Fifty years ago R. Pierce Beaver, director of the Missionary Research Library in New York, launched the occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library. Produced in his office as a mimeographed paper with a staple in the corner, it was issued ten to sixteen times per year (and cost the subscriber $1!). Beaver moved on to teach the history of missions at the University of Chicago Divinity School, and by the mid-1970s the publication of the Occasional Bulletin had become both infrequent and unpredictable, and circulation had fallen to less than 400.

The Overseas Ministries Study Center entered the picture and inaugurated the present quarterly format with the issue of January 1977, renaming it the Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research. In 1981 “Occasional” was replaced in the title with “International.” With vigorous promotion, the Bulletin soon reached several thousand subscribers. Today the number exceeds 6,000, with about half of the copies of the journal going to the far corners of the globe, reaching some 130 countries. The editors will take pleasure in placing that “50” on each issue of the IBMR during A.D. 2000.

This year also marks the hundredth anniversary of the Boxer Uprising in China. Some of the older readers of the IBMR doubtless got their early impression of the adventure and danger of missionary service from reading missionary accounts of the uprising such as Archibald E. Glover’s A Thousand Miles of Miracle in China, which went through sixteen editions between 1904 and 1928. In this issue of the IBMR R. Gary Tiedemann, professor of modern Chinese history at the University of London, reexamines the Boxer movement. He concludes that its causes and dynamics went significantly deeper than merely xenophobia.

In the lead article of this issue, Charles C. West, professor emeritus, Princeton Theological Seminary, commands our attention with an unexpected question: “Should Christians Take Marxism Seriously Anymore?” Jesus’ words about exorcised devils returning to an empty house take on new meaning with West’s answer to this question.

Also in this issue readers will welcome David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson’s sixteenth annual statistical update on Christian mission in the context of global demographics. The factors that produce these statistics change from time to time, including whenever the United Nations revises its projections for global population trends. Many of us have been watching the next-to-bottom line of the Statistical Table, which is the proportion of world population that Barrett and his colleagues reckon to be unevangelized. For many years, it appeared that the figure was steadily falling throughout the twentieth century; in fact, Barrett was able to project that the figure would reach less than 10 percent by 2025. But in the January 1999 issue, his figures indicated that the trends had reversed. This year the statistical table confirms the reversal: the percent unevangelized has gone from a 1980s low of about 16 percent back up to 25 percent. That is, fully a quarter of the world’s population has yet to hear of Christ and his Gospel.

If God grants another fifty years, what will the figures then show?
Should Christians Take Marxism Seriously Anymore?

Charles C. West

Let me begin with a reminiscence. In 1950, when my wife and I left China, I collected my thoughts and experiences from three turbulent years in that country in an essay I entitled "Christian Witness in Communist China." It caught the eye of a man whom I regard as one of the greatest missionaries of all time, Dr. Joseph H. Oldham. Oldham was one of the founders of the world missionary movement of the twentieth century. He was secretary and organizer of the World Missionary Conference, in Edinburgh in 1910. He helped found the International Missionary Council in 1920 and was its general secretary for years. He worked with churches in Africa and wrote one of the early books on Christianity and the race problem. He organized the Oxford World Conference on Church, Community, and State in 1937. He was an elder statesman at the founding of the World Council of Churches in 1948.

He was eighty years old when I met him, and he had the custom in his retirement of inviting small groups to his home in Sussex to explore the frontiers of Christian mission, frontiers of thought, and frontiers in society. When he invited me, he put this question: "I hope you can tell us how it is that Marxist Communism, a system of thought so completely disproved and discredited in the modern world, still can exercise such a powerful influence over great masses of people." That was almost fifty years ago.

One might say that today Oldham's question has answered itself. For nearly half a century the world was divided into two great ideological blocs, each held together by a system of power topped by nuclear weapons, over against the other. Today Communism is no longer a power and no longer a model. The system of society directed from the top toward a goal of equal participation by all in the processes and fruits of production has broken down. The command economy of the Soviet bloc has collapsed, and the bloc itself has disintegrated. China is still under the dictatorial control of the Communist Party, but it has given up trying to build a communist society. Vietnam has gone even further along the road toward democracy and mixed economy. Communist parties hold power in Kerala and West Bengal in India, but they have become practical advocates for the welfare of the poor in a mixed economy, nothing more. Only Cuba and North Korea hold onto the old structure, and they are isolated.

