeed, the mission board would be open to sending Americans to these foreign sites (presumably as evangelists).

Such comments suggest that the National Baptist Convention leadership in fact embraces the old, even pre-Edinburgh model of black missionary work. This conclusion is further supported by another comment Brown made, as he indicated that the Convention’s mission work might be enhanced with Americans because of what they could bring to the mission fields. Perhaps in some tension with the Interdenominational Theological Center model of missions (also clearly implied in the Howard curriculum), Brown wants seminaries to train Americans for mission who believe that we need to bring Christ to people who do not know him.40 In Brown’s mind, Christ is clearly not present in African religions.

This brief survey of what is happening in the mission field and in the missionary establishment of the black church makes it clear that the Afrocentric models of missions taught in the black academy (notably at the Interdenominational Theological Center) have not been unambiguously accepted by the bureaucracy of the black church (with the possible exception of AME Zion). In the final analysis, perhaps in the tension between older models of mission in the black church and the newer vision of its seminaries, we can speak today about a tension in African American churches between saving the world for Christ and preserving or honoring the ethnic cohesion of African cultural institutions which, at least since the colonial era if not before, may be interpreted as having always embodied the suffering Christ.41

Notes
author notes that most black missionaries acted mostly as assistants to whites (p. xvi).
4. For this assessment, see Williams, Black Americans, p. 29.
15. Williams, Black Americans, p. 179.
17. For these sources, see Donald F. Roth, “The ‘Black Man’s Burden’: The Racial Background of Afro-American Missionaries and Africa,” in Black Americans, ed. Jacobs, pp. 37, 34.
20. World Missionary Conference, 1910, p. 13. (Subsequent page numbers in the text refer to this report.)
23. For this assessment I am indebted to my late emeritus colleague Ndugu T’Ofori-Atta, personal interview, November 6, 2009.
29. For details on the program, see Henry and Ellingsen, Making Black Ecumenism Happen, p. 80.
34. Dansokho, telephone interview.
37. T’Ofori-Atta, personal interview.
40. Ibid.
41. This article benefited from the numerous opportunities I had to converse with colleagues Marsha Snellivan Haney and the late Ndugu T’Ofori-Atta. They along with the missions faculty or administrators of the other institutions analyzed as well as the numerous denominational directors of global mission work whom I interviewed approved its content.

Six Thousand Koreans Expected in Chicago Area for Global Mission Conferences

At least six thousand Koreans from around the world are expected July 20–27 in the Chicago area for the quadrennial Korean World Mission Conference (KWMC, www.kwmc.com). The event commences with a three-day conference exclusively for missionaries, continues July 23 with a Korean-language conference that is open to everyone, and includes the 2012 Global Korean Young Adult Mission Festival (GKYM, gkym.org/xe/?mid=Chicago), an English-language movement that encourages second-generation North American Korean young adults to “finish the missional task to reach the unreached, unengaged people groups of the world.” The KWMC and GKYM participants will join together for a closing celebration of God’s mission. Most of the events will be held at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois. Members and pastors of the estimated 3,500 Korean churches in the United States are being invited to attend KWMC and GKYM.

The speakers for these combined conferences include Douglas Birdsall, The Lausanne Movement; Seung Sam Kang, Korean World Mission Association; Todd M. Johnson, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary; Jung-Hyun Oh, SaRang Community Church, Seoul; Loren Cunningham, Youth With A Mission; Ha Joong Kim, former ambassador of South Korea to China; author and pastor John Piper; and Yong Ye Kim, World Mobile Mission.
Broadly conceived, the field of Wesley studies goes back to the early nineteenth century. Many scholars today regard most of the early works about John (1703–91) and Charles (1707–88) Wesley and about the rise and spread of Methodism in eighteenth-century England as a mixture of history and hagiography. This way of characterizing early Wesley studies is understandable, for Methodist clergy were responsible for much of this work. They were sincere in wanting to provide an accurate account of their own history, providing as much factual information as was readily available to them. At the same time, they unapologetically focused on and even embellished the most inspiring and theologically potent aspects of the story they were attempting to tell. For example, they routinely played up things like the providential rescue of the five-year-old John Wesley from the Epworth rectory fire, Wesley’s doubting whether he really had faith in God in the face of a violent storm on the high seas during his missionary journey to Georgia, Wesley’s heart-warming conversion experience on Aldersgate Street, and his calm assurance and peacefulness in his last days on earth. Written through and for the eyes of faith, these stories and others like them became familiar among Methodists, providing them with a deep sense that Methodism was a matter of special divine providence and that John Wesley’s spiritual pilgrimage was something of a blueprint for the Christian life. Thus not a few Methodists across the centuries, having internalized these stories, have undertaken similar journeys from the spiritual darkness of doubt and uncertainty to the warm light of assurance and of grace and peace in the face of death.

Critical Studies of Methodism

Whatever function these early works on the Wesleys and the rise of Methodism may have had in the religious lives of Methodists, historians in the mid-twentieth century increasingly questioned the value of these works for historical inquiry and knowledge. By the 1960s, scholars were calling for and working to develop a more “critical” account of the life of John Wesley and the rise and spread of Methodism in eighteenth-century England. Today, Wesley studies experts often trace the emergence of this more critical perspective to the 1964 publication of John Wesley (Oxford Univ. Press, Library of Protestant Thought), by Methodist theologian Albert C. Outler. Less frequently noted but no less important, scholars outside Methodism have begun paying more attention to John Wesley and to the rise and spread of Methodism in the last twenty-five years. Finally, Richard P. Heitzenrater’s two-volume The Elusive Mr. Wesley (1984), a work designed in part to identify the hagiographic and mythological elements in the early Wesley biographies, also helped to solidify a critical consciousness in Wesley studies.

Four recent developments within critical Wesley studies are especially worth noting. First, they have become a highly sophisticated domain of inquiry, exemplifying the highest critical standards in intellectual, social, political, and material history, as well as sociology, theology, and even relatively new disciplines such as rhetorical criticism and cultural studies. Second, in Henry Rack’s Reasonable Enthusiast (1989; 3rd ed., 2002) we now have a first-rate critical biography of John Wesley. Third, Charles Wesley has at long last begun to receive the attention from scholars that he deserves. Fourth, a growing number of scholars have begun to contextualize the critical study of the Wesleys and of early Methodism within the political and social framework of the so-called long eighteenth century and within the wider parameters of trans-Atlantic revivalism.

Despite the phenomenal work of the last fifty years, a significant gap remains in the literature. Few scholarly works deal with the history of the reception of the Wesleys outside their native eighteenth-century Anglican context. That is, we lack good critical studies of how the Wesleys have functioned in world Methodism. Scholars have been so preoccupied with the quest for the historical Wesleys that they have failed to develop sustained inquiry into the roles the Wesleys have played across the centuries in world Methodism.

Consider, for example, the scholarly literature on American Methodism, which has flourished in the last twenty-five years. We have a fast-growing scholarly literature on a wide range of topics, including the relationship between American Methodism and American culture, the involvement of American Methodists in American politics, American Methodists and race, American Methodists and gender, and the like. And yet with two very important exceptions, serious scholarly studies of the ways in which the Wesleys have functioned in American Methodism are lacking.

Looking beyond American Methodism, we see a greater problem, for scholarly study of Methodism outside the United States is just now getting under way. One reason is that scholars of American Methodism have concentrated most of their attention on the early period—from the founding of American Methodism in the late eighteenth century up through the Civil War. As a result, the energy in the scholarly study of American Methodism has until very recently dropped off at precisely the time when the global transmission of Methodism via American Methodist missions really began to accelerate.

Broader Studies of World Methodism

Fortunately there is now a nascent but fast-growing body of scholarship that is pushing the scholarly study of Methodism beyond the boundaries of eighteenth-century England and early America. Some of these works provide an overview of world Methodism, focusing on statistical data, including the number

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of Methodist churches, members, and clergy in various world areas. They also provide a measure of historical data related to the beginning of Methodism in various countries, including the names of the earliest missionaries and indigenous leaders. A second group, small but growing, considers Methodism in particular countries or regions of the world. Third, we have a growing number of scholars who work devoted to Methodist missions, notably the seven-volume United Methodist History of Mission series, published 2003–5, sponsored by the United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries. Finally, we have works by non-Western Methodist theologians who seek to articulate Wesleyan theological vision on behalf of the Methodist movement or churches in their own countries or regions.

Given the present state of the literature, the aim of this article is to provide an account of the role of John and Charles Wesley in world Methodism. My account is admittedly preliminary and thus needs to be confirmed or disconfirmed by more extensive global field research. My thesis is that, historically speaking, the global transmission of Methodism took place within two horizons simultaneously, namely, the horizon of (1) the modern missionary movement and (2) trans-Atlantic revivalism—in particular, the second Great Awakening and the Holiness and Pentecostal movements. That is, insofar as the Wesleys have been influential in world Methodism, their influence has been mediated by the complex cultures of these two horizons.

What does this hypothesis entail? As Methodist missionaries introduced the Wesleys in various areas of the world, the Wesleys that they portrayed are precisely those that Wesley scholars in the latter third of the twentieth century have worked diligently to deconstruct, namely, the Wesleys of the early hagiographic period in Wesley studies. In other words, the stories about the Wesleys that Methodist missionaries are most likely to have known and passed along are precisely those that were most beloved (and often embellished) by early Methodist clergy-scholars, simply because the global transmission of Methodism generally preceded the rise of critical Wesley studies detailed above. Consequently, the hagiographic Wesleys were the only Wesleys that the vast majority of Methodist missionaries ever knew.

For historians whose work revolves around discovering the real, historical Wesleys, this may be a lamentable situation. Indeed, it may even serve as a deterrent to the ongoing research that is so desperately needed. Why would anyone want to study the global dissemination of the hagiographic Wesleys in lieu of joining the quest for the real Wesleys? Why study the Wesleys of faith when we need to fully unearth the Wesleys of history?

The Wesleys in Worldwide Methodist Missions

While the temptation may be strong to limit critical Wesley studies to the study of John and Charles in eighteenth-century England, another kind of history waits to be written. In fact, we now have an abundance of scholarship related to the Wesleys in their eighteenth-century context, but not nearly enough about their role in the history of worldwide Methodist missions. Scholars have spent an enormous amount of time and energy showing how twice-told tales have obscured the past but not nearly enough investigating how these tales have been instrumental in opening a future.

As scholars explore more deeply the role of the Wesleys in world Methodism, my thesis is that they will discover that the Wesleys have functioned (and in many quarters continue to function) primarily not as great theologians but as saints of the church. Scholars will find that when Methodist missionaries spoke of the Wesleys, they held them up as exemplars of the Christian life and of Christian living. In the global transmission of Methodism, the lives of the Wesleys have been mediated by the complex cultures of the modern missionary movement, revivalism, and the Holiness and Pentecostal movements. We will not be surprised, then, if we find that Methodist missionaries have held up the Wesleys as exemplars of evangelistic and missionary zeal—as tireless in their efforts to spread the Gospel. Similarly, scholars should not be surprised if they discover that Methodist missionaries promoted the Wesleys as masters of organization for the sake of mission, or as exemplars of a pattern of Christian living that progresses from sincere repentance to the new birth, assurance, the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit, a longing for holiness, and ultimately Christian perfection. Finally, scholars should not be surprised if the story about young John being rescued from the Epworth rectory fire turns out to be a favorite in some quarters, conveying as it does a robust sense of special divine providence that can be readily extended to the larger Methodist movement today.

My point here is that while the early, embellished stories of the Wesleys make for bad history, there is also a sense in which they can help to make history by shaping religious identities. Thus I suspect that the Wesleys’ role in world Methodism, both historically and presently, above all concerns the ways in which the popular stories about their lives have helped to shape an understanding of the Christian life in which three things are paradigmatic: conversion, evangelistic and missionary zeal, and a life of humble and joyful obedience before God. These stories, I suspect, may actually help to account for the rapid spread of Methodism in many world areas. Within the complex cultures of the modern missionary movement, revivalism, and the Holiness and Pentecostal movements, the Wesleys have functioned primarily as exemplars of a form of Christian piety that demands replication.

I am not at all suggesting that scholars should cease to think critically when they research the Wesleys’ role in world Methodism. Rather, as they do so, they must be on guard against accepting a set of hagiographic tales involving empire and eschatology. The former has figured in recent discussions of the global transmission of Christianity; the latter, in recent discussions of revivalism and the Holiness and Pentecostal movements. For example, because the modern missionary movement occurred more or less simultaneously with the spread of European (and later American) political and economic hegemony, scholars have often assumed that missionaries were, at the very least, unwitting agents of imperialism and empire, spreading political and economic doctrines alongside the Gospel. Recent studies, however, have questioned this assumption, asking whether missionaries were entirely lacking in self-critical awareness with respect to the political and economic aspirations of the empires to which they belonged and which they therefore represented. Along these lines, there is a growing need to investigate whether the vision
of the Christian life that Methodist missionaries transmitted globally might actually have contained within it crucial resources for resisting the trappings of empires and whether Methodist missionaries recognized these resources and appropriated them in self-critical ways.28

With respect to revivalism and the Holiness and Pentecostal movements, there is a need for a fresh, critical examination of standard accounts of Methodist eschatology. Fortunately, this work is already under way, as scholars are rediscovering the intense political and social activism of people who were neck deep in revivalism, awakening, and the Holiness and Pentecostal movements.29 For example, people who embraced premillennialism also advocated prohibition, and they did so for political and social reasons. That is, there is reason to challenge the view that premillennialism led to a form of Christianity in which the expectation of the imminent return of Christ left Christians tone-deaf to social concerns.

In conclusion, I call attention to some anecdotal evidence for my thesis about the Wesleys’ role in world Methodism, both historically and in the present. For many years now, Methodists in Singapore have held an annual Aldersgate Convention and Hymn Festival.30 The name of the convention refers to John Wesley’s heart-warming conversion experience, which took place on Aldersgate Street on May 24, 1738. As I noted above, stories about this experience were among the most beloved (and most heavily embellished) in early biographical sketches of Wesley, and they were therefore among the most likely to be known and shared by Methodist missionaries. Today, Aldersgate-themed conferences and celebrations occur in a wide variety of places around the globe—South Africa, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Korea, to name just a few.31 Conference organizers routinely pick themes that reflect the cultures of the modern missionary movement, revivalism, and the Holiness and Pentecostal movements. For example, for its 2011 Aldersgate Convention and Hymn Festival theme, the Methodist Church in Singapore selected “Go and Tell: Proclaiming the Gospel Today.” Moreover, the conference itself revolves around a “key event” known as the Evangelistic Rally.

Moving Forward

This discussion raises a series of questions about what role the Wesleys should play in world Methodism today. Should scholars and church leaders work to introduce Methodists around the world to the real, historical Wesleys unearthed by critical Wesley studies? Should Methodists worldwide be disabused of the notion that the Wesleys are exemplars of Christian faith and Christian living in favor of a more critical account that depicts them as failed missionaries and priests (and, in John’s case, a failed husband)? Should scholars work to divest world Methodism of the hagiographic tales of the Wesleys and of the trappings of empire that purportedly accompany those tales? Should they seek to remove the pietistic, revivalistic, and Holiness-Pentecostal overlay as so many layers of dross that presently obscure the real, historical Wesleys?