Communism is no longer a power in the world. Marxism has also withered as a faith. Fifty years ago, in the student hostels in China or on the streets of London, Paris, Calcutta, São Paulo, and Dakar, one could argue with true believers about their hope for a people's revolution, liberation from capitalist exploitation, and a new world of freedom, equality, common property, and shared prosperity in a classless society guided by Marxist analysis and led by the Communist Party. Today this faith has nearly disappeared. One may find it still in the hills of the Philippines among the New People's Army, or in the mountains of Peru with the Shining Path, but almost nowhere else. Few people any longer believe in the Marxist plan of social salvation. It looks as if the socialist experiment, with its dream of a classless society and its nightmare of a police state, was a texture of unreality, a form of demon possession, that has vanished in the daylight without a trace. The future now appears to lie open, unencumbered by the illusions and the brutalities of the movement that grew out of the philosophy of Karl Marx.

Does this mean we can now safely forget about that movement? Was a century and a half of history, with its mass movements, revolutionary struggles, and socialist experiments, only a kind of political hysteria that gripped us for a while but now has passed away? I do not think so. My reason is theological. Let me illustrate it from Jesus' words in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke: "When the unclean spirit has gone out of a person, it wanders through waterless regions looking for a resting place, but it finds none. Then it says, 'I will return to my house from which I came.' When it comes, it finds it empty, swept, and put in order. Then it goes and brings along seven other spirits more evil than itself, and they enter and live there; and the last state of that person is worse than the first. So will it be also with this evil generation" (Matt. 12:43-45; also Luke 11:24-26).

Demons are not only forces outside of us; they are also corruptions of the goodness within us. Marxist Communism was a challenging demon in our sinful world. It was driven out, but it may return. Meanwhile, new demons are moving into the world that it has left. We read about their victims every day in the newspaper. If we do not learn God's lessons from this experience, the last state of our world may be worse than the first. Let me therefore make three points about what Marxism was and is, and then ask about Christian response.

A "Scientific" Analysis

Marxism claims to be the science of history determined by economic forces. After the Second World War, Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov, an imperturbable expression of Soviet inflexibility, said to reporters, "The difference between us and you in the West is that we know the laws of history." According to Marx, those laws dictate that in a world of private property as the means of production, the owners of property systematically exploit those who have none and rob them of some of the value of their labor. This exploitation becomes capital, which then feeds on itself, leading to ever more intense exploitation, ever greater poverty, dividing the world into an ever smaller number of propertied capitalists and an ever increasing number of workers who have no property and therefore

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no stake in the system. The end is the collapse, or the explosion, of the system, when those who manage and own everything can no longer pursue their system-driven goal, and the masses who have owned nothing rise up in solidarity and seize control. The science was modified of course by the premature success of the revolution led by the Communist Party in some countries, leading to a planned expropriation of private property and a planned organization of all production in the hands of all the people.

Why did this “science” have such power over human minds for more than a century? I think there are two reasons. First, it tore the mask of hypocrisy from the face of a system of production, finance, and economic laws that itself claimed to be rational but that in fact was enriching some and impoverishing many. Marx used the same logic as the liberal economists of his day, from Adam Smith on down, to demonstrate that the laws of traditional economics are not the laws of progress for all in a humane society but of the concentration of capital in ever fewer hands, to the growing impoverishment of the many. He chronicled, under the guise of historical laws, the cumulative workings of sin, most especially of greed, grown into superhuman power, in the world of economic organization and change. Second, Marx’s “science” was for many a science of hope. In the worst conditions of poverty and suffering, in the bleakest of factory towns, when all the power seemed to be in the hands of some anonymous owner, here was assurance that, by the laws of history itself, emancipation would come, and all the oppressive relationships would be overturned. It gave confidence to workers who organized and struck, despite the crushing odds against them. It empowered the mass movements that in fact changed history in their time.

An Agent of Social Salvation

Marxism claimed to be a revolutionary movement, the one reliable and effective agent of real social salvation. This truth, for Marx, was rooted in human existence itself. “It is not the consciousness of men [and women] that determines their being,” he wrote, “but on the contrary [it is] their social being that determines their consciousness.” In other words, human beings find themselves, they discover who they are, in the economic relations where they are placed, in the way they solve the problems of their livelihood, in the struggle against their oppressors, or in their efforts to keep control and accumulate their wealth. All thought, all self-awareness, is a function of the struggle of one’s class, Marx would say, to achieve or maintain power in the production system. There is no reality beyond this struggle. There is no universal truth that transcends the conflict, and there won’t be until the classless society is finally established and the sense of private over against public good is finally abolished.

The poor, the dispossessed, and the oppressed discover who they are as they take part in the struggle for their liberation. The Chinese Marxist philosopher Liu Shao Ch’i once put it this way: The object of self-cultivation is “to know one’s enemies, to know oneself, and to know the laws of the people’s revolution.” It happens in that order. In this process one loses one’s sense of self-identity and one’s sense of partial identity (social, family, cultural, ethnic, etc.) and finds oneself in solidarity with all oppressed people everywhere in their struggle.

This movement has had a double appeal over the years—one critical, the other inspiring. The critical side we call ideology—that is, an understanding of reality, truth, and goodness that reflects and serves the interests of those who proclaim it. Marx has brought home to us, as no other philosopher has, the univer-
bias of even our most objective analysis. His criticism of religion is rooted here. Religion, he says, is the projection of an ideal reality against the heavens, into which we escape from the intolerable misery of our material reality in this world. It is the opium the people take to dull the pain of their real lives. It is, in the hands of the powerful, a means of giving the people a substitute satisfaction so that they will not rebel against the intolerable conditions of real life. So the criticism of religion, Marx says, is the beginning of all criticism. One must strip away the illusion that claims to be ultimate truth in order to face the real conditions of life and revolutionize them.

We may not accept Marx’s view of revolutionary consciousness. But we are left with the searching question: How much of our own opinion about the world, our philosophy, our ethics, and even our religion is a function of economic and social interests, of our dominance and self-assertion?

The inspiring side of this appeal is that this revolutionary self-consciousness has energized peoples everywhere around the world who are outcast, dispossessed, and victimized by the powers that dominate them. Not only the exploited workers in European factories who were Marx’s model but people everywhere, uprooted from farms, loaded down with debt, deprived of their communities, and forced into poverty by economic forces or political oppression have found in this movement the expression of their alienated humanity and the meaning of their existence. It is no accident that Marxist ideology prevailed in China, one of the poorest countries in the world, or that strong Communist parties arose in India, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Latin America, among peasants who had never seen a factory. Wherever peoples have nothing to lose, this doctrine gives expression to their revolutionary existence.

A Powerful Humanism

Marxism is a humanism, the most extreme and self-confident expression of the humanism that has dominated our secular Western civilization since the eighteenth century. Marx believed in an ultimate reality that he called species-humanity, which creates itself and molds the world of nature by creative work. There is no limit to this creativity, least of all the limit of a creator.

Some Christians likened Marxist humanism to the kingdom of God.

God. This humanity transcends all divisions of property and interest. There is no division between the universal and the individual, between public and private. Humanity seeks to universalize itself by productive labor, to the point of making nature itself reflect a human image. Thus it was at least in the beginning, and will be again when the classless society is established and true communism reigns. Against this background the present world of economic determinism and class struggle appears so dark. Humanity has fallen (the parallels to the biblical drama are striking) from this paradise through the division of labor. One has hired the labor of another, which means one has deprived that other of a portion of humanity, since a human being is one’s labor. Exploitation has proceeded through various stages of history—slavery, feudalism, and finally capitalism—each more intense than the last, until nothing is left of human community but what Marx calls “the callous cash nexus,” decreasing wages paid to workers who have lost all stake in the fruits of their labor and are therefore human only in the solidarity of total alienation, a negative image of the universal humanity that is their source and their destiny. In this state the conditions of total revolution and of the new, truly human society are prepared.

This humanism has inspired millions during the past 150 years. It has even fascinated some Christian idealists who liken it to the kingdom of God. It is not all that different from the ambitions of technological dreamers in our Western free-market society, who propose to expand human information systems without limit, who look forward to colonizing space, domesticating nuclear power, and engineering human reproduction through the gene pool. Marx, to be sure, was more realistic than these Christians or these inventors about human nature and economic forces in a class society. He knew more, provisionally, than they, about human sin in social structures. Still the vision of a world where there are no limits on human self-expression, where nature itself becomes a reflection of human creative power, and yet where there are no conflicts among people because there is no private property, no self-centered sense of who one is, continues to bewitch the world long after Communist power has disappeared.

In all these ways, Marxism is still with us. The ideologists of the open-market system would like to roll the clock back to the mid-nineteenth century, but they cannot. We have all been changed by our encounter with this other ideology, which focused on the mind and the power of the exploited poor of the world. How, then, should Christians respond to it? Let me suggest three ways. They take up the three parts of Marxism described above.