Rather than answering these questions directly, I want to issue a warning and make a suggestion. First, the warning: Before scholars point out the speck in the eyes of Methodists in other parts of the world, they should take a moment to check for a plank in their own. For example, before they point out the purported trappings of empire latent in the version of Methodism and of the lives of the Wesleys that have been transmitted globally over the last two hundred years, they should ask whether there might be trappings of empire latent in the more critical accounts of Methodism and of the lives of the Wesleys that have emerged in England and America over the last fifty years. From a theological point of view, many critical accounts of Methodism and of the lives of the Wesleys reflect a crucial aspect of empire evident in the late modern West insofar as they are refracted through the lenses of radical skepticism, secularism, and a thoroughgoing naturalism. Many critical accounts of the Wesleys and of Methodism limit themselves only to sociological and psychological categories, studiously avoiding explanatory reference to actions taken for distinctly religious or theological reasons, not to mention a recognition of God’s overarching providence lying behind the Methodist movement as a whole.

Before chastening others for embracing and celebrating a vision of the Wesleys and of Methodism that obscures the truth about the past by reading the past through theological lenses, scholars should ask themselves what sort of future their more critical visions of the Wesleys and of Methodism are likely to open. Shorn of any robust conviction regarding the providential role of John and Charles Wesley or of the world Methodist movement, what would Methodists around the world have to sing about at their Aldersgate conventions and hymn festivals?

Second, a suggestion: If scholars are to understand the Wesleys’ role in world Methodism, they may have to set aside, at least temporarily, their worries about differences between the Wesleys of history and the Wesleys of faith. In many quarters of world Methodism, scholars must recognize and accept that the Wesleys of faith are no less historical than the Wesleys of history insofar as the former made a real difference in how Methodist identity was constructed and understood. Along these lines, scholars need to ponder afresh whether they really can establish a neat boundary between the missions of history and the missions of faith. I am not suggesting that we end the scholarly pursuit of

Did the vision of the Christian life that Methodist missionaries transmitted contain within it resources for resisting the trappings of empires?
following their own conversion experience, find themselves once again doubting whether all is well with their soul. This is possible because the spiritual wasteland that was modernity is finally beginning to fade, which at long last is allowing a certain freedom to emerge, presenting scholars with a rare opportunity to rethink the very work that they do. There may even be an opportunity to invent new scholarly genres that would provide fresh angles of vision from which to see and to think about both the Wesleys and world Methodism. Indeed, for those with eyes to see, strange-sounding studies like Methodist dogmatics and critical hagiography are already on the horizon. In the meantime, serious and sustained study of the Wesleys’ role in world Methodism may serve to awaken scholars still beholden to modernity from their Kantian slumber.

Notes


2. The distinction between history and hagiography often turns on modernist or positivist conceptions of historical inquiry and criticism.


7. As of 2011, seventeen of the projected thirty-five volumes had been published.


9. The Cambridge Companion to John Wesley, ed. Randy L. Maddox and Jason E. Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), exemplifies the multidisciplinary nature of Wesley studies today. For an intriguing study of Wesley and early Methodism from the standpoint of rhetorical and cultural disciplines, see Vicki Tolar Burton, Spiritual Literacy in John Wesley’s Methodism: Reading, Writing, and Speaking to Believe (Waco, Tex.: Baylor Univ. Press, 2008).


13. Two of the most important works in this area are Nathan O. Hatch, The Democratization of American Christianity (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989), and Russell Richey, Early American Methodism (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1991).


16. An exception is the four-volume History of Methodist Missions series commissioned by the Methodist Church’s Board of Mission in 1949. The volumes, each published in New York by the church’s (variously named) mission board, are as follows: Wade Crawford Barclay, Early American Methodism, 1769–1844: Missionary Motivation and Expansion (1949); Barclay, Early American Methodism, 1769–1844: To Reform the Nation (1950); Barclay, The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845–1939: Widening Horizons, 1845–95 (1957), and J. Tremayne Copplosten, The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845–1939: Twentieth-Century Perspectives, 1896–1939 (1973).


20. These volumes were written or edited by Charles E. Cole, Ruth A. Daugherty, Linda Gesling, Robert J. Harman, J. Steven O’Malley, and Robert W. Sledge.


22. This is precisely José Miguel Bonino’s judgment with respect to the transmission of Methodism in Latin America. According to Bonino, all that Latin America received with respect to Wesley and Methodism was filtered through the [North] American experience. More precisely, the Methodism introduced into Latin America was
that shaped by the North American ‘second great awakening’ and holiness movement’ (“Wesley in Latin America,” in The Global Impact of the Wesleyan Traditions, ed. Yrigoyen, p. 172; this volume is the source of all articles cited in this note). For more on the mediation of Methodism in Latin America, see Bonino’s “Catholic and Protestant, but Missionary” (pp. 69–79). Michel Weyer makes a similar point about the transmission of Methodism in Germany (“The Impact of Wesleyanism on Continental Europe: The Case of the Germans,” pp. 231–43). Robert Kipkemio Lang’at argues that, in Africa, Methodism was introduced within the horizons of the Holiness and the missionary movements, which is to say, within a form of pietistic Christianity (“The Doctrine of Holiness and Missions: A Pietistic Foundation of African Evangelical Christianity,” pp. 91–104). John Cho describes the Wesleys’ impact in Korea in ways that suggest mediation by the cultures of these two horizons (“The Impact of John Wesley’s Ministry and Theology on the Korean Church: A Model for Church Renewal,” pp. 157–70). For a similar argument with respect to the spread of Methodism in Japan, see Kiyoshi Nathanael Kunishige, “Alternate Wesleyan Influence: The Impact of Eighteenth-Century British Methodism and Nineteenth-Century American Revivalism on a Japanese Indigenous Holiness Church,” (pp. 143–56).


24. Bonino suggests that the Wesleys functioned this way in Latin America. Yemba and Lang’at suggest the same for Africa.

25. One of the crucial differences between (1) British and American Methodism and (2) broader world Methodism is that adherents of the former two forms of Methodism are less certain than adherents of the latter that they are the object of special divine providence.


28. Methodist theologian Joerg Rieger, who is deeply invested in current discussions about empire, acknowledges this point. For example, in his Christ and Empire: From Paul to Postcolonial Times (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), Rieger is mostly concerned to discuss the ways in which the early councils and creedal statements became instruments of empire. Yet he also acknowledges that there are ways in which Nicaea and Chalcedon can also be instruments for resisting empire.


32. Traditional accounts often claim that following his conversion at Aldersgate, John Wesley never again had any doubts about whether he was a true Christian, a child of God, born again, saved, etc. Critical accounts, however, have provided evidence from Wesley’s own journals and diaries that he did have lingering doubts after Aldersgate. Indeed, this is the point of what is one of the most important essays in Wesley studies of the last fifty years, namely, Richard P. Heitzenrater’s “Great Expectations: Aldersgate and the Evidences of Genuine Christianity,” in his Mirror and Memory: Reflections on Early Methodism (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1989), pp. 106–49.


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My Pilgrimage in Mission

Jan A. B. Jongeneel

My grandparents and great-grandparents lived in a rural area as farmers and were faithful members of the Netherlands Reformed Church (NRC). As a young man, my father left the community of his forebears and settled in the village of Kockengen, not far from Utrecht. Here he served as clerk of the village council. My mother also moved away from her family and served as a hospital nurse in Rotterdam. They were married in 1937 and had three sons: myself, born in 1938, and my younger brothers Bas and Cor. I am very thankful for the guidance and support of my parents. Like their parents and grandparents, my father and mother never left Europe, but they were to witness the departure of their oldest son to Indonesia.

Theological and Missionary Training, 1957–71

After attending primary school in Kockengen, I was enrolled in the Christian “gymnasium,” a secondary school in Utrecht, with a curriculum that included Greek and Latin. My father’s hope was that after graduation I would study theology and ultimately enter the ministry. However, in the final stage of the gymnasium education, my mother, sensing uncertainty in my spiritual life, stated that only “reborn” Christians are properly equipped to study theology and seek ordination. It was clear that she questioned my spiritual state!

As a result, I did not register for theology at Utrecht University but opted for a law degree. Yet over a period of time, as a result of discussion with fellow Christian students, I became convinced of my call to study for a theological degree and to enter the ministry. I went home and informed my parents that I wanted to change to theology. Mother kept her silence; my father welcomed my decision but urged me to finish my law study first, since I was two-thirds of the way through the course. I complied and obtained a master’s degree, with public law as my specialization. Though I never served as a lawyer, my studies gave me a lifelong interest in conventions and laws regarding the freedom of religion. A few years later, in Indonesia, I published a booklet on Indonesia's history and religions, as well as cultural anthropology and tropical hygiene; I also spent a year completing my doctoral work. The year 1971 was intensely eventful: I defended my dissertation “The Rational Belief in Jesus Christ: A Study of the Philosophy of the Enlightenment” (in Dutch) at Leiden University, took my mission examination in Oegstgeest, was ordained as a Netherlands Reformed minister in The Hague, and departed for Indonesia with Magritha and our first furlough the mission board decided it would be better that Magritha and I not return to Makassar. We were very disappointed of the Ambonese teachers to a high position in Jakarta. During the examination and interrelationships of all theological disciplines, and Magritha was invited to teach Indonesian church history and current affairs.

The seminary was founded by the Dutch before the Second World War. After independence (1949), it was managed by leaders from the Ambonese community. In the course of time the school board appointed to the faculty some Indonesians who were not Ambonese. I viewed these Indonesian colleagues as equal with the Ambonese, but my views were not shared by the Ambonese leaders. A clash developed that ended with the transfer of one of the Ambonese teachers to a high position in Jakarta. During our first furlough the mission board decided it would be better that Magritha and I not return to Makassar. We were very disappointed but accepted this decision. We were transferred to the Theological Faculty of the Indonesian Christian University in Tomohon (UKIT), North Sulawesi, and worked there from 1976 to 1980. I taught the same subjects as before and Magritha taught church history. The whole family enjoyed the new location: an excellent climate, no tribal clashes, and a larger house on the campus.

Teacher of Systematic Theology, 1971–80

After a month of acclimating ourselves in Java, we arrived at our destination in Makassar, South Sulawesi, the capital of East Indonesia. We settled in a small house not far from the campus of the theological seminary, Sekolah Tinggi Theologia (STT), and lived in harmony with our Muslim neighbors. I was appointed to teach dogmatics, ethics, and encyclopedia of theology (that is, the overview and interrelationships of all theological disciplines), and Magritha was invited to teach Indonesian church history and current affairs.

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There were many differences living and doing theology in rural Tomohon as compared with our experience in Makassar. The STT in Makassar serves the whole of East Indonesia, while UKIT tends to be a regional institution. The main difference, however, is that STT is located in a dominantly Muslim area, whereas UKIT operates in a dominantly Christian area. In STT I encountered first-generation Christian students who had converted from animism, Hinduism, and Islam. In Tomohon, however, all the students originated from Christian families. In summary, Makassar was more challenging, Tomohon more relaxed.

UKIT has a strong link with Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa (GMIM, the Minahasa Evangelical Christian Church), one of the largest churches in Indonesia, with its synod office in Tomohon. In addition to my ordination in the Netherlands, I became an ordained minister in the GMIM. This position offered the opportunity to become a member and subsequently the chairperson of the synod committee for worship and confession of faith. This committee saw the need to draft a new worship book. After a series of discussions with the synod leadership, the committee was authorized to proceed. After the draft received approval from the General Synod and some minor changes were made, Tata cara ibadat was published, with an initial printing of 10,000 copies. There were several reprints, with some additional changes. Tata cara ibadat includes liturgies for situations that do not occur in Western worship books, for example, a liturgy for laying the foundation stone of a building and a liturgy for occupying a new house.

In Tomohon, as in Makassar, I lectured in the Indonesian language, Bahasa Indonesia. I also preached and published in that language: books, pamphlets, journal articles, and more. My first major project was a two-volume bibliography of all Christian theological books past and present in the Indonesian language and its predecessor Malayan language. Later I published a handbook of Christian ethics and an encyclopedia of theology. The intended second volumes of these two publications never materialized, since my work in the above-mentioned worship committee had to receive priority. In vain I expected to have time for finishing this task after my return to the Netherlands.

One sad note from our time in Indonesia was the sudden death, in 1974, of my father.

NRC Minister in Leiden, 1980–82

After two full periods of overseas ministry, Magritha and I returned home with our two boys. The main reason for our departure was to offer a standard Dutch education for our son Christian, who in Indonesia was taught by Magritha. The lack of schoolmates had made him quite lonely.

As I prepared to become a minister in a local congregation, I received a call from a large congregation in Leiden. During my consideration of this call, Alexander J. Bronkhorst of Utrecht University contacted me and offered me a full-time faculty appointment as a missiologist. I had to tell him that I had decided to accept the call of the congregation in Leiden. He replied that he still wanted to make the appointment in due time. He postponed the announcement regarding the opening of the position for some time. Although I saw the announcement in the academic year 1980–81, I did not apply. I was nevertheless appointed as senior lecturer in missiology at Utrecht University. I concluded my ministry in Leiden, bought a house in Bunnik, a small village within biking distance of the Utrecht University campus, and prepared for the new duties.

The change from lecturing in Indonesia to becoming a pastor in a local congregation in the Netherlands was bigger than my subsequent change to the university. Since I knew I might be staying only a short time in the Leiden church, I did not start new projects. I did the customary tasks of a pastor, paying special attention to two issues. First, I intensified the cooperation of my

My first major project was a two-volume bibliography of all Christian theological books past and present in the Indonesian language.

Senior Lecturer in Missiology, 1982–2003

I received a double appointment at Utrecht University: by the state, to teach the history of Christian missions and non-Western Christianity in the Department of Church History, and by NRC, to teach the theology of mission in the Department of Systematic and Practical Theology. Consequently, I gave two sets of lectures: the empirical ones in the former and the normative ones in the latter. My lecture notes became the starting point of a missiological encyclopedia, published in Dutch and subsequently in English, revised and enlarged as the two-volume Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Peter Lang, 1995–97). The first volume was the textbook for my history course; the second volume, for my theology course.

All students at Utrecht University who were training to become NRC ministers were required to take two missiological courses: one in the Department of Church History and one in the Department of Systematic and Practical Theology. In addition, elective courses were offered and attended by many students. I introduced the possibility of drafting M.Th. and ordination theses based upon fieldwork outside the country, including Eastern Europe and the non-Western world. Since Dutch was the language of the M.Th. program, only four non-Dutch students finished their M.Th. studies under my supervision: one Canadian, one Ghanaian, and two South Africans.

In 1986 Utrecht University celebrated its 350th anniversary. Each faculty was given the opportunity to award an honorary degree. (In 1936, in celebration of the 300th anniversary, degrees had been awarded to Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, and Hendrik Kraemer.) I proposed that we award an honorary degree to Stanley J. Samartha, of Bangalore, India, who was serving the dialogue program of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Geneva. Samartha had studied Kraemer carefully and argued for a post-Kraemerian theology of mission. My proposal was accepted, and Samartha became the first non-Western theologian.
to be honored in this way by Utrecht University. I emphasized that in honoring Samartha, Utrecht University was not advocating the replacing of Kraemer by Samartha; rather, the intent was to place mission and dialogue on a par. I made my position clear in an article in Bangalore Theological Forum (1989) entitled “Hendrik Kraemer and Stanley J. Samartha, Two Adverse Brothers.” In return, Samartha arranged for me to visit India in 1988 and to give a guest lecture at United Theological College in Bangalore. While there, I attended the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the meeting of the International Missionary Council in Tambaram (Madras/Chennai). I also attended a conference of the WCC at Mahabilipuram, held to achieve more harmony between the concepts and programs of its Commission for World Mission and Evangelism and its dialogue program. Here I met Gerald H. Anderson and Siga Arles for the first time. Both became instrumental in my life, as I mention below.

Though my appointment as senior lecturer continued until I retired, in 1986 I was also appointed extraordinary professor of missiology at the university. This was an extra challenge because the Th.D. program was not limited to the Dutch language. From 1986 until my retirement in 2003, I supervised twenty-seven candidates originating from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. They drafted their dissertations in Dutch, English, German, and even (with special permission from the university) Bahasa Indonesia. This experience broadened my horizons and produced new insights. I started the series Mission (printed by Boekencentrum in Zoetermeer), which enabled candidates to have their dissertations published.