Justice for the Commonwealth

Marxism claims to be the science of economic laws determining the behavior of human beings in a society driven by the insatiable hunger for profit (capitalist accumulation, he called it), to the progressive impoverishment and dispossession of masses of people. Behind that science was a burning hatred of the injustice and inhumanity of the system, an anger that was simply absent in the free-enterprise economists of his day who explored the same economic phenomena. This anger is absent also in the financial experts who explain and guide our global economy today. Listen to them on the nightly news. There is not a word about the effect of stock market changes or corporate policies on the public welfare, on the livelihood of the poor, on the common good of the people of the world. Marx used an ideology to fight another ideology. It was flawed, and in the long run it could not give us a clear vision of the human future. But the force behind that ideology was the inexorable judgment of God on human sin embodied in economic power. Marx was the modern humanist version of an Old Testament prophet.

Why did this prophecy have to come from a humanist using the language of science? Where was the church with the word of God and the gospel of repentance and conversion? I think two things happened to confuse the Christian message. First, only in the twentieth century, and only as they have been goaded by the Marxist challenge, have Christians learned how to understand the power of economic enterprise in an industrial and now a technological world. The church has always known that human sin is expressed in powers that organize themselves against their
Christianity's World Mission would be less intimidating and more manageable if everyone spoke the same language, followed the same customs and viewed life the same way. That idyllic world, however, is not the world Christ calls us to engage.

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

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Creator and has tried to call these powers to justice, to responsible human service under the reign of Christ. For most of Christian history, however, the principal embodiment of these powers was political rulers, the authorities with their government, their police, and their armies. Only in the past two and a half centuries have economic powers emerged in their own right, with their own ideology, organizing the world in their own way. The church at first tried to control them. In the seventeenth century a merchant could still be called before a church council and made to repent and give restitution for taking too much profit, for not paying just wages to his workers, or for loaning money at interest to a neighbor in need. Events overwhelmed the church, however, and the science of economics silenced its prophetic voice. Only in this century and with the help of Marx, have we learned to question the assumptions of that science and to analyze the way in which the self-interest of those who profit distorts its picture of how human economic enterprise should serve the common good. We are learning this perspective now. The response of economic power is strong. It has organized think tanks of its own to rationalize that power. It has even coopted a few theologians in its service. The question is, Will we keep our eye on the real issue: the use of our great economic and technological resources, or our vast financial system, to promote the welfare of all the people, not the profit of a few, to bring the poor and the dispossessed into full community with the rest of us—in short, to realize justice in the world?

Second, too much of the Christian church has been misled by the humanist doctrine that only individuals are real and important in the world. Beset by our failure to control an expanding society, we have retreated into the private personal realm. We have made the Gospel into a message of salvation for each person by himself or herself and have turned the church into a gathered community of those who have been individually saved. We have divided the personal Gospel from the social gospel. Only now, at the dawn of a new century, are we learning to overcome this division and to ask afresh about the promise of God for the sinful world of which we are a part. Marx has pushed us toward this breakthrough. Let us not forget it.

A Message of Transformation

Marxism was and is a philosophy and a psychology of revolution. It is a revolt against accommodation to the injustice, inhumanity, and oppression of the world system in which we live. It is a call to change and to transform. It is an uncompromising attack on all who defend their power, position, and interests against the people whom they exploit, and on those who support them with religious and other rationalizations.

Is the Gospel revolutionary? In one sense, profoundly so. The repentance that Christ demands destroys all our defenses. Everything we are is under judgment—our goodness, our ambitions, our possessions, our status in society, even our security against others—when we face the cross. We are called to die with Christ. We are thrown into solidarity with the outcast and poor because, like them, we have no more stake in the social system that excludes them and because, like them, our hope is in the new creation that the risen Christ brings into our age, to be fulfilled in the age to come. The devastating judgment of God on the selfishness, injustice, and inhumanity of this world and the awesome promise of God for a new creation already being realized with the reign of the risen Christ—this is our message, our revolution. Why did Karl Marx have to teach us to discover ourselves as comrades in deprivation and in hope with the poor?

But there is also a profound difference between a Marxist and a Christian revolution. It is rooted, I believe, in our understanding of who we are as human beings. Consciousness, Marx said truly, is dependent on social existence. We all think as people who are responding to the world around us, struggling to survive, prosper, and find our place in life. None of us is endowed with a sinless divine reason, capable of discerning truth as it is, beyond all the distortions of human desire.

But what is the social existence on which our consciousness depends? For Marx (and one must say, for most secular humanists in our world, even for most capitalists), it is the struggle of human beings to master the means of production, technology, and science, so as to find ultimate security and realize their unlimited ambitions—to universalize the human species, Marx would say. Christians, however, understand social existence differently. It is community in covenant with one’s neighbor and with God. It is reality limited and directed toward its true end by the justice and love of God, given form and meaning by the servanthood and the promise of Christ. Christians do not believe in the limitless expansion of human power and prosperity. We believe that people become human by accepting the limit of the other, the other person and the other who is God, as grace and promise and freedom. Existence is not collective, not individual, but relational.

So it is on the negative side as well. Evil is not the result of broken solidarity but of broken relationships. It is self-assertion against the other, ultimately against God. It is hatred and domination of the other, which grows into systems of injustice and oppression. But all of us, even revolutionaries, can be guilty of this sin. Revolution for the Christian thus involves a continual struggle against injustice, but also repentance, forgiveness, and reconciliation.

This calling can make Christians unreliable revolutionaries. Many years ago, soon after the Second World War, an Indian student Christian leader who later became a great ecumenical statesman, M. M. Thomas, attended two 1947 world youth conferences in Europe. The first was of the World Student Christian Federation in Oslo, Norway. There the Indonesian delegation, fresh from their country’s armed struggle for independence from the Netherlands, demanded that the Dutch delegation be expelled from the meeting and that Dutch imperialism be condemned. A furious debate ensued. It came to an end when W. A. Visser ’t Hooft from the Netherlands stood and confessed his country’s guilt in the Indonesian war, pledged the whole Dutch delegation to resist it, and asked the Indonesians for forgiveness. After the meeting the Dutch and Indonesians sat and talked far into the night. The next morning they brought in a common statement. It condemned the Dutch action in Indonesia, but it also confessed that both sides had committed unjust actions in the war and that none were without sin in the presence of God. Dutch and Indonesians asked and gave forgiveness to...
each other and asked the assembly to confirm their action.

A few weeks later Thomas went to a congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Prague, a movement strongly influenced by Marxist convictions. There, no ambiguity was to be found. The congress with one voice affirmed their support for the Indonesian struggle and called on the world to join the battle for the liberation of the oppressed victims of imperialism. The delegates taunted M.M.: You Christians, with your ideas of sin, repentance, and forgiveness, cut the nerve of resistance to oppression. You relativize the struggle for liberation and justice, and so, despite your words, you serve the ends of imperial power.

Are we, then, weak allies in the fight for justice, against the powers of this world? We must always ask that question. Yet there is an answer to it. It has to do with the continuing revolution that the justification of the sinner by grace alone and the resurrection of Jesus Christ bring into this world. The victory of a revolutionary power may be good for the people who gain power over their political destiny, but it is not the end. New forms of corruption, exploitation, and injustice arise and must be fought afresh. New opponents must be found to challenge the victors. In the long run all justice is relative and must be continuously sought. God’s revolutionary transformation never ends. Forgiveness and reconciliation are its tools. They too change people and societies, in ways that will be fulfilled only in the final judgment day.

Marxism is humanism to the highest degree. As we have seen, it is a collective humanism of the human species in solidarity, not of individuals pursuing their various goals, as most secular humanism is. It projected a vision of human society without exploitation, inequality, or the selfish spirit of private property and ambition. It galvanized the protest of the masses of the dispossessed and the poor to fight for their liberation and for a new humanity. In its Communist form the vision failed. It became inhuman in its humanity because it did not understand how human sin persists, even when the masses have won control. It did not learn the Christian graces of compromise, reconciliation, forgiveness, and the limitation of power by a God who is justice and love. Now it is gone. But it has left us Christians with a massive challenge.

What is the form of a just, equal, and caring society that could take the place of Marxism? What is the vision of common humanity that can transcend the savage tribal wars that now divide us? No such vision is out there today. The global forces of business, technology, and finance certainly do not provide it. The demons again hover at our doorstep. As post-Marxist Christians, we have a tremendous responsibility.