Finding the Grave of Roland Allen in Nairobi

My wife, Michèle, and I and our three children moved to Nairobi, Kenya, in August 2011 for one year. Before we left New Haven, the editors of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research asked me if I would try to locate and photograph the grave marker of Roland Allen, the prescient missions theorist and author of Missionary Methods: St. Paul’s or Ours? (published one hundred years ago, in 1912), who was buried in Nairobi in 1947. I agreed to do so. After a few months of living in Nairobi, however, I realized that finding anything in Nairobi can be difficult.

Street signs, house numbers, traffic signals at major intersections—these things are found at random and are generally optional; for their part, city maps are only approximate. Internet research revealed that Roland Allen was buried in a cemetery located in “City Park.” I found a detailed city map that showed two cemeteries in City Park. On several occasions I visited areas of Nairobi that were in the vicinity of City Park, but I was not able to find it before nightfall. I did not try after dark, for driving in Nairobi at night is dangerous.

On November 24 I dropped my wife off in the city center at 8:00 a.m., promising to pick her up five hours later. According to the map, City Park was about four miles north of downtown; in many other cities this would be a ten-minute drive. Two hours later, I knew I was getting close, but although I had memorized the major roads and was using the map, I still had not found it. I had made many U-turns, followed hopeful directions, backed out of dead-end streets, inched along in rush-hour traffic, and been blocked by many “Deviation” signs (for roadwork detours) on piles of rubble or in enormous ditches. In sheer frustration, I finally parked the car. After a five-minute walk along an unmarked road, I realized that I was next to one of the cemeteries. I began to systematically cover the overgrown, garbage-strewn, and looted burial ground. After about an hour I had covered only 10 percent of the roughly six-acre area, and my heart was heavy. Possibly half the headstones were smashed or missing.

An older man who had been observing me offered to help. He was one of the caretakers for the neighboring Jewish cemetery, which was immaculate. Since Allen had been an Anglican from England, we went over to the adjacent “Commonwealth” cemetery, which was also well maintained, being the resting place for servicemen who died in the various Second World War conflicts in Africa. We found no persons with the surname Allen buried there. The man offered to lead me to a fourth cemetery, which was about a one-kilometer walk through the park’s forest. I declined, as these places are known to harbor thugs. (Nairobi has been called “Nai-robbery.”) We took my car, and he guided me to the offices of the City Park administration. Not a single civil servant was to be found in the fifteen gloomy offices of the
In the period 1986–92 Ambrose Moyo, from the University of Zimbabwe, and I were the project supervisors of the Religious Education Training Programme, which aimed at (1) the training of staff members and (2) research and curriculum development for Zimbabwe. Three studies, drafted by Dutch and Zimbabwian scholars, were published, each with forewords by the two supervisors. This project was financed by the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation. It was the only development project in theology and religious studies ever financed by the Dutch government.

In 1992 I wrote a letter to Milan Opocensky, the general secretary of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) in Geneva, proposing that a survey of all Reformed and Presbyterian churches worldwide be conducted and the results published. Opocensky welcomed this proposal and expressed the hope that WARC and the John Knox Center in Geneva would undertake the project. Lukas Vischer and Jean-Jacques Bauswein gave their support, and they ultimately edited The Reformed Family Worldwide: A Survey of Reformed Churches, Theological Schools, and International Organizations (Eerdmans, 1999). Richard van Houten, general secretary of the Reformed Ecumenical Council (REC), and I served as board members of the project. I drafted the text of some sections and helped identify the addresses of Reformed churches and schools worldwide, using Dutch Reformed denominations and their overseas partners as sources. Perhaps the recent fusion of WARC and REC into the World Communion of Reformed Churches can be traced in part to the publication of The Reformed Family Worldwide.

In a compound, which was overrun with vervet monkeys. My heart sank again.

A City Park gardener made a few sheepish cell-phone calls and after several minutes a man appeared who led us through offices decorated with new anticorruption posters plastered over older antigraft posters. High on a shelf at the back of the last office, my trusty helper from the other cemetery located two large wooden cases housing the hand-written registers of the two cemeteries administered by City Park. My hopes rose again, but the first register had no entry for Allen. I sensed that, either way, the end of the road was near. I started reading the entries for “A” in the second volume, and hope soared again when I read, “Allen, Rev. Roland, British, died 78, date of death 9-6-47, interred 10-6-47, grave 46, plot 1.” Finally!

We immediately made the short trek to this fourth cemetery. The caretaker for this City Park cemetery assured me repeatedly that plot 1 started right at the entrance, so we together located grave 46, but it was not the final resting place of Roland Allen. We tried plot 2, and again found that grave 46 was not the right one. Disillusioned, discouraged, a little angry, but still determined, I started scanning the gravestones around me—and suddenly, there it was!

Plot 1, we found, actually began at the southwestern edge of the cemetery. At the grave a small marble stone base, surmounted by a cross, was incised with the words

ROLAND ALLEN
CLERK IN HOLY ORDERS
1868–1947
I AM THE RESURRECTION
AND THE LIFE, SAITH
THE LORD.

I cleared the grass away from a cracked stone plaque that read,

ALSO IN MEMORY
OF HIS WIFE
MARY BEATRICE ALLEN
WHO DIED IN KAMPALA
28TH JANUARY 1960
AGED 96

I placed a few flowers on the stone, took a few pictures, paid the elderly caretaker who had accompanied me to this fourth cemetery a generous wage for his two hours of invaluable assistance, and left with a great sense of accomplishment.

Samuel M. Sigg was the artist liaison for the Overseas Ministries Study Center’s artist in residence program until 2011. He holds an M.A. in Art and Religion from Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.

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In 1996 I was transferred from the theological faculty of Utrecht University to the Interuniversity Institute for Missiology and Ecumenical Research (IIMO) in Utrecht. (This did not affect my professorship at Utrecht University, which continued.) I became an editor of both the journal Exchange and the series IIMO Research Publications. In the same year I edited a handbook on the non-Western migrant churches in the Netherlands. Also in 1996 I served for one semester as one of two senior mission scholars in residence at the Overseas Ministries Study Center (OMSC) in New Haven, Connecticut. (This invitation resulted from my meeting Gerald Anderson at Tambaram in 1988.) C. David Harley, director of All Nations College in Great Britain, was the other 1996 senior scholar in residence. At OMSC he began working with me on his Th.D., taking as his subject the history of All Nations College. The dissertation was completed under my direction at Utrecht University and was published in 2000.

During my professorship I often preached on Sundays, and I closely followed the process of the uniting of three Dutch denominations, including my own, into the Protestant Church in the Netherlands. When it became clear to me that the managers of this process intended to close all offices and bring all activities together in one new building, I concluded that the mission house in Oegstgeest would ultimately be closed. I objectied, arguing that a mission house is not an office but a living community. I lost the battle.

In fact, I so internalized the issue that, given my many other involvements, in 1998 I succumbed to a classic case of burnout. For half a year I was not able to lecture or pursue my missiological studies. I immersed myself in psalms and hymns, such as “Safe in the Arms of Jesus,” which gave me confidence of recuperation.

My spirit finally returned, and I resumed my work. My IIMO colleagues suggested that I take early retirement in 1999. Instead, to the consternation of Magritha and others, I accepted a number of new Th.D. candidates. In my heart I felt assured that I could finish the course. I retired in 2003 at the usual age of 65. I gave my farewell lecture and received a Festschrift entitled Towards an Intercultural Theology (Boekencentrum, 2003). It was a great honor that Gerald Anderson and his colleague Robert Coote came from OMSC to attend the farewell lecture and dinner.

Honorary Professor Emeritus and Beyond

In the Netherlands, retired professors receive a period of five years to finish the supervision of doctoral candidates who are still working on their degrees. Since at retirement I still had quite a number of doctoral students to supervise, I was appointed honorary professor emeritus. In the period 2004–9, fourteen more candidates finished under my guidance. In all, I supervised forty-one Th.D. candidates, a record in Dutch theological education.

In 2004 Yale Divinity School appointed me as guest professor. For a whole semester I lectured on a topic that I had begun to research: the linear and cyclical perception and reception of Jesus Christ within and outside of Christianity, from the beginning of the Christian era until today. Robert Coote, who had retired from OMSC in 2002, offered to be my English editor, pro bono. I accepted, and in 2009 this study was published as Jesus Christ in World History: His Presence and Representation in Cyclical and Linear Settings (Peter Lang).

After my retirement, Siga Arles, director of the Centre for Contemporary Christianity in Bangalore, whom I had met in India in 1988, invited me to give concentrated courses at the center to missiological Ph.D. candidates and M.Th. students. I accepted and found myself with students, not only from India, but also from surrounding nations. I have enjoyed four return trips to lecture at the center. Arles also arranged reprints of my missiological encyclopedia (2006), of Hendrik Kraemer’s 1938 Christian Message in the Non-Christian World, with an introduction and appendices that I wrote (2009), of my Festschrift (2010), and of Jesus Christ in World History (2011).

I also received an invitation from a former Ph.D. student from Korea to take part in the conferences of the North East Asia Council of Studies of the History of Christianity. I became the first European scholar to attend its meetings, first in Seoul (2007) and later in Wuhan, China (2009). As editor of Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, I arranged the publication of the conference papers in this series: Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea (2009) and Christian Presence and Progress in North-East Asia (2011).

In recent years I have continued tasks that were started before retirement. I served as chairperson of the primary Protestant theological journal in the Netherlands, Kerk en Theologie (Church and theology). I have also pursued research regarding non-Western migrants and their churches in the Netherlands. After the publication of a handbook on community building among Christian migrants (Gemeenschapsstoring, 1996), edited by me and two other scholars (one being a migrant), I published an art book depicting how migrants have appeared in Dutch media since the seventeenth century, and how they have portrayed themselves since 1945. Paintings produced by a number of contemporary non-Western artists in the Netherlands are also reproduced in Verbeelden en gelijken (2010), a title based upon the concept of human beings created in the image of God (Gen. 1:26).

Final Observations

My involvement in mission and missiology is rooted in the Reformed tradition, as well as in the larger movement of Christian mission in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The tribal clash in Makassar and the passing away of my parents and younger brother Cor, while difficult, have not been the greatest challenge in my life. Rather, it was the closure of the mission house in Oegstgeest, my spiritual home. I am thankful that at the time I did not lose confidence in God.

Since 1982, three principles related to mission have been very important to me. First, mission and mission study involve networking. I became a member of the American Society of Missiology, the German Society of Missiology, and the International Association of Mission Studies (IAMS). I helped launch the European branch of IAMS in 1996. In 1998, together with Norwegian leaders, I organized the first European meeting of IAMS, in Stavanger, Norway. I also was a member of the steering committee of the second conference in Halle, Germany, in 2002. To my great surprise, the IAMS named me an honorary...
life member in 2008 at its twelfth quadrennial conference, in Balatonfüred, Hungary.

Second, mission and mission study involve *collegeship and friendship*. Over a period of many years at Utrecht University, I cooperated with dozens of colleagues in supervising dissertations, organizing conferences, editing series such as the *Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity*, and serving as a contributing editor for journals such as the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Mission Studies, and Missionalia*, and of encyclopedias such as Anderson’s *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Macmillan, 1998). I greatly value the friendship of Anderson, Coote, and Arles, as well as of Walter J. Hollenweger, whose Festschrift I edited, and of the late Lukas Vischer and David J. Bosch. (After Bosch’s untimely death in 1992, Willem A. Saayman was appointed his successor. He in turn was succeeded by my Th.D. student Nico A. Botha, the first nonwhite scholar in the department.)

Finally, mission and mission study involve *global commitment and interaction*. While I greatly admire Bosch’s *Transforming Mission* (1991), I value even more the magnum opus of Hendrik Kraemer, *The Christian Message in the Non-Christian World* (1938). The former addresses mission within a narrowly Christian focus, but interaction with non-Christian religions and worldviews is missing. Kraemer, in contrast, deals broadly with religions, worldviews, and ideologies, all the while analyzing the task of Christian mission in the twentieth century. Similarly, *Jesus Christ in World History* covers twenty centuries of Christian mission history à la Bosch, while at the same time dealing with the religions, worldviews, and ideologies of the non-Christian world à la Kraemer, with attention to positive and negative perceptions of Jesus Christ. I wish to avoid an intra-Christian approach, for we adore and obey the Messiah of the whole human community. I view Jesus the Christ as more than Socrates and the Buddha, and surely more than Muhammad and Mao, who relied on violence. He is the pioneer and perfecter of a worldwide, goal-directed faith (Heb. 12:2), as well as the pioneer and perfecter of global mission and missiological reflections.

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**International Association for Mission Studies General Assembly**

The thirteenth general assembly of the International Association for Mission Studies (IAMS) will be hosted by Wycliffe College at the University of Toronto, August 15–20, 2012. An estimated 200 scholars from around the world will present papers, attend workshops, and take part in field trips relating to the theme of the conference, “Migration, Human Dislocation, and the Good News: Margins as the Center in Christian Mission.”

Seven plenary speakers will address the assembly:

- Bernard I. Alphonsus, a Catholic priest from Jaffna, Sri Lanka, founded the Centre for Peace and Human Rights Culture in Jaffna and edited its Tamil periodical *Urimai Noku* (Rights perspective), publishing a number of articles relating to peace. He now lives in Canada as a refugee and works for the Archdiocese of Toronto.

- Daniel G. Groody, a Catholic priest and award winning author and film producer; associate professor of theology and director of the Center for Latino Spirituality and Culture, Institute for Latino Studies, University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

- Jehu J. Hanciles, associate professor of the history of Christianity and globalization, and director of the Center for Missiological Research, School of Intercultural Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California.

- Mojúbàolú Olúfúnké Okome, professor in the political science department of City University of New York’s Brooklyn College.

- M. Daniel Carroll Rodas, distinguished professor of Old Testament, Denver Seminary, Littleton, Colorado, is the Bible study leader.


- Jonathan J. Bonk, executive director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut, editor of the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, and president of IAMS, will give the opening address.

For details and to register, go to https://sites.google.com/a/iams2012.org/toronto-2012/.
In October 1814 a meeting was held in Birmingham, England, to discuss the possibility of forming a local branch of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in that city. During the deliberations, Thomas Rock, a Birmingham merchant, rose to make the following statement: “Do we need motive? Let us take it again from the conduct of the worthy Secretary, who is come from the metropolis of our own country, with his heart filled with love and compassion for the poor heathen: who has labored night and day to promote their welfare, and whose name will be handed down to posterity with honor, enrolled among the best friends of the Church Missionary Society.”

Rock was referring to the Reverend Josiah Pratt, secretary of the CMS and one of its founding members. He served as CMS secretary from 1802 to 1824, and he also edited the Missionary Register, one of the most important missionary magazines of the early nineteenth century. Along with other members of the Evangelical wing of the Church of England, Josiah Pratt played a major role in the expansion of Anglican foreign missionary efforts to regions beyond North America, and into areas such as Africa and India. Although he never served as a missionary in the field, Pratt made crucial contributions to the missionary cause through his organizational and promotional efforts at home to advance a spirit of missions among the British public.

Early Life and Ministerial Career

Josiah Pratt was born on December 21, 1768, in Birmingham. He was initially destined for a career in manufacturing, like his father, but soon gravitated toward a career in the church after hearing sermons read by Charles Simeon at St. Mary’s, Birmingham. Pratt was “born again” into the church when he was seventeen years old, after hearing a sermon by Thomas Robinson of Leices-
ter. The young man was particularly struck by the solemnity with which Robinson delivered the words “Let us pray.” It was here, according to his sons, that Pratt learned of the power of prayer: “He thought what a solemn act prayer was! He doubted whether he had ever prayed in his life. His mind was filled with awe and contrition for his past neglect.” This led to a greater interest in spiritual matters and a desire to become a minister in the Church of England. According to his sons, however, Pratt’s early experience in the commercial interests of his father were instrumental to his later clerical duties: “He was then acquiring those habits of business, and that practical turn of mind, which so eminently qualified him for many duties to which he was afterwards called.” Pratt graduated from St. Edmund’s Hall, Oxford, and was ordained as a minister on June 3, 1792. His first assignment was as curate to Richard Cecil at St. John’s Chapel, London, where he remained until 1804. In that year he became curate at St. Mary’s, Woolnoth, where he assisted the aged John Newton, whose ministerial capabilities by this time were quite limited. From 1810 to 1826, coinciding with his most active years in the CMS, Pratt was minister at Sir George Wheler’s Chapel in Spital Square. He became a beneficed clergyman in 1826 upon his election to the vicarage of St. Stephens in the City of London, a position he retained until his death in 1844.

The CMS and the Anglican Missionary Revival

In 1797, while serving as curate at St. John’s, Pratt became a member of the Eclectic Society, an informal gathering of Anglican Evangelicals to periodically discuss common theological interests and issues. It had been formed in 1783 by two of Pratt’s early mentors, Richard Cecil and John Newton, to stimulate more interaction among Evangelicals in London and those visiting from outlying provinces. Included among its membership were other Evangelical notables such as John Venn, Charles Simeon, Charles Grant, and Henry Thornton. At the meeting of March 18, 1799, the society met to discuss the following question posed by John Venn: “What methods can we use most effectively to promote the knowledge of the Gospel among the heathen?” Subsequent discussions led to the formation of the CMS in April 1799. From the beginning, Pratt and other founders of the CMS viewed their new society as an adjunct to the older Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG, 1701). It was in no way meant to replace the efforts of the older societies, but rather to supplement their activities to include newly established missions in Africa, India, and the Pacific. However, while the CMS was designed as a voluntary institution run by lay and clerical members of the Anglican Church, Pratt insisted that the new society “must be kept in Evangelical hands” to distinguish it from its predecessors.

From the start, Pratt played a very active role in the affairs of the CMS. He was appointed a member of its General Committee,
and in 1802 he replaced Thomas Scott as secretary of the new society. In that same year he was also appointed the first editor of the Christian Observer, the first Anglican Evangelical periodical published in the nineteenth century. However, because of his ever-growing responsibilities as CMS secretary, Pratt resigned the editorship of the Christian Observer only a few months into the position and was replaced by Zachery Macaulay.6

As secretary, Josiah Pratt performed a wide variety of duties, ranging from managing the logistic and organizational workings of the society, to overseeing and editing a variety of CMS publications. He was responsible for organizing the annual CMS anniversary meetings in London, which entailed selecting a suitable location, inviting clergy to give anniversary sermons, and advertising the event both to CMS members and to the general public.7 Although he never served in any mission field, Pratt drew up instructions for new missionaries, which he read aloud at sending-off ceremonies.8

Perhaps the most critical responsibility shouldered by Pratt was organizing and editing the voluminous reports, proceedings, and correspondence of the CMS. In this sense, he was the chief publicist of the new society and the person most responsible for collecting information on potential mission fields and presenting the society’s agenda and activities to the British public. As an ordained Evangelical cleric, Pratt was somewhat surprised by the degree to which he became immersed in the business aspects of the religious press: “An active and sanguine mind, with a wish to eke out my means for providing for my children, and a feeling that my taste and talents led me to book making and editorship, have carried me further into mechanical details, and involved me more in secular occupation, than I ever anticipated, and than could well consist with my own personal spiritual growth.”9

Indeed, Pratt claimed that the press was “the great engine acting upon society” and that the Evangelical clergy should use it to their fullest advantage.10 In particular, Pratt and his colleagues recognized the importance of knowledge and information in launching a successful missionary society. The press was to be used “as a most powerful auxiliary” in promoting the goals of the society. To that end, the first task of the CMS General Committee, and especially Pratt, was “to procure those publications, which relate to the history of missions; which point out the difficulties encountered, or display the success obtained, in the various attempts made to promote the Christian faith.” Also needed were printed works in indigenous languages, primers on Christian ideas, spelling books, and parts of the Bible.11 To keep members informed of the society’s activities and garner public support of Christian missions in general, Pratt was charged with preparing, Buchanan requested that Pratt furnish him with the missionary lobby by virtue of his experience in India.17 To prepare, Buchanan requested that Pratt furnish him with the most up-to-date information on various parts of the empire for use in his essay. Clerics and politicians who supported the CMS were to be canvassed for information: for example, Wilberforce on the West Indies, Zachary Macaulay on Western Africa, and J. W. Cunningham for more information on India.18 The result was Buchanan’s Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment (1813), 800 copies of which were sent to both houses of Parliament, with an additional 25 copies sent to the East India Company leadership.19 The extensive petitioning, publicizing, and lobbying efforts of Anglican Evangelicals and Dissenters resulted in a victory for the cause of Indian missions. In May 1813 Parliament passed a resolution in favor of wider Christian missionary access to India.

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The India Debate

Following their successful efforts in the movement to abolish the slave trade in 1807, Evangelicals turned next to the promotion of Christian missions in British India. Evangelicals both within and outside the Church of England sought more missionary access to India, and Anglicans in particular envisioned the formation of an episcopal establishment in the subcontinent. By using their growing influence in Parliament and contacts in the East India Company, Anglican Evangelicals hoped to change the company’s long-standing policy of religious neutrality. The parliamentary effort to open India to more missionaries was begun by William Wilberforce in 1793. Wilberforce, who became a leading member of the CMS, introduced two clauses in a bill to renew the company’s charter stipulating that it was the company’s duty to promote the spiritual improvement of the Indian people. Both clauses, however, failed to pass. British missionaries resorted to serving at foreign missionary stations in India, such as the Danish station at Serampore.

The next opportunity for Evangelicals to establish a missionary presence in India came in 1813, when the East India Company’s charter was again up for renewal. On the eve of, and during, the 1813 parliamentary debate over Indian missions, Pratt tirelessly devoted most of his time to publicizing the missionary cause. Indeed, one scholar claimed that in 1812–13 Pratt “must have been about the hardest-working clergyman in London.”14 He crafted resolutions, statements, and informational pieces, drew up petitions, and organized meetings in London and the provinces. Characteristically, according to his sons, he managed all of this important work behind the scenes and, in general, avoided self-promotion.15 In the midst of the parliamentary debate he devoted much of the April 1813 issue of the Missionary Register to the India question. To illustrate the ecumenical efforts behind the missionary cause, he inserted printed petitions to Parliament from the CMS, SPCK, Wesleyan Methodists, Baptist Missionary Society, and London Missionary Society (LMS).16

During the India debate the CMS leadership decided that Pratt should reach out to Claudius Buchanan, a former East India Company chaplain, with a request that he pen an essay on the necessity of a colonial episcopal establishment in India. By this time Buchanan had already emerged as an important missionary publicist in his own right and someone who could strengthen the missionary lobby by virtue of his experience in India.17 To prepare, Buchanan requested that Pratt furnish him with the most up-to-date information on various parts of the empire for use in his essay. Clerics and politicians who supported the CMS were to be canvassed for information: for example, Wilberforce on the West Indies, Zachary Macaulay on Western Africa, and J. W. Cunningham for more information on India.18 The result was Buchanan’s Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment (1813), 800 copies of which were sent to both houses of Parliament, with an additional 25 copies sent to the East India Company leadership.19

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The revised East India Company charter allowed missionaries of various denominations to enter India and also created an Anglican episcopate in the Subcontinent.21

The Missionary Register

During the 1813 India debate Josiah Pratt saw an opportune time to launch the Missionary Register. Prior to the Missionary Register, the only CMS literature for supporters was the Annual Sermon and Report. As early as 1810 Pratt was contemplating a monthly missionary periodical, but the project was delayed until 1812 because he was busy editing the works of Richard Cecil, who died in 1810.21 The CMS General Committee approved Pratt’s proposal for a missionary magazine in early December 1812 and gave him full discretion as to its advertisement and distribution.22

The Missionary Register, which Pratt edited until 1841, regularly included lists of CMS members and their donations, miscellaneous prayers for the success of missions, reports of CMS auxiliary associations, brief reports of the activities of other missionary societies, poems with missionary themes, extracts of letters from missionaries in the field, and news of the latest scriptural translations. Also featured were descriptions and woodcut illustrations of various aspects of indigenous cultures. Indeed, as Elizabeth Elbourne has noted, the Missionary Register was similar to William Carey’s influential An Inquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (1792) in the extensive information it provided readers about non-Western cultures, as well as statistics on the relative growth of various religions throughout the world. Both combined aspects of theology and science that were consistent with most Evangelical missionary publications during that time.23 Pratt recognized, however, that the wide array of information found in magazines such as the Missionary Register could also be used by the very members of the British intelligentsia who ridiculed the foreign missionary cause:

Missionary information is now become such, both in extent and nature, as to attract attention from writers, who periodically furnish information and amusement to a large body of readers. Literature and science are, every year, under increasing obligation to the labors of missionaries. The writers to whom we allude will enrich their pages by large extracts from the Proceedings of missionary societies, conveying important intelligence concerning the state and condition of man in various quarters of the world, which can be obtained from observers and travelers of no other description; while they will caricature and misrepresent the proceedings of these very men, in their plans and exertions for the salvation of the souls of the Heathen.24

Finally, Pratt and other members of the CMS leadership also recognized the importance of celebrating the efforts of missionary “heroes” past and present, both to garner more public support for missions and to inspire a new generation of young men to present themselves as candidates for missionary work. To that end, many issues of the Missionary Register included serial biographical sketches of notable missionaries such as John Eliot, David Brainerd, and Christian Friedrich Schwarz.25 Copies of the Missionary Register were to be given, gratis, to “all such persons throughout the Empire” who made weekly collections for the CMS of £1 or more.24 While Pratt hoped that increased circulation of the magazine would promote the missionary cause in general, he was hopeful that its success would advance CMS prospects in particular. Indeed, one year after the first appearance of the Missionary Register, the annual income of the CMS increased from £3,000 to £14,000.27 To supplement the ever-growing distribution and readership of the Missionary Register, Pratt decided to launch an additional missionary publication aimed mainly at the poorer classes within the Anglican fold. This was a sector of the church that, according to Evangelicals, had largely been ignored by the Anglican hierarchy. The result was the publication in 1816 of the first CMS Quarterly Papers. Consistent with Evangelical principles, they would be designed “as far as possible, to interest and instruct the laboring orders, servants and children,” and transform them into active participants in the cause of evangelization.28

The First CMS Associations

Selected portions of the Missionary Register were also read at meetings of local CMS associations across the country. Pratt was indeed the driving force behind the creation of a system of local CMS associations that, combined with missionary literature and news, helped create a vast information network crucial to sustaining interest in missions among Anglican churchgoers. Pratt had previously designed a similar system for the British and Foreign Bible Society, of which he was a founding member in 1804. And Dissenting missionary organizations such as the LMS already had extensive networks of local associations that coordinated their efforts with leaders in London. Seizing the momentum of the 1813 charter victory, Pratt laid out a plan of clerical deputations to the provinces to help form local CMS associations. Deputations of London-based CMS clerics preached sermons, explained the workings of the society, collected donations, and distributed various CMS publications to lay the groundwork for new local societies.29 While Pratt was responsible for soliciting volunteers among London clerics to undertake deputations, he took it upon himself to lead the earliest deputations in a series of whirlwind preaching tours across the country. About this responsibility he wrote to a colleague, “I am not only the Sedentary Secretary of the society, but the Traveling Preacher; and everywhere I find the hearts of our English Christians open towards India. . . . I will plead for India from Berwick-Upon-Tweed to the Land’s End, rather than not meet its just demand.”30 Between 1814 and 1816 Pratt led initial preaching and follow-up deputations to Bristol, Birmingham, Hull, Dublin, and Liverpool.31 Not only did the deputation system aid in the spread of missionary intelligence across the British Isles, but it also dramatically increased the coffers of the society by garnering contributions beyond those collected in churches toward CMS missions.32

Conclusion

By 1818, Pratt’s secretarial duties had become so extensive that he had to spend most of his working hours in London, with only occasional visitations to the provinces. In 1824, the year
he resigned his secretaryship, the CMS had nine different missions, thirty-five missionaries, and an annual income of £37,000.33 Pratt died in 1844 at the age of seventy-six. While somewhat overshadowed by other, better-known leaders of the CMS, Pratt was acknowledged by his contemporaries for his unsurpassed organizational abilities and "practical view of all questions connected with the evangelization of the world.”34 He steered the society through its formative years and, through his vast publicity efforts, was its chief liaison with the British public. Josiah Pratt’s contributions were critical in putting the CMS on a secure footing and laying the groundwork for the heyday of Anglican missions in the mid- and late Victorian periods.

Selected Bibliography

Works by Josiah Pratt
Because Pratt left no papers, the chief details of his career are to be found in the archives of the Church Missionary Society. And it was mainly as an editor, rather than author, that he made his most important literary contributions. Along with the CMS publications mentioned above, he edited numerous collections of sermons and the works of important Anglican divines.


Works About Josiah Pratt

Notes
5. Ibid., p. 98.
7. CMS Minutes, April 25, 1814, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, CMS Archives, microfilm edition, section 3, part 7, GCI reel 75. (All subsequent references to CMS Minutes are to this location.)
9. Quoted in Pratt and Pratt, Memoir of the Reverend Josiah Pratt, p. 70.
12. CMS Minutes, August 7, 1812.
13. CMS Minutes, May 17, 1813.
18. CMS Minutes, October 12, 1812.
19. CMS Minutes, April 12, 1813.
20. On the importance of the 1813 victory for the missionary movement as a whole, see Allan Davidson, Evangelicals and Attitudes to India, 1786–1813: Missionary Publicity and Claudius Buchanan, with the Text of Buchanan’s Memoir (Abingdon: Sutton Courtenay, 1990).
22. CMS Minutes, December 11, 1812.
25. CMS Minutes, June 14, 1813; Missionary Register 2 (1814): 305–14; 4 (1816): 41.
26. CMS Minutes, December 11, 1812. Copies were also sent to missionaries in the field to keep them informed of wider missionary exertions and to inspire them to sustain their own efforts. See Pratt and Pratt, Memoir of the Reverend Josiah Pratt, p. 180.
30. Quoted in Pratt and Pratt, Memoir of the Reverend Josiah Pratt, p. 82.
31. Ibid.
34. Henry Venn, quoted in Pratt and Pratt, Memoir of the Reverend Josiah Pratt, p. 197.
Arthur Walter Hughes: He Spent Himself for Africa

Maurice Billingsley

Stories of poor boys rising to rub shoulders with royalty are likely to involve a measure of ruthlessness and of conveniently forgetting one’s roots. Archbishop Arthur Walter Hughes did not take himself seriously enough to fall for these temptations. He died aged forty-six as papal nuncio to the Kingdom of Egypt, beloved for his openness to Christians, Jews, and Muslims and his desire to be of service to all.

Arthur Hughes was born in 1902 in Clapton in East London, an area with many poor residents, including a sizable Jewish community. His parents, migrants from Wales and Ireland, were not churchgoers. England then provided free elementary education to the age of fourteen, but the more academic grammar schools were fee-paying and beyond the family’s means. Arthur therefore left school at fourteen and took a job in a newspaper office, but he pursued wide-ranging studies in the local free library. His reading convinced him of the claims of the Catholic Church. After being received in the church, he applied to the archbishop of Westminster to train as a priest.