Baptism of Fire: China’s Christians and the Boxer Uprising of 1900

R. G. Tiedemann

As preparations are made to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the Boxer Uprising, this “midsummer madness” of 1900 remains a well-known but poorly understood episode in modern Chinese history. Most readers will be familiar with the fifty-five-day siege of the foreign legations in Beijing, for that story was covered by sensational accounts in the Western press at the time and has since been retold in popular books and motion pictures. While the heroic defense of the diplomatic quarter and its subsequent relief by an eight-nation allied force makes for fascinating reading, it is not the full story. The tragic and extremely bloody event, usually described as an outbreak of intense anti­foreign hostility, affected much of North China and Manchuria. The majority of the Boxers’ victims were, in fact, Chinese Christians and foreign missionaries. In Beijing itself a second siege took place, namely of the North Cathedral (Beitang), where several Vincentian (Lazarist) priests, sisters, and a large number of Catholics held out until the foreign expeditionary force lifted that siege on August 15, 1900, a day after the legations had been relieved. However, the ferocity of the anti-Christian persecution was such in the Beijing area that nearly all the Christians were killed outside these two relatively safe centers in the capital. The suffering and martyrdom of the many individual Chinese Catho­


The above examples are indicative of the Boxers’ ferocity throughout North China. What were the causes that gave rise to this destructive crisis of 1900? Conventional wisdom has it that the origins of this bitter confrontation are to be found in the province of Shandong, where an aggressive missionary conver-
Rural, insecure areas of North China gave rise to the Boxers—and to many Christian communities.

Evangelization and Religious Protectorates

Except for the sporadic incursions of Catholic priests to minister to the surviving congregations of “old Christians,” it was not until after 1860 that Christianity began to advance—rather slowly during the first two decades—into North China. Acceptance or rejection of the faith was to a considerable extent connected with contextual variations in the social ecology of the region. In contrast to the normative, benevolent, and repressive control prevailing in the social systems of eastern and south-central Shandong, the densely populated yet highly insecure environment in the border regions on the North China Plain, with progressively deteriorating economic conditions and a distinct paucity of upper gentry, fostered socially disruptive human behavior. This pattern was seen in such aggressive survival strategies as feuding, banditry, and salt smuggling, as well as the proliferation of rebellious sects. Yet it was precisely in these turbulent and disaster-prone backwaters that the rapid expansion of Christianity occurred in the 1890s. And it was here that the Boxer movement appeared during the last years of the nineteenth century.

Both Catholic and Protestant missionary work in the interior of China was greatly facilitated by the so-called unequal treaties and associated agreements. The Beijing Convention of 1860, in particular, created the framework for the significant expansion of Catholic activities during the last third of the nineteenth century. The surreptitiously amended Chinese version of article 6 of the Sino-French Convention of 1860 stipulated, for instance, that Catholic missionaries were permitted to rent and purchase land in all the provinces and to erect buildings thereon. The Sino-French treaty furthermore guaranteed to Catholic missionaries the right to preach in the interior, and to Chinese converts the right to practice Christianity without being liable to punishment. The imperial edict of April 8, 1862, exempted Chinese Catholics from making contributions toward communal endeavors that were deemed to contain “superstitious” practices. Most important, although not provided for in any treaty, France assumed the right to protect all Roman Catholics in China, regardless of nationality. This protectorate was, in practice, extended to Chinese converts as well.

Under the treaties the missionaries—Catholic as well as Protestant—were in a better position to vigorously pursue their calling. Not surprisingly, their often provocative responses to local efforts to preserve China’s cultural integrity brought them into social conflict. The greatest threat to local power holders came from the missionaries’ role as formidable political actors. Catholic priests, in particular, explicitly challenged both the formal and informal agents of Chinese political power. They were part of a complex and proactive ecclesiastical hierarchy that deliberately paralleled the increasingly inert administrative structure. Furthermore, in their dealings with local government functionaries, Catholic priests insisted on wearing Chinese official dress and considered it their right to demand preferential access and to be treated as social equals with local officials.

Some missionaries and Christians were prone to violate the cultural and moral principles of Chinese society, for instance, when Christians performed their religious observances openly and quite conspicuously. Occasionally the provocative display of the symbols of successful expansion (chapels, churches, schools, orphanages), often distinctly foreign in appearance, caused local opposition. Disputes in connection with local socio-religious practices constituted a frequent source of anti-Christian conflict. Weddings and funerals, in particular, were occasions that could give rise to anti-Christian hostility and even violence. Where Christians chose to set themselves apart so as to enjoy the privileges that missionaries had won for them under the religious toleration clauses of the treaties, their behavior might create or exacerbate intracommunal tensions. The Christians’ refusal to take part in communal practices that they claimed to have a “superstitious” character, such as traditional ancestor worship, could be especially contentious.