Cardinal Bourne, wary that a convert’s zeal might not last, asked him to use the next two years to discern his vocation. When Arthur duly returned, still eager, he was dispatched to Bishop’s Waltham in Hampshire, where Fr. Pierre-Marie Travers ran the junior seminary of the Missionaries of Africa, or White Fathers. This boarding school then housed French and English boys. Arthur’s time was devoted to learning French and Latin, subjects not taught in elementary schools but required for his continuing studies in France and North Africa.

Small classes helped Arthur’s gifts blossom. He gained mastery of both languages, earning himself the nickname of “professor.” He once accepted a challenge to speak on any given topic in French for an hour, and he successfully held forth on cheese. Later, it was said that his Latin replies were more fluent than the lectures of the seminary staff who used it to teach in Carthage. Once at lunchtime, a salad was sent up dressed in paraffin rather than olive oil. Priests and pupils pushed it away as uneatable, only to see Arthur chewing away, apparently quite happily.

His sense of humor had already been manifest in Hampshire, but the staff in Carthage were less sure about his punning in three languages and misquoting Scripture, fearing he was not serious. Eventually, they were convinced that he was possessed of a joyful spirit rather than empty levity, and they recommended him for ordination in 1927 despite some concern for his health. Disappointment followed when Hughes found himself “in exile from Africa,” back at Bishop’s Waltham. Short and stout, he was a popular teacher despite having no sporting talent—other than an encyclopedic memory for cricketing statistics.

This posting did not last long, as the society had agreed to run a parish in Heston, West London. From this base Hughes could readily travel to speaking engagements around the United Kingdom. On one occasion he arrived starving and thoroughly wet on a Scottish priest’s doorstep, mistaken at first for a gentleman of the road. Neater to home, he addressed a distinguished audience, including the colonial secretary, speaking for an hour without notes on the slave trade but giving copious and accurate references from his preparatory studies.

In Uganda, 1933–42

In 1933 Hughes received his longed-for appointment to Uganda. His superior, Vicar Apostolic Bishop Michaud, was impressed when Hughes greeted him in the local language, Luganda, which he had studied in London before departure. Michaud gave him responsibility for education, where he answered to another English convert, former headmaster Archbishop Arthur Hinsley, the apostolic delegate, who was determined to see church schools in East Africa offer a good all-round education. His brief covered institutions ranging from village schools to seminaries and the teacher training college, which Hughes called his “nine choirs of angels.”

He had responsibility for Catholic students at the national university being set up in Makerere. In 1937 he insisted to the governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, that outside England the Catholic Church had the same rights as the Anglican to set up a chaplancy: “Your Excellency, you can not honestly deprive the many believers in Jesus-Eucharist [sic] of his presence in their midst. He is their bosom friend, their inspiration, their safeguard, their strength. Without Him their life becomes wasted, bare, dull, and aimless.”

Church schools in Uganda received grants from the Protectorate Government, although never enough to meet all needs. When Hughes asked for more money, he was told that he belonged to one of the richest organizations in the world. “The Church was founded on a rock, and has been on the rocks ever since,” Hughes replied, and won the increase. Like Hinsley, an early ecumenist, he cooperated with other churches to achieve benefits for all. His respect for other Christians led to his praying with a Protestant school inspector whose wife was ill, an unlooked-for gesture in those days.

This was a time of rapid change for the church in Uganda, as the vicariate was divided from 1934, leading to a major reshuffle of personnel, with one area handed over to Ugandan clergy, in preparation for the time, in 1939, when Joseph Kiwanuka would become the eagerly anticipated first Uganda-born bishop. All this meant extra work for Hughes, though he still found time to care for boy scouts and other young people.

When the Second World War came, Uganda was not far enough from Europe to avoid the conflict. When Italy declared hostilities in 1940, the Italian missionaries in the northern Vicariate of Gulu were interned as enemy aliens. At the same time, as the town was close to Italian-held Ethiopia, the British army requisitioned the main vicariate buildings to provide barracks for troops to counter any Italian aggression from the north. Hughes was dispatched to take charge, overseeing the evacuation of buildings so effectively that no losses were reported.

That his was a temporary responsibility did not tempt Hughes to go easy. He began by writing a sermon and having it translated into each of the four local languages, so that he could preach from memory as he visited each mission. When

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he eventually left this responsibility, the vicariate’s work had doubled in size.

In Ethiopia and Egypt, 1942–49

Hughes was sent to Ethiopia in 1942 to resolve difficulties for the church following the Italian expulsion, and then on to Egypt after a few months. The apostolic delegate there was an Italian, unacceptable to the British, occupiers in all but name. Hughes’s appointment was seen as a minor success by British diplomatic and propaganda services; his close but critical cooperation with the authorities in Uganda may have led them to believe he would be useful, if not docile, in Egypt.

Earlier in the year the British had parked their tanks outside the palace to intimidate King Farouk into changing a government seen as favorable to Italy and Germany. Hughes was well aware of the outrage this action had caused. From the outset he asserted his independence from the British. When the embassy offered to effect an introduction to the twenty-two-year-old king, Hughes declined, saying that he did not represent the king of England, but the Prince of Peace. He was following the injunction of Pope Benedict XV, who had warned in Maximum illud (1919) of the dangers to Christian witness of missionaries being identified with their home nation.

Determined not to be “dust on the hem of Egypt,” Arthur Hughes found ways to succeed in the many ministries open before him. His task was to represent the pope to the Catholic Church in Egypt, a delicate task in which he succeeded, bringing together the six sometimes mistrustful rites, each with its own traditions. They still work together today. When Hughes was made bishop, his ring was presented by the Greek Catholics, his pectoral cross by the Coptic Catholics. Most Egyptian Christians were Coptic or Greek Orthodox, and Hughes worked toward unity with them, most notably by the unheard-of step of attending festivals and praying with them. He also established cordial relations with the country’s Islamic and Jewish leaders. This was possible only because he was a true missionary, a man of God before he was an Englishman.

Hughes established clinics and schools, open to all, in the poverty-stricken villages of the Delta and Upper Egypt, supported by his contacts at home. It is a tribute to the wisdom of Hughes and the Egyptian Church that the schools remained open throughout the Suez crisis and to this day; one of them is named in his honor. They were regarded as Egyptian schools, not British. Such enterprises needed government blessing. Having established his credentials as independent of the British government so forcefully on his arrival in Egypt, Hughes won the ear of the young king. (Farouk, notorious for his sensuality, respected Hughes enough not to bring on the dancing girls till Hughes had left his company.)

Hughes also had a ministry to foreign Catholics in Egypt, mainly troops, including Italian and German prisoners of war. Although the British Army supplied a staff car for his use, he insisted on flying the Vatican flag rather than that of the British. He continued to pray with clergy of other denominations, endearing himself to the army chaplains by insisting on meeting their wives before an official reception. He once disappeared from dinner with the chief of staff to make his way to the kitchen, where he delighted the Maltese cooks by thanking them for the meal. In the POW camp he helped set up a seminary for Germans who had sensed a call to ministry or, in the expression of the Roman Catholic Church, who sought to try their vocations.

As the war drew to a close in 1945, Hughes was confirmed in his position as apostolic delegate and ordained bishop, but Egypt now sought full diplomatic relations with the Vatican, the first Muslim-majority state to do so. In 1947 Arthur Hughes was named the first internuncio to Egypt and became archbishop. He still lived in community rather than the style his position might have afforded. His hard work continued unabated, despite concerns for his health among those close to him. Well aware that he was spied upon and that the diplomatic bag was tampered with, he would post confidential letters himself at the local mailbox. On a journey to Jerusalem he allowed the spies following him from Cairo to steal his suitcase, while walking away with the important papers on his person. Another visit to the Holy City found him among the many who were caught up in the turbulence surrounding a terrorist bomb outrage.

Final Days and Summary

In 1949 Hughes was due to take a home visit. He said Mass below decks onboard his steamship for crew members, finding himself briefly “a missionary again.” Visits to the junior seminary and
other White Father houses showed his confrères how exhausted he was; he once slept for thirty hours straight. He had remained close to his family, despite his rise to fame. The society treasured the story of a visitor scandalized to encounter an archbishop drying the dishes as his mother washed them. When at home, he would rise first and light the fire before leaving to say Mass at the local church. Hughes only reluctantly agreed to see a doctor—but he never kept the appointment; on July 12 he died at home of a massive heart attack in the arms of his brother.

Hughes’s burial was another homecoming, for he was laid to rest beside Father Travers, “who had first fostered his missionary vocation and guided him to the altar.”7 The Egyptian Embassy attended in force, bringing a wreath from King Farouk, while another came from the British armed forces.

Amid the tensions of the Middle East, the schools and hospitals he founded are still Egyptian and still open to all. The Egyptian Catholic Church remains small but bears witness to God’s love “without directly speaking about Christ,” in the words of one bishop.

Archbishop Michael Fitzgerald, M.Afr., today’s Vatican nuncio, attended the same school in Hampshire as Arthur Hughes and continues his predecessor’s work of friendship, supporting a church with roots in apostolic times.

Hughes’s motto—Licet plus diligens minus diligar—was drawn from 2 Corinthians 12:15: “I will most gladly spend and be spent for you. If I love you more, am I to be loved less?” Arthur Hughes spent himself, for he loved greatly, and was greatly loved by those whose lives he touched.8

Annotated Bibliography


Finn, Peter. History of the Priory Bishop’s Waltham. Winchester, Eng.: Hedera Books, 1999. Finn compiled the history of the White Fathers’ junior seminary in Hampshire, where Hughes studied and taught. He had access to oral tradition no longer available.


Guidelines for Contributors

Guidelines for contributors to the International Bulletin of Missionary Research can be found online at www.internationalbulletin.org/node/377. The IBMR publishes original articles and reviews of analysis and reflection upon the Christian world mission. Articles previously published in print or online will not be accepted.
Announcing the Jon and Jean Bonk International Fellowship Fund

Dr. Jonathan J. Bonk has announced that as of June 2013 he will retire as executive director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center and editor of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research. With that leadership transition in view, the OMSC Board of Trustees has launched a substantial scholarship initiative—the Jon and Jean Bonk International Fellowship Fund.

OMSC Associate director J. Nelson Jennings, staff leader for the fund, says the initiative “will enable beleaguered Christian leaders to come to OMSC from challenging situations. Currently we have to turn away many worthy candidates due to lack of funding.”

The fund will provide friends of the Bonks, OMSC alumni from around the world, and others who have admired their ministries from afar, a “concrete way of honoring Jon and Jean on the occasion of their retirement,” adds Jennings. Jon and Jean have wanted to find a way after they retire and return to Canada to perpetuate their longtime commitment to serving marginalized church leaders and missionaries who live and minister in places where it is extraordinarily difficult and sometimes dangerous to be a follower of Christ.

“Christian leaders who face difficult sociopolitical situations are at the heart of OMSC’s ministry,” comments Nelson. “Many such leaders—including administrators, pastors, educators, academics, artists, development workers, and missionaries—have come to OMSC from throughout the world and found rest, perspective, and rejuvenation for reentering their challenging contexts.”

OMSC residents, he adds, “have inspired us to serve in our own contexts with newfound insight, wisdom, and passion. Even after these leaders have completed their OMSC residencies, friendships they have forged have deepened through visits from staff and friends, ongoing communication, and mutual prayer.”

Residency for a program year (September to May) “costs more money than most of these Christian leaders could ever imagine,” and the lack of funding most encounter “obviously presents a significant barrier,” Jennings comments. To permanently fund the endowed scholarships will require $500,000 each. These will include housing in an OMSC apartment, a stipend for basic needs including food, airfare to and from Connecticut, insurance required to live for even a few months in the United States, and administrative support.

R. Donald MacDougall, former OMSC board member and treasurer, who is the fund’s honorary chairman, expresses appreciation for Jon and Jean for their service to OMSC, given “with such great energy and distinction.” He acknowledges that the cost for many residents, “while modest, is still beyond their means.” MacDougall retired as vice president of the Towers Perrin management consulting firm.

The Bonks, Mennonites who were famine relief workers in Ethiopia (1974–76), moved to New Haven from Canada in 1997, after then-director Gerald H. Anderson selected Jon as associate director. Jon was professor of global Christian studies at Providence Theological Seminary, Otterburne, Manitoba, Canada, and has been executive director since June 2000.

Working alongside Jon and Jean Bonk has been such an honor and inspiration. Their leadership, vision, compassion, strength, and patience, a rare combination of traits, have served the Bonks and OMSC very well. The Jon and Jean Bonk International Fellowship Fund—www.omsc.org/bonkfellowship—is a crowning glory to their ministry. In keeping with their humble spirit, this fellowship is a benefit to others. It will enable those who serve the risen Christ in difficult, oppressive, and challenging circumstances to enjoy the unique opportunities for renewal offered by OMSC. I invite you to join many good people who are truly grateful for the Bonks by making this dream come true.

—Dr. David Johnson Rowe, president, OMSC Board of Trustees

Read the Jon and Jean Bonk International Fellowship Fund newsletter online. For details, go to www.omsc.org/bonkfellowship or contact Dr. J. Nelson Jennings, Associate Director.

OVERSEAS MINISTRIES STUDY CENTER
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Book Reviews

Witness to World Christianity: The International Association for Mission Studies, 1972–2012.


No one is better placed to tell the forty-year history of IAMS than Gerald Anderson, who was a founding member of the executive committee, served as vice president (1978–82) and president (1982–85), and has been an honorary life member since 2001. As a leading missiologist and missionary statesman himself, Anderson is able to highlight key developments, identify key figures (truly a Who’s Who of mission studies), and assess the significance of the decisions made. He is also able to set the founding and functioning of IAMS in a wider mission-historical context.

In keeping with the nature of the organization, Witness to World Christianity is structured around the IAMS conferences, beginning in 1972 and numbering twelve to date. As well as reporting on these, the book gives comprehensive information about the activities of the Association in the intervening years. Additionally, it is prefaced with a revealing look back after 1971, such as the F&O texts and contexts, and local ecumenism. Chapter 1 contains findings of the F&O colloquium “Salvation and Life,” which is a landmark event in American ecumenical history.

The focus of IAMS is on Christian mission, but as Anderson shows, it is a product of a postcolonial age in which mission is multidirectional and theology is intercultural. In many ways Anderson’s approach to the topic epitomizes the ecumenical breadth and openness of IAMS. He is careful to represent diverse points of view, and his own particular concerns are not allowed to dominate the history. Particular attention is given to representation in IAMS of the world outside the West, and of gender diversity. One of the most striking things about the IAMS story is that, as a “society for the study of mission” rather than a “missionary society” (p. 11), it has had full Catholic participation in membership and leadership almost from the beginning. Anderson, who co-edited the series Mission Trends with Thomas Stansky, C.S.P., in the 1970s, is himself a prime example of such partnership.

Much of the material in this book has been painstakingly collected from archival materials and checked with officers and other members. We are greatly in the debt of Anderson and his colleagues for making the history of this key scholarly association for the study of mission more widely known, and for presenting it in an appropriately scholarly way.

—Kirsteen Kim

Kirsteen Kim, a contributing editor, is Professor of Theology and World Christianity, Leeds Trinity University College, England. Originally from Britain, she has lived in South Korea (1987–92), the United States (1992–93), and India (1993–97).

Faith and Order in the U.S.A.: A Brief History of Studies and Relationships.


This small book is in many ways an ideal entrée into the history of the Faith and Order (F&O) movement in the United States. First, it rightly emphasizes the regional aspects of the movement rather than simply discussing it at the global level. Second, it is written by an expert who knows all the ins and outs of the movement, having worked in various capacities, first as director of F&O studies of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and then as ecclesiastical officer of the Episcopal Church. Finally, in writing the history, the writer draws on materials available, along with his own service experience.

The book is divided into three chapters. The first covers the period from 1957, the beginning of F&O in the United States, to 1971, dealing with regional aspects such as the characteristics of the United States as an immigrant nation, the ecclesiological significance of councils of churches, sociopolitical and gender contexts, and local ecumenism. Chapter 2 reveals “many voices” in the movement after 1971, such as the F&O texts and projects Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry (1982), Church and World: The Unity of the Church and the Renewal of Human Community (1990), and Toward a Common Expression of the Apostolic Faith Today (1982). The final chapter is a kind of postscript, “Looking Back/Ahead.” An appendix contains findings of the F&O colloquium “Salvation and Life,” which is a landmark event in American ecumenical history.

While successfully taking account of the regional aspects of F&O in the United States and considering them in the wider perspective of the world ecumenical movement, this book offers little concerning its relationships with other regional, particularly Majority World, ecumenical movements. Similarly, the book does not deal adequately with subjects that show the interrelatedness between F&O and Life and Work and that reflect the reality of the Majority World, such as Koinonia and Justice, Peace, and Creation: Costly Unity (1993) and The Nature and Mission of the Church (2005).

—Kyo Seong Ahn

Kyo Seong Ahn, Assistant Professor of Historical Theology, Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, Korea, served as a missionary in Mongolia (1992–2000).


From Ireland to Minnesota, one of the most significant Christian developments of recent years is the expansion of African churches to the West. African Christian Presence in the West, a collection of essays by leading scholars in the field, provides an essential introduction. Key sections review theoretical or framing issues around religion and migration, case studies and comparisons from both North America and Europe, and both theological and biblical reflections on migration. The appendixes introduce some of the conversations that churches and leaders are having about African Christianity in the West.

Overall, one finds coverage of an ecumenical field of congregational life, attention to particular practices such as singing and preaching, an integration of theory and concrete models, and sociological and theological reflection.

Special recognition should be given to the editors and organizers of the conference on which this book was based: Frieder Ludwig and J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu. A vital mission challenge or opening to the churches of the West runs throughout the essays. Yet as the contributors indicate, much work remains to be done, in both research and engagement. As a reference point for the field, African Christian Presence in the West is a benchmark.

—Mark R. Gornik


In Mission: Collision or Dialogical Encounter? Ennio Mantovani, S.V.D., for many years a missionary in the Chimbu Province of Papua New Guinea, later head of the Melanesian Institute for Social and Pastoral Research in Goroka, PNG, and still later director of the Society of the Divine Word’s Anthropological Institute in Germany, provides readers with a fifteen-year chronicle (1962–77) and overview of Catholic missionary practice in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. It is an extremely good read and analysis of both the Yobai parish and the way a perceptive Italian missionary went about deepening faith among first- and second-generation Christians in one of the most challenging missionary venues on earth.

If read against the background of Paul Hiebert’s famous axiom of the “excluded middle,” Mantovani’s chronicle becomes all the more important. Hiebert maintains that most missionaries are unable to cope with alternative logics of peoples like the Chimbu, but especially are unable to take seriously the reality of nature and place “spirits” or the experience that such peoples have of the presence and agency of ancestral spirits. In this book, however, one encounters a man who has learned from Mircea Eliade to listen to men and
women who are trying to bring into unity their traditional axis mundi (i.e., the axis around which the kosmos turns), centered on the spirit world, and the Christian teaching that Jesus of Nazareth is the true axis mundi.

I visited Yobai several times in the mid-1970s and learned to appreciate what Mantovani and his neighbor James Knight, S.V.D., were doing to include rather than exclude Melanesian worldviews. I know of no book that surveys and analyzes so well the practice of listening, learning, and taking seriously a people’s world. Mantovani is currently working on his theological approach to articulating Christ as the axis mundi, drawing on Melanesian proverbs and stories. Mission: Collision or Dialogical Encounter? is excellent in its own right, but when his forthcoming book is published, one will understand its background in the life of one of the most significant figures in the Catholic missionary world.

—William R. Burrows

William R. Burrows, Managing Editor Emeritus of Orbis Books and an IBMR contributing editor, is Research Professor in the World Christianity Program at New York Theological Seminary.

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History from the Underside: The Untold Stories of Black Catholic Clergy in South Africa (1898 to 2008).


This book of biographies by George Mukuka, a research associate at the University of the Witwatersrand, lifts the veil on the frustrations of South Africa’s early generations of indigenous priests who, for the first half of the twentieth century, labored within a paternalistic missionary church. His later personalities are selected from the decades following the Second World War, in the context of South Africa’s escalating liberation movement.

The first African priest, Edward Muller Kece Mnganga, returned in 1898 to the Mariannhill Diocese, Natal, after eight years’ education in Rome. Small numbers followed in his footsteps until South Africa’s segregated seminaries gathered strength. These pioneers of an autochthonous church ran up against white clergy who, with some exceptions, had absorbed colonialism’s smug sense of racial superiority. The result was cultural misunderstandings, humiliation, and suppressed anger. In Fr. Mnganga’s case, this led to an outburst of violence, followed by unjust incarceration in an asylum for seventeen years.

A happier experience was that of Andreas Mdontswa Ngidi, who returned from Rome with a doctorate. Recognized as a Zulu linguist and a defender of African traditions, he and Fr. Bernard Huss of Mariannhill worked to establish rural Christian settlements where communal values might flourish.

Later biographies reveal how undercurrents of discontent within a rigidly segregated church and the consolidating racism of apartheid erupted in 1976, when St. Peters Major Seminary was closed after its students and Old Boys Association confronted their white faculty and the Conference of Catholic Bishops—just as the black consciousness movement was being brutally repressed in the wider South Africa. Their challenge, in the words of Gobi Mikoka, was to use the “hierarchy’s predilection to support the settler regime actively at the expense of the indigenous clergy and laity, and the oppressed and exploited community at large” (p. 277). Shocked by these events, the bishops reopened St. Peters in 1981 and belatedly integrated all their seminaries. Mukuka’s final biography is that of Themba Mngoma, installed in 1981 as the first African bishop of Mariannhill Diocese.

While limited in its contextual analysis, History from the Underside is a perceptive and meticulously researched text—a pioneering work that needs to be followed up with more detailed biographies, particularly of current church leaders.

—Peter Walshe

Peter Walshe, a native of South Africa, is Professor Emeritus at the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana. His publications include Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, 1995).

Understanding World Christianity: The Vision and Work of Andrew F. Walls.


Festschriften are the Rodney Dangerfields of academic publishing; they get no respect. Publishers do not want them, journals resist reviewing them, and scholarly readers do not expect to find much in them. Make no mistake here; this is not an ordinary Festschrift. Its authors form a “who’s who” of the study of missions, theology, and Christian history today. It is a lively account of one of the most revolutionary Christian thinkers of our time, and a vivid demonstration of the power of his ideas.

Nothing can substitute for reading Andrew Walls’s works themselves, so this book functions more as a “companion” reader for someone who has encountered Walls a bit and wants to learn more about the scholar himself, the influence of his work, and the ways his ideas are animating the thinking of others.

The book begins with the story of Andrew Walls. He has been a missionary teacher and scholar in West Africa, the United Kingdom, and now roving the world; he challenges Western theological, historical, and missiological conventions; he is an institutional entrepreneur; and he leads a movement to reinvent the field of mission studies and Christian history. These lively accounts are written by close colleagues, such as I. Howard Marshall, the late Kwame Bediako, and Bediako’s colleagues who worked with Walls in Ghana, Allison Howell and Maureen Iheanacho.

Four accounts follow, measuring the impact that Walls has made on the academy, notably that of Wilbert Shenk on Walls’s influence on church history and theology; Brian Stanley on the development of Walls’s major institutional creation, the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, at New College, Edinburgh; Jonathan Bonk on how Walls helped reframe and reroute mission studies into the study of world Christianity; and Moonjjang Lee on Walls’s revisioning of theological education.

The great bulk of the book, however, goes to scholars who demonstrate how Walls’s reorientation of theological, missiological, and historical thinking is leading them in fresh directions. They are too many to account for completely here, but we see a Walls-ian imprint on

This mode of thinking suffuses the final section as well, where Jehu Hanciles, Kwame and Gillian Bediako, and Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu all reflect on how much Walls gave to African Christianity, how much it became part of him, and how much the Christian world stands to gain from it.

Editors Burrows, Gornik, and McLean have created a work that far exceeds what we typically expect from its genre. If you want to learn more about Andrew Walls and his “fortunate subversion” of contemporary Christian thinking, you should read this book.

—Joel Carpenter


Missional Preaching: Engage, Embrace, Transform.


Missional Preaching offers a needed and engaging “theology of mission for preachers” (p. 159). This is not to say that Missional Preaching pays no attention to the craft of making sermons; for Tizon offers sample sermons from various persons to exemplify the missional themes of the book. He also offers a sermon evaluation guide to reinforce those themes. But as Tizon states, Missional Preaching does not offer a “how to manual on preaching” (p. 159). Rather, the question is “why and to whom do we preach?” (p. xvi).

These questions arise from a problem noticeable among U.S. Christians in a changing global reality—namely, that we have lost our missional identity as those who have been created in the image of a missional God. The premise of the book thus rests on two assumptions: “(1) Mission is integral to the church’s identity, and (2) Preaching plays a central role in shaping that identity.” Consequently, we have the need “to understand something called missional preaching” (p. xx).

Toward this understanding, Tizon calls preachers to read and therefore proclaim the Bible through the interpretive lens of God’s mission. Then, Tizon utilizes the bulk of the book to explore thoughtfully seven goals for preaching that rise out of this missional commitment—inclusion, alternative community, holistic transformation, justice and reconciliation, whole-life stewardship, life and peace, and the scandal of Jesus.

Missional Preaching is a welcome contribution from the pen of a seasoned missionary and veteran professor. Even if the reader may differ at times with Tizon’s conclusions, his relevant and compelling discussions offer real help to preachers who want to biblically and credibly address the actual issues of our changing cultures in a Christ-Centered way.

—Zack Eswine

Zack Eswine is Lead Pastor of Riverside Church, Webster Groves, Missouri.


Jay Riley Case has written an exciting book with an alluring title. His thinking on the topics of American evangelicalism and world Christianity has been informed by the perspectives of Nathan Hatch, George Marsden, Andrew Wals, and Lamin Sanneh, an important group of pioneers in their respective fields. He has taken these new ideas—particularly those he gained from what he calls his “reorientation” about the missionary movement from a seminar Sanneh led, “Christianity as a World Religion”—and has written a history in this new perspective about the missionary programs of selected evangelical groups in the nineteenth century. He chose that era because the “cultural and religious patterns” of the expansive movements of world Christianity in the twentieth century took root then (p. 15).

This is a study of the missionary efforts of four American evangelical groups—the American Baptists, Methodists, AMC Church, and the Holiness movement/Pentecostals—that sent out missionaries to Africa, Latin America, and Asia, and how the development of Christianity in these various places in turn influenced the development of Christianity in the missionaries’ American homeland. The work of American Baptists in Burma, especially with the Karen people and the emergence of the native-ministry model, became an important influence in Baptist missionary work among African Americans in the U.S. South before and after the Civil War. Methodists are represented by William Taylor, who, with the vision of a color-blind ministry and democratized missionary work based on his experiences in South Africa, had a profound impact on the Holiness movement in America and was important in the emergence of Pentecostalism. The third group is the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which had extensive missionary work in South Africa. It was deeply affected by the African American Great Awakening after the Civil War, beginning with the revival and missionary work of Henry McNeal Turner, which led to the emergence of evangelicalism as “the central component of African-American religious life” (p. 163). Finally, Case discusses the Holiness movement and Pentecostals. Several evangelical missionaries, Methodists with holiness sympathies, helped solidify the Holiness movement—including Agnes McAllister, who went to Liberia, Lucy Drake Osborne, who went to India, and Amanda Berry Smith, a revival preacher in the United States who subsequently went to both India and Liberia. In addition, Pandita Ramabai, a Hindu who converted to Christianity, and her leadership of a revival in 1905 at her Mukti Mission in Pune, India, became part of the story of the emergence of Pentecostalism, often dated from the Azusa Street revival of 1906.

The thesis of this book, more complex in its details than can be told fully in the space of this review, is that Christianity, regardless of Western and American perspectives that dominated much of the past two centuries, has always been a world religion and that many of the important changes to Protestantism in the West have come as the result of developments in Christianity in other, often unexpected places in the world. Case is persuasive when he maintains that the Gospel in the context of the missionary movement has often been unpredictable.

—John F. Piper, Jr.

John F. Piper, Jr., is Professor of History and Dean Emeritus, Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pennsylvania.


This is a well-presented and carefully documented history of the establishing and growth of Mennonite churches in Asia. Primarily covering Indonesia, India, Chinese-speaking communities in the Philippines, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, it includes an excellent introduction to the cultural and religious background of the continent and an equally reflective conclusion on the mission of the church and its prospects and problems, both of which engage with the context. The substantive chapters on each region are written by a local leader, and each in varying ways gives the cultural background and then details which church was set up when and by whom, who ran each school, and what has been achieved. It is copiously illustrated with photographs, a number of which show Christians of many backgrounds and occupations, rather more showing church plants. The book is easy to use for information about the Asian history of this family of churches, adding much to the understanding of the Mennonite experience and expansion in Asia.

It seems churlish to complain about a nice book, but using “engage Asian traditions” in the title, yet failing to do that to any depth, other than in the excellent book-ends, does rather ask for comment. The content is largely about church planting, encouraging for Mennonites and Brethren but frustrating for the non-Mennonite interested in the intersection of Mennonite nonviolence with the Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist ahimsa (relevant to all areas except the Philippines) and ignorant of the finer details of splinter churches. This outsider would have been helped by a visual “genealogy” of the various churches in each region and by some judicious explaining of ecclesial hot spots. Why does the Bhartiya General Conference Mennonite Church, in India, not ordain women (p. 180) but the Mennonite Brethren accept them (p. 152)? The answer is surely obvious to those in the know—but books are not just for insiders!

Quibbles apart, the thirteen writers of this fourth volume (the most complex yet) of the five-volume history of the Mennonites and Brethren in Christ have done a valiant job in sorting out and setting down important historical and contemporary material as a resource for all interested in Christianity in Asia.

—Elizabeth Koepping

Elizabeth Koepping is Associate Director, Center for the Study of World Christianity, School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh.

The Church and Development in Africa: Aid and Development from the Perspective of Catholic Social Ethics.


The Church and Development in Africa provides a very helpful summary of the Roman Catholic approach to development in Africa. Author Stan Ilo, a Nigerian, provides critical insights into the theory and practice of African development.

Chapters 1 and 2 summarize the social teaching of the Catholic Church. Pope Benedict XVI’s social encyclical Charity in Truth (2009) includes Catholic teaching on social principles of solidarity, subsidiarity, participation, ecology, human rights, social ethics, natural law, and gratuitousness. Chapter 3 paints the present picture of Africa’s development needs and assets. Noting that “many people outside Africa often wrongly read Africa as a
single story with common problems and identity” (p. xxxiv), Ilo argues that the unique social and cultural contexts of specific development activities need to be thoroughly understood before any aid is distributed. Chapters 4 and 5 then provide general theories and principles to help guide the church, individual Christians, and charities for development activities in Africa.

The strength of the book lies in the author’s breadth and depth of vision for the kingdom of God in Africa, for which he integrates the disciplines of theology, philosophy, anthropology, and sociology. He tackles a wide range of issues, including HIV/AIDS, malaria, poverty, health, homelessness, education, globalization, debt, ecology, water and food shortage, reconciliation, and cultural development. At times, though, sweeping statements may be somewhat overstated, such as calling capitalism the “mother of corruption in Africa” (p. 159), seeing globalization as the “structure of sin” (p. 172), and speaking of the causes and effects of climate change (p. 267).