The extent to which the preceding examples of intrusive behavior resulted in actual conflict is difficult to assess. On the one hand, accommodation and toleration may have been more common features than ostracism and marginalization. On the other hand, it may not have been the behavior of Christians that provoked hostility but popular and elite attitudes toward outsiders, shaped by the unshakable belief in Chinese cultural superiority that permeated all levels of society. In this connection, we have to keep in mind that the great majority of rural dwellers had never seen Europeans and may have derived their opinions of them from the long tradition of lurid tales propagated in incendiary posters, calumnious pamphlets, and ugly rumors. The so-called irrational forces at work in some of the antimissionary agitation were conditioned by the widely held Chinese belief that the foreigners engaged in atrocious practices, immoral licentiousness, sorcery, and the kidnapping of children. In certain circumstances such fears gave rise to xenophobic reactions.

It is often asserted that it was mainly the more unsavory characters of society that joined the church. In North China the motives behind conversion, however, were complex, mixed, and
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influenced by spatial and temporal variations in the course of the nineteenth century, as well as by different approaches of the various missionary bodies. For analytic purposes, they can be divided into three broad categories: (1) *spiritual incentives*, attracting individual “seekers after truth”; (2) *material incentives*, attracting substantial numbers of “rice Christians”; and (3) *sociopolitical incentives*, leading to mass “conversion” of what may be termed “litigation Christians.” It is not possible to assign precise numbers to these categories.

The so-called litigation Christians became particularly prevalent in the violent environment on the North China Plain. Hence, what was described as anti-Christian agitation in this region more often than not was part of existing patterns of traditional conflict (usually protracted feuds over land and water rights). As the American Board missionary Arthur Smith put it, “Occasions of offense are never wanting. Petty quarrels and misunderstandings distract every hamlet, and the moment the Gospel enters, these evils appear on the surface like a malignant rash, but many of them, it should be noted, have their roots much deeper than the epidermis.” Indeed, it may have been existing tensions in the community that caused village factions to turn to the church in the first place. In other words, many so-called missionary cases, or *jiaoan* (court cases involving primarily local Chinese Christians and their non-Christian neighbors), merely revealed the existence of underlying tensions in rural society.

In environments where violent competition over scarce resources was endemic—such as the provincial border complex on the North China Plain—the political incentives Christianity offered were thus especially attractive. By enlisting the support of the church, the weaker groups in the community had a chance to stand up to the dominant and oppressive elements. Against the background of increasing pressures on local resources, the Christians consequently gained preferential access to these resources and were quick to exploit their privileged position. The converts’ competitive approach was a common feature of traditional rural society, especially in the turbulent districts on the North China Plain.

Certainly in the border districts on the North China Plain, Christian congregations were basically similar in social composition to non-Christian communities, because in this highly competitive environment conversion was typically a collective survival strategy. Secure in the knowledge that they would be protected by the missionaries, the Christians and potential converts were quick to take advantage of this new situation and began to display greater assertiveness. Except for the fact that Christian assertiveness ultimately rested on foreign power, there was nothing unusual about such practices. In this context, “conversion” must be seen as an integral part of traditional patterns of competition and cooperation. The fact that one of the rival groups in factional conflict claimed to be Christian was not necessarily the cause of hostility, at least not the principal cause.

Not until the 1880s was this area opened up to missionary work. The American Board was able to expand its operations in northwestern Shandong in consequence of the substantial relief afforded during the 1876–79 famine. French Jesuits began to move into the border districts of southern Zhili and northern Jiangsu. More significantly, in 1882 two missionaries of the newly established Society of the Divine Word (S.V.D.) were given responsibility for the southern half of the province, an area where there were virtually no Christians at that time. In 1885 Rome elevated that mission to a vicariate apostolic under the exclusive care of the S.V.D. Under its ambitious vicar apostolic Johann Baptist Anzer, South Shandong developed very rapidly into a successful mission field. Having accepted the German religious protectorate in 1890, this dynamic and essentially German Catholic missionary enterprise flourished particularly in the wake of the Sino-Japanese War, when German imperialist ambitions came to be focused on Shandong.