Ilo surveys on a wide range of development activities but presents no detailed case studies. The general guidelines and “Ten Commandments” he offers are helpful, although those looking for in-depth applications for development in Africa will be disappointed. The thorough, broad perspective he provides on development in Africa, particularly from a Catholic perspective, makes this book an invaluable resource. It is a significant contribution to development literature. The author’s outlook is starkly realistic and refreshingly hopeful for the future of Africa.

—W. Jay Moon

W. Jay Moon, Professor of Intercultural Studies at Sioux Falls Seminary, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, was an SIM missionary in Ghana focusing on water development and church planting from 1992 to 2005. He previously worked as an engineer in the Virginia State Health Department, Office of Water Programs.


Until now, a substantive chapter on Protestant Vietnam has been missing from standard histories of Asian continental Christianity. No longer, thanks to the work of Reg Reimer. Written to celebrate the hundred-year saga of Vietnam’s evangelicals, the volume provides a spare but articulate history of Vietnamese Christianity as seen through the eye of a trained missiologist.

The book’s first half recounts the beginnings of Vietnam’s evangelical church in 1911, when Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) missionary Robert Jaffray pioneered out of South China. Against background essays about Catholic missions and indigenous religions, Reimer traces the advance and trials of the CMA mission and its church during three wars: Japanese occupation (1941–45), the war of independence from the French (1945–54), and the Vietnam/American war (1964–75).

The second half of the book is devoted to the adversities and endurance of the churches in the south, whose multidenominational constituency of 160,000 came under Communist rule after 1975. Government policies closed all social service agencies, shuttered churches, imprisoned pastors, and confiscated 300 properties, taking a heavy toll on morale and internal church life.

During the “Dark Decade” (1975–85) all church communities were forced into hiding. After the 1986 policy of Doi Mōi (reform), churches grew, but stagnation was pervasive until a Spirit-powered renewal and revival spawned a nonaffiliated house-based movement, which grew to 250,000 followers by 2009. Today the Protestant church as a whole is believed to number 1.4 million, a growth of 900 percent since 1975!

The largest growth has been among Vietnam’s 60 ethnic minorities, especially the Hmong of the northwest mountainous provinces. Out of a Hmong population of 800,000 it is believed there are now upward of 350,000 believers. Starting in 1987, sparked by Gospel radio broadcasts, this phenomenon of religious conversion is arguably the world’s most significant mass movement to Christianity in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Gripping and highly readable sidebar-like personal stories supplement the book and include that of Kim Phuc (“the napalm girl,” subject of a Pulitzer Prize photo), Mennonite believer Miss Lien, napalm girl,” subject of a Pulitzer Prize photo), Mennonite believer Miss Lien, and inspirational personal stories from Vietnamese Christians.

Robert Jaffray pioneered out of South China.

India, Ethiopia, and elsewhere in Africa, the author’s breadth and depth of vision for the kingdom of God in Africa, for which he integrates the disciplines of theology, philosophy, anthropology, and sociology. He tackles a wide range of issues, including HIV/AIDS, malaria, poverty, health, homelessness, education, globalization, debt, ecology, water and food shortage, reconciliation, and cultural development. At times, though, sweeping statements may be somewhat overstated, such as calling capitalism the “mother of corruption in Africa” (p. 159), seeing globalization as the “structure of sin” (p. 172), and speaking of the causes and effects of climate change (p. 267).

Ilo surveys on a wide range of development activities but presents no detailed case studies. The general guidelines and “Ten Commandments” he offers are helpful, although those looking for in-depth applications for development in Africa will be disappointed. The thorough, broad perspective he provides on development in Africa, particularly from a Catholic perspective, makes this book an invaluable resource. It is a significant contribution to development literature. The author’s outlook is starkly realistic and refreshingly hopeful for the future of Africa.

—W. Jay Moon

W. Jay Moon, Professor of Intercultural Studies at Sioux Falls Seminary, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, was an SIM missionary in Ghana focusing on water development and church planting from 1992 to 2005. He previously worked as an engineer in the Virginia State Health Department, Office of Water Programs.


Until now, a substantive chapter on Protestant Vietnam has been missing from standard histories of Asian continental Christianity. No longer, thanks to the work of Reg Reimer. Written to celebrate the hundred-year saga of Vietnam’s evangelicals, the volume provides a spare but articulate history of Vietnamese Christianity as seen through the eye of a trained missiologist.

The book’s first half recounts the beginnings of Vietnam’s evangelical church in 1911, when Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) missionary Robert Jaffray pioneered out of South China. Against background essays about Catholic missions and indigenous religions, Reimer traces the advance and trials of the CMA mission and its church during three wars: Japanese occupation (1941–45), the war of independence from the French (1945–54), and the Vietnam/American war (1964–75).

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—Bob Finley

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lawyer Dai (converted after defending a house-church leader), and Mrs. Sung (intrepid evangelist among Stieng tribals). The book’s closing chapter addresses the crucial issue of religious freedom in Vietnam, the world’s thirteenth most populous country.

—James F. Lewis

James F. Lewis, Professor of World Religions, Bethel University, St. Paul, Minnesota, served in Vietnam and India with the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

Readings from the Edges: The Bible and People on the Move.


Readings from the Edges considers the ethics of liberation, draws attention to the perspective of diaspora peoples, and looks at the reading and interpretation of Scripture. Here, ethical emphasis upon the “preferential option for the poor” critiques academic understanding of what it means to read and apply Scripture to life and liberation.

To avoid a “narrowly framed liberationist hermeneutics,” Ruiz turns to lived experience as a source of diverse and relevant theological reflection and to communities defined as “people of the Word,” not merely a “people of the Book.” Emphasis upon the Word allows for the theological, pragmatic, and practical interpretations of “people on the move.” They bring a hermeneutical edge to the preferential option for the poor as the excluded, the alienated, and the marginalized read and interpret, embrace and apply the Word in an alternative voice.

Ruiz wishes to displace academic “private reading” with the older practice of “reading with” the community gathered in worship. This should be a public act and subject to public comment and accountability.

The second half of Ruiz’s book looks at actual texts and their interpretation. Each in its own way exemplifies how context shapes the reading and interpretation of texts, ranging from comparison of interpretations of Nehemiah in modern Brooklyn, to Christopher Columbus’s interpretation of Revelation in light of the expanding empire of Spain.

Ruiz’s work serves as a good text for those interested in alternative ways to read and interpret Scripture that takes the perspective of the reader and the poor as primary to diverse and alternative interpretations of Scripture. It resonates deeply with Fernando Segovia’s claim that “all exegesis is ultimately eisegesis.” For many this will be deeply disturbing, but for Ruiz it represents “the new normal.”

—Thomas A. Harvey


This book is a posthumously published collection of articles by German missiologist Werner Ustorf, focused on the time of
his decade-long work at the University of Birmingham in the area of mission studies. Ustorf’s thinking focused on the critical study of mission, especially on “how, when, and where and in which way one can speak with responsibility of God and the Gospel,” and was deeply influenced by the thinkers of the Frankfurt School, especially Walter Benjamin (p. 10). For Ustorf, missiology manifests itself as a form of historical analysis and intercultural theology. The collection of essays is introduced by Roland Löfler, a former student, as a “tour d’horizon” (p. 14) of Ustorf’s life and work. The Robinson Crusoe of the title is a trope familiar from Ustorf’s writing and a metaphor for the encounter between North and South (p. 14).

The volume is organized in four parts, covering the different aspects of Ustorf’s work spanning historical studies and contemporary debates. It collects his work over the last decades of his life and makes it accessible to readers of English. Some chapters have been published be-fore, but not all in English. Part 1 features historical studies that discuss the locations (Bremen, London, Weimar) and persons (Rudolph Dulon, Olaudah Equiano, Johann Gottfried Herder) interacting in these places with questions of belief, cultural and racial identities, and Gospel. Part 2 focuses on the multidisciplinary aspects of colonial mission, exploring the “missionary self” ambivalently perched between enlightenment and empire, between teacher and scholar, and produced by the missionary history of Protestantism. Part 3 adds a fascinating angle to missionary history: nationalist and totalitarian attempts to discredit and discard Christian heritage in favor of nationalist, or “muscular,” ethnocentric rearticulations. Part 4 then brings us into the present with essays that consider Philip Jenkins’s work and how to view “reverse mission” of Africans in Europe, Christianity in a post-Christian Britain, European discoveries of primal religion, and the landscapes of an increasingly multireligious Europe.

Ustorf’s keen insights are powered by his multidisciplinary approach, his grounded historical work, and the sharp questions he asks about the past, present, and future of Christianity in societies both European and beyond. His critical vision of missionary history does not obscure what he assumes will continue to be an unfolding, fragmented, and continually transforming presence of Christianity in Europe and elsewhere.

—Marion S. Grau

Marion S. Grau, Associate Professor of Theology, Church Divinity School of the Pacific, a member of the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, is the author of Of Divine Economy: Refinancing Redemption (T. & T. Clark, 2004).

From Mao to Market: China Reconfigured.


From Mao to Market explores the evolution of China’s state socialism and the profound changes and continuities from the Maoist era (1949–76) to the Reform period (1976–present). Comprising twelve lucid chapters, this book guides readers through the social transformation under Mao to a thorough analysis of the economic reforms. Porter argues that China’s quest for modernization was uniquely painful because of the compressed timescale and the intense internal and external pressures for change. The conceptualization of this work

Witness to World Christianity

The International Association for Mission Studies, 1972–2012

Gerald H. Anderson
with
John Roxborogh
John M. Prior, S.V.D.
Christoffer H. Grundmann

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Forty years after its founding in 1972, the International Association for Mission Studies has become an international and inter-denominational network of individuals, organizations, and centers engaged in the scholarly study of the Christian world mission. IAMS provides mutual encouragement, fellowship, and dissemination of information for the advancement of scholarship about world mission and the encounter of the Gospel with cultures and religions worldwide. It is not a sending or promotional agency, but an association for the study of mission.

Gerald H. Anderson is director emeritus of the Overseas Ministries Study Center, and was editor of the IBMR.

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Witness to World Christianity

The International Association for Mission Studies, 1972–2012
is intriguing at two levels. First, Porter discusses the transformation of state socialism from 1949 to the present. Neither a reproduction of the Soviet Union model nor an incarnation of the Confucian empire, the Communist state distinguished itself in its extensive use of power to remodel society, economy, and culture. The state created numerous institutional mechanisms to enforce policies at all levels and dominate political, socioeconomic, and cultural domains. But the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), which set out to activate popular radicalism in support of Mao, almost brought down the state. The state survived only by suppressing the popular outpourings that Mao had encouraged. Since then, Communism as a belief system collapsed and pragmatism prevailed under Deng Xiaoping and his successors. From the 1980s onward, economic growth has become the people’s hope and desire, and thus the road to the Communist Party’s legitimacy.

Second, Porter highlights the growing tension between state and society in Reform China. Combining the transformative power of market economy and the enforced stability of authoritarian rule, the Communist leadership adapts certain tenets of capitalism such as opening up to foreign investment, deregulating its labor market, and building infrastructure, while maintaining firm control over government, military, public security, and information. But accompanying the economic miracle are authoritarianism and domestic conflict. Because of explosive grievances exacerbated by the state’s aggressive developmental strategies and reluctance to liberalize its authoritarian system, a rising China that denies its citizens what they desire—such as job security, health care, gender equality, and freedom—pushes discontented sectors to mobilize themselves for collective action to find security, solace, and justice. Such a shaky political foundation suggests that unprecedented growth gave China only a temporary reprieve, for the state is still trapped in a perpetual cycle of discontent.

Overall, this book critically reviews China’s latest development, giving those unfamiliar with the country a sense of its dynamics and change. It should be of interest to a wide range of readers.

—Joseph Tse-Hei Lee

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee is Professor of History at Pace University in Lower Manhattan, New York.

City of Tranquil Light: A Novel.


Novels and biographies based on missionaries have been a mixed lot. The hagiographies that dominated the field in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have long been discredited. Somerset Maugham entertained his readers with caricatures of missionary foibles. More recently, novelists have depicted the missionary as a misguided zealot.

City of Tranquil Light is set in the China of the first three decades of the twentieth century. The Boxer Uprising ushered in the new century. In 1911 the Qing Dynasty was overthrown. A few years later famine struck the land. The 1920s were roiled by the emergence of new revolutionary forces and civil war. Social and political instability were never far away.

Will Kiehn and Katherine Friesen meet for the first time when they board a ship in Seattle bound for China in 1906. Both are products of tight-knit communities in the American Midwest. Both have been recruited for missionary service in China while still in their twenties. Will has a high school education; Katherine is trained as a nurse and expects to put that training to good use.

Their first assignment is to learn Mandarin. Will gains a fair mastery, but for Katherine language remains a daily struggle. Eventually, they fall in love and are married. After marriage, Will and Katherine move to a town where they are to establish a church. Their strong bond sustains them through ever-present, often heart-breaking, struggles—the constant lack of finances, relentless demands on Katherine for medical services, early death of their only child, maneuvering through official red tape, coping with flood and famine, and the ever-present corruption. In all seasons, their love and loyalty to the Chinese remain steadfast, and the Chinese reciprocate. The Friesens’ spirituality is unostentatious but integral to their identities.

Caldwell mined the archives of her maternal grandparents, long-serving missionaries to China, to create her main characters, Will and Katherine. She maintains fine artistic control over her materials, allowing her characters to speak authentically. The result is a memorable portrait.

—Wilbert R. Shenk

Wilbert R. Shenk, an IBMR contributing editor, is Senior Professor of Mission History and Contemporary Culture, Fuller Graduate School of Intercultural Studies, Pasadena, California. He lives in Elkhart, Indiana.

Reverse Mission: Transnational Religious Communities and the Making of U.S. Foreign Policy.


Scholars rarely give missionaries the attention they deserve, but they give even less attention to the role of missionaries in their home countries. In Reverse Mission Timothy Byrnes helps to rectify this situation by examining the influence of three American Catholic religious communities on U.S. foreign policy from the 1970s to the 1990s. He concludes that their influence was significant and that it directly reflected the transnational identities and distinctive vocations of each community.

American Jesuits, for example, reacted swiftly and decisively when the Salvadoran army, which was heavily financed by the United States, murdered six members of the Society of Jesus and two women at Central American University in 1989. Almost immediately the presidents of Jesuit universities around the United States began protesting the murders and the U.S. policies that funneled money to such unscrupulous killers. Some of these presidents then traveled to El Salvador to meet with President Cristiani, other Salvadoran officials, and the American ambassador. When the one witness to the murders was threatened by Salvadoran officers while supposedly being protected by the U.S. State Department, it was Paul Tipton, president of the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, who both sheltered the witness in a hidden location and began a public relations campaign against U.S. policy in El Salvador. In the

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end, Byrnes concludes, the Jesuits played a major role in obtaining a grant of $10 million for Central American University and in pushing the Salvadoran government toward the negotiations that resulted in the peace agreements of 1992.

The other two communities, the Maryknoll sisters and Benedictine monks of the Weston Priory, were not as single-minded or as obviously successful as the Jesuits in lobbying, respectively, for the end to military aid to Nicaraguan contras or for new economic policies toward Mexico. Nevertheless, Byrnes does a strong job of demonstrating that these religious communities, because of their simultaneous ties to Latin America and to the United States and because of their specific religious charisms, were surprisingly effective in their attempts to sway public opinion and government policy.

—Todd Hartch

Todd Hartch teaches Latin American history at Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond, Kentucky.