**Impact of the 1894–95 Sino-Japanese War**

The missionary’s role as local protector became particularly prominent during and after the 1894–95 war with Japan, when the province experienced significant dislocations. The transfer of Chinese troops to the front had caused a power vacuum, especially in the areas of endemic violence. Here the rapidly expanding predatory groups took advantage of the situation and caused a further escalation of rural unrest. In the absence of effective government intervention, the rural dwellers were left to their own devices to curb the progressive intensification of banditry. Various intervillage defensive organizations, many of which had originally been created at the time of the midcentury rebellions, were now reactivated throughout Shandong Province. Of particular interest is the emergence in the Shandong-Jianguo border area of an irregular self-defense organization, namely the Big Sword Society (*Dadaohui*). Established to deal with the escalating bandit problem, in early 1896 it came into conflict with local Christians, most likely as a result of the latter’s refusal to join in communal defense because of the Big Swords’ characteristic invulnerability rituals. These frictions culminated in violent Dadaohui attacks on Christian communities in southwestern Shandong and northeastern Jiangsu in the summer of 1896. Although essentially a minor affair, it did have important consequences and illustrates the opportunism inherent in the missionary enterprise in zones of competitive violence.

The Christians benefited most from the postwar developments. In spite (or, more likely, because) of the considerable hardships experienced by ordinary folk in much of North China, the years 1895–98 saw unprecedented growth of interest in, and conversion to, Christianity. Not even the occupation of Kiaochow as a consequence of the Juye missionary murders interrupted this trend. On the contrary, the growth of Christianity accelerated during the prevailing reformist climate that emerged in reaction to the humiliating defeat by Japan and culminated in the so-called Hundred Days Reforms of 1898. Local officials and innovative members of the local elite interested in Western-inspired development established closer contacts with the missionaries during this period. This situation, however, did not preclude some of the Shandong provincial officials, removed from office on German insistence because of their alleged unfriendly behavior after the Juye affair, from secretly continuing to harbor antiforeign sentiments.

**Origin and Spread of the Boxers**

Given the relatively harmonious relations between Christians and non-Christians in North China after the Sino-Japanese War, the rise of the Boxers as an anti-Christian movement in 1898 is rather surprising. According to Joseph Esherick, the origin of the Boxers can be traced to the emergence of a martial arts group known as the Spirit Boxers (*Shenquan*) in northwestern Shandong. He identifies their most characteristic aspects, namely the practice of mass spirit possession, along with the “boxing” and deep-breathing exercises and invulnerability beliefs and rituals that supposedly made them imperious to injury by sword...
or bullet. Some of these practices may have been adopted from two precursors of the Boxer movement, namely the Big Sword Society of southwestern Shandong and the Plum Flower Boxers (Meihuaqu) in the Shandong/Zhili border area. Both these groups had gained notoriety because of their anti-Christian activities (the Big Swords in 1896; the Plum Flower Boxers supported non-Christians in their struggle with Christians over control of a village temple in 1897–98). Although these earlier incidents were of minor importance, they acquired considerable retrospective meaning because of subsequent events. The link between these societies and the Spirit Boxers, however, is by no means clear.

In late 1898 the Spirit Boxers changed their name to Boxers United in Righteousness (Yihetuan) and Militia United in Righteousness (Yihetuan), the latter implying a degree of official recognition. At the same time, the first Boxer attacks on Catholics were reported in northwestern Shandong. All the while the movement was gaining momentum, spreading northward from Shandong into Zhili toward Beijing and Tianjin. What were the reasons for this transformation of really insignificant local self-defense groups into a large-scale conflagration?

It is now recognized that the unique conjuncture of events and circumstances from late 1898 onward was of pivotal importance to the explosive upsurge of antiforeignism, and expressed primarily in the form of widespread anti-Christian violence. One significant element in the conjuncture was the palace coup ending the Hundred Days Reforms in late September 1898. It brought about a degree of convergence of disparate and otherwise mutually antagonistic strands of popular and elite opposition to alien encroachment. With the militant-conservative faction in control in Beijing, various forces showed a greater determination to confront real or imagined foreign secular and religious intrusions.

To what extent certain militant conservatives at court (including the empress dowager Cixi) and in the provinces provided encouragement to the Boxers' activities is difficult to say. They certainly appear to have been more attuned to the forces of superstition. Some officials may have taken the opportunity to exact revenge. The dismissed Shandong governor Li Bingheng was involved in the killing of several thousand people in the fortified Catholic village of Zhujiahe in Zhili in 1900, and another former Shandong governor, Yuxian, is thought to have ordered the Taiyuan executions that summer.

In China's more advanced areas (eastern Shandong, coastal Zhejiang, and Sichuan), elite resentment developed in response to the foreign scramble for economic concessions (mining and railways). There