Recognized Pentecostal scholar Amos Yong, the J. Rodman Williams Professor of Theology at Regent University School of Divinity, Virginia Beach, Virginia, thoughtfully explores the intersections between theology—in particular, Pentecostal theology—and science. He examines possible Pentecostal contributions to current conversations between theology and science, mentioning glossolalia, the gift of tongues, a significant charism in Pentecostal theology, as a kind of leitmotiv for the diversity that could genuinely inform theological dialogues rooted in pneumatology.

Yong argues convincingly that Pentecostalism, which has emerged in the context of the modern world, can offer a distinctive response to that world through more vigorous Pentecostal scholarship. Factual data from the scientific study of the universe pose questions to theology, suggesting deeper insights into the mystery of God, especially the incarnation and the resurrection.

Yong develops a pneumatic theology of emergence, beginning with primordial creation, the emergence of life, election of and covenant with Israel, and the incarnational and Pentecostal events. His analysis is carried forward by his insight that God’s actions in the life and resurrection of Jesus anticipate the final redemption and point toward the communion that all things will experience with the triune God. The church, as it develops as a community, can be understood as an emergent entity through which God’s redemptive work in Christ and in the multifaceted event of Pentecost increasingly becomes known.

This careful study, grounded in gracious openness, presents challenging possibilities toward developing pneumatological approaches in theological conversations with scientific data about the nature of the universe and its ongoing creation. Yong’s work moves toward a new way of seeing into the mystery of God’s Trinitarian action in the process of creation.

—Mary Motte

Mary Motte, F.M.M., a contributing editor, is Director of the Mission Resource Center of the U.S. Province of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary.

Saving the World?
The Changing Terrain of American Protestant Missions from 1910 to the Present

In 1910 over a thousand Protestant missionaries, theologians and church leaders from around the world gathered in Edinburgh, Scotland for an unprecedented World Missionary Conference. This 32-minute DVD from Wheaton College’s Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals (ISAE) chronicles the assumptions and expectations that Protestants carried into the 20th century and highlights some of the major — and unexpected — developments in the hundred years since that meeting in Scotland.

Saving the World? offers an informative analysis of the effect of the seminal Edinburgh event. Recommended. —Video Librarian

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Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Unto the Ends of the World.


Volume 40 in Brill’s series “Studies in Christian Mission” is a wide-ranging collection of writings roughly grouped together under the rubric of transnationalism. Several local venues are featured in these essays, with particular attention paid to Norwegian mission efforts in Madagascar, but the overall emphasis here is on large-scale issues of globalization, empire, secularization, intercultural encounter, and organizational dynamics. With half of the contributors engaged as academics in either Denmark or Norway, the volume sheds light on a number of research trends now evident in Scandinavian missiology.

A few essays may be highlighted as a way to invite consideration of the whole. Methodologically intriguing, for example, is Hilde Nielssen’s analysis of two scholarly ethnographies, written contemporaneously in the late nineteenth century about the same local population and culture but in quite different ways. According to Nielssen, powerful national ideals and aspirations subtly shaped these two scientific texts by inclining their British and Norwegian missionary authors to look for contrasting qualities in Malagasy society. Similarly insightful is a pair of articles that examine the rise of humanitarian NGOs in the twentieth century and their missionary roots. Thus, Deborah Gaitskell focuses on the interesting life of Dora Earthy, who extended her missionary career in the 1930s by joining the research staff of Save the Children Fund, an international charity organization. A still strong commitment to a life-giving Gospel is part of what Earthy brought to her philanthropic work on behalf of women and children in Africa, alongside her expertise in the field of anthropology. For her part, Ruth Compton and Heinz Helf.

Some will question the decision of the editor to include the work of scholars from outside the North Atlantic region, especially in a set of studies gathered around the theme of transnationalism. Also unfortunate is the price of the book, which is way beyond the reach of all but the most specialized library collections in the West.

—Stanley H. Skreslet

Christian Themes in Indian Art: From the Mogul Times till Today.


Anand Amaladass, S.J., and Gudrun Löwner are to be commended for assembling this encyclopedic volume on Christian themes in Indian art. The project is both interconfessional and interreligious, covering artists from all confessional backgrounds, as well as non-Christian artists who incorporate Christian themes. There is nothing comparable for any other country or region of Asia. The only book on Christian art from the Global South that comes close is Christliche Kunst in Afrika (Berlin, 1984), by Josef Franz Thiel and Heinz Helf.

Amaladass and Löwner succeed with a balance between interpretation and high-quality, full-color illustrations. This is far beyond the usual coffee-table book on such subjects. The first chapter contains a rich sample of Christian art produced under Portuguese influence in Goa. It is predominantly an imperial baroque art that spread from the motherland to Latin America, Africa, and Asia with very little accommodation. Remarkable in this refined miniatures with Muslim, Hindu, and Christian content. With the decline of the Mogul Empire, Christian themes also diminished in Indian art for about 250 years. The British with their “company art” and even the famous Danish-Halle Mission produced very few works of Christian art. With the rise of the Bengal Renaissance (1895–1905), Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) founded an art school in Shantiniketan on the property of his family. His nephew Abanindranath Tagore (1871–1951), who taught at a British art school in Calcutta that was founded around the same time, developed the “wash technique” that became characteristic for this group of mainly Hindu artists depicting Christian themes. Adequate space is given to Jamini Roy, who, similar to the European expressionists, took a strong interest in the local folk art instead of the religious and court art preferred by his colleagues.

The book has a chapter on non-Christian artists who utilize Christian themes. The separate chapter on South Indian artists covers both Christian and non-Christian artists, who do not always identify their religious affiliation. Chapters on popular Christian art, including folk art, and church architecture conclude this rich volume.

Brouwer explores the rapid transformation of Canada’s historic mission programs into faith-based NGOs in the 1960s. In this part of that larger story, the United Church of Canada is shown transitioning to a middle ground in mission theology and practice that stood sharply apart from traditional evangelistic methods and aims but still stopped short of a completely secular outlook and agenda. Michael Marten provides an imaginative conclusion for the book. His contention, inspired by Michel Foucault’s notion of “heterotopias,” is that the hybrid character of mission stations, often small re-creations of home situated on foreign soil, ought to disturb at least some postcolonial ideas about mission peripheries and faraway, fixed centers.

No authors outside of the North Atlantic region are included in this volume, regrettable especially in a set of studies gathered around the theme of transnationalism. Also unfortunate is the price of the book, which is way beyond the reach of all but the most specialized library collections in the West.

—Stanley H. Skreslet

Stanley H. Skreslet is Academic Dean and E. S. Register Professor of Christian Missions at Union Presbyterian Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.
Taiwanese material, James Rohrer’s essay argues this point at length. We know something about what Mackay said, but not much about what the Taiwanese heard. The second point is crucial to understanding the beginnings of the North Taiwanese church. We hope this gap will be filled at the next conference, planned for 2012 in Taiwan.

—Geoff Johnston

Geoff Johnston is a retired Presbyterian minister with experience in Nigeria and the West Indies.

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**Dr. Michael J. McClymond**

**Fall 2012**

Dr. McClymond is professor of modern Christianity, Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, and president of the Institute for World Christianity. During the last twenty-two years at four institutions, he has taught a range of courses in the fields of theological and religious studies, the history of Christianity, and comparative religions. Dr. McClymond’s book *Encounters with God: An Approach to the Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (1998) received the 1999 Frank S. and Elizabeth D. Brewer Prize from the American Society of Church History as the best first book on the history of Christianity.

**Dr. Tite Tiénou**

**Spring 2013**

Dr. Tiénou is senior vice president of education, dean, and professor of theology of mission at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois. Prior to coming to Trinity in 1997, he was president and dean of the Faculté de Théologie Évangélique de l’Alliance Chrétienne in Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire, and taught for nine years at Alliance Theological Seminary, Nyaack, New York. Earlier, he was founding director and professor of the Maranatha Institute in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso. Dr. Tiénou’s areas of expertise include mission, theology, and the church in Africa.

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emerging field. A substantial volume with short and accessible chapters, it aims to be a handbook for missionary action by making theory and methodology accessible to students and practitioners, and by providing case studies of communities from China, Ghana, and Vietnam and from Jewish, Muslim, and Hispanic communities in the United States. It sets a framework, provides biblical exploration, and gives thorough bibliographies and tabular explanations. The chapter on interdisciplinary research methodology gives guidelines for scoping the field to aid those embarking on their own study. Wan, who writes about half the chapters, and most other contributors speak from diaspora experience.

For this reviewer, some of the most interesting chapters on Old Testament and modern Jewish Diaspora are also the most tendentious, precisely because they, and related chapters, attempt to frame the wider subject. Missiology must take account of the Jewish experience, and the Jewish Diaspora has set terms of inquiry for diaspora studies. However, diaspora missiology might be better understood as a large subset of a wider migration-missiology paradigm. A focus on exile, group consciousness, regretful memory of homeland, and social solidarity is important, but it closes down inquiry regarding migrations that have different patterns and suggests a tie to land and ethnicity that is questioned in the New Testament and in some historical trajectories of mission.

The shifts in world Christianity impact missiology. This book is to be welcomed because it connects practice with theory, and social observation with mission theology. In an area of study and practice that moves as rapidly as those with whom it engages, it is unlikely to be the last word.

—Emma Wild-Wood

Emma Wild-Wood, Director of the Henry Martyn Centre, Cambridge, was sponsored by the CMS in teaching at Institut Superieur, Theologique Anglican, Bunia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and at Bishop Tucker College and Namugongo Martyrs Seminary, Uganda (1993–2000).

Dissertation Notices

Doeka, Fredrik Yosep Apeles.

Easter, John Leonard.
“The Spirit, Context, and Mission: The Contextualization Practice of the Malawi Assemblies of God, with Implications for Pentecostal Missiology.”

Huh, Jinphil.
“An Evaluation of a Pre-field Missionary Training Arm of Global Mission Society (GMS).”
Ph.D. Pasadena, Calif.: Fuller Theological Seminary, 2011.

Klinken, A. S. van.
“The need for uncircumsized men’: The Quest for Transformed Masculinities in African Christianity in the Context of the HIV Epidemic.”

Latzko, James R.
“Training Filipinos for Cross-Cultural Ministry: Towards a Filipino Perspective.”
D.Miss. Portland, Ore.: Western Seminary, 2011.

Lee, Yeon-seung.
“Between Nationalism and Internationalism: Yun Ch’i-Ho and the YMCA in Colonial Korea.”
Th.D. Boston: Boston Univ. School of Theology, 2011.

Swann, Peter Lamar.
“The Development and Implementation of a Contextualized Southern Sudanese Model of Church.”
D.Miss. Pasadena, Calif.: Fuller Theological Seminary, 2011.
FALL 2012

September 6–7
U.S. Churches Today.
Rev. Geoffrey A. Little, All Nations Christian Church (New Haven), provides an overview with a guided tour of New Haven and area churches. $95.

September 17–20
How to Develop Mission and Church Archives.
Ms. Martha Lund Smalley, Yale Divinity School Library, helps missionaries and church leaders identify, organize, and preserve essential records.

September 24–27
Doing Oral History: Helping Christians Tell Their Own Story.
Dr. Jean-Paul West, Jesuit Beijing Center, Beijing, China, and Ms. Michèle Sigg, Dictionary of African Christian Biography, share skills and techniques for documenting mission and church history.

October 1–5
The Internet and Mission: Getting Started.
Mr. Wilson Thomas, Wilson Thomas Systems, Bedford, New Hampshire, and Dr. Dwight P. Baker, Overseas Ministries Study Center, in a hands-on workshop show how to get the most out of the World Wide Web for mission research. Cosponsored by Africa Inland Mission.

For a FREE subscription to the International Bulletin of Missionary Research e-journal, go to www.internationalbulletin.org/register.

October 8–11
Nurturing and Educating Transcultural Kids.

October 16
Mission in Acts 16.
Ms. Barbara Hufner-Kemper, psychotherapist and United Methodist missionary, White Plains, New York, creatively studies the mission encounters recorded in Acts 16 to help participants consider their own understandings of Christian mission in this special one-day seminar. Cosponsored by United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries. $50.

October 22–25
Themes in Worldwide Christianity: Bible, Theology, Renewal, and Other Religions.
Dr. Michael McClymond, Saint Louis University and an OMSC senior mission scholar, explores concrete examples of how Bible commentaries, theologies, renewal movements, and interreligious relations take shape on a worldwide scale. Cosponsored by Evangelical Covenant Church World Mission Department and Park Street Church (Boston, Massachusetts).

November 5–9
Dr. Andrew F. Walls, honorary professor, University of Edinburgh, and former director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, starting from a Methodist focus, explores developments common to the missions of the period—OMSC’s seventh Distinguished Mission Lectureship series—five lectures with discussions. Cosponsored by Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.

November 12–15
Church and Mission in Europe—East and West.
Dr. Peter Kuzmič, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts, and Evangelical Theological Seminary, Osijek, Croatia, examines the new context and new roles for churches and missions in a changed Europe, both East and West. Cosponsored by Christian Reformed World Missions.

November 26–29
Iranian Shi’ite Muslims and Christianity.
Dr. Sasan Tavassoli, Evangelical Church of Iran, introduces Shi’ite Islam and some of the ways that contemporary Iranians interact with the Christian faith. Cosponsored by Greenfield Hill Congregational Church (Fairfield, Connecticut) and Trinity Baptist Church (New Haven).

December 3–6
The Gospel of Peace in Dynamic Engagement with the Peace of Islam.
Dr. David W. Shenk, Eastern Mennonite Missions, explores the church’s calling to bear witness to the Gospel of peace in its engagement with Muslims, whether in contexts of militancy or in settings of moderation. Cosponsored by Mennonite Central Committee.

Friday Mornings, September–December
Special Friday “Hot Topics” Series.
On select Friday mornings, OMSC residents and other interested participants will attend and later review open panel discussions led by Yale World Fellows, mid-career leaders in various fields from all over the world. On other select Friday mornings, OMSC residents will lead seminars on topics about which they have special concern, experience, and expertise.

Seminars cost $175 unless otherwise noted. Full information—including content descriptions, directions, schedules, and links to register online—may be found online.

Overseas Ministries Study Center
490 Prospect Street, New Haven, CT 06511
study@OMSC.org www.omsc.org/seminars

This semester, study with
Dr. Michael J. McClymond
Senior Mission Scholar in Residence
Professor of Modern Christianity, Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, and president of the Institute for World Christianity.
Details: www.omsc.org/scholars

For more information, contact
Clare Deppen, OMSC Registrar
490 Prospect Street, New Haven, CT 06511
claire@omsc.org 203-436-2962
Breton, Raymond.
**Different Gods: Integrating Non-Christian Minorities into a Primarily Christian Society.**

Coleman, Doug.
**A Theological Analysis of the Insider Movement Paradigm from Four Perspectives:** *Theology of Religions, Revelation, Soteriology, and Ecclesiology.*

Constantino, Josefina D.

Davies, Ewan.
**Whatever Happened to C. T. Studd’s Mission? Lessons from the History of WEC International.**

Jenkins, Philip.
**The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity.** 3rd ed.

Karsen, Wendell Paul.
**The Church Under the Cross: Mission in Asia in Times of Turmoil; A Missionary Memoir.** Vol. 2.

Keating, John Craig William.
**A Protestant Church in Communist China: Moore Memorial Church Shanghai, 1949–1989.**

Leddy, Mary Jo.
**The Other Face of God: When the Stranger Calls Us Home.**

Lingel, Joshua, Jeff Morton, and Bill Nikides, eds.
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Mallampalli, Chandra.
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Meyerink, Dorothy Dickens.
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Miyake, Noriyuki.
**Belong, Experience, Believe: Pentecostal Mission Strategies for Japan.**

Zink, Jesse A.
**Grace at the Garbage Dump: Making Sense of Mission in the Twenty-First Century.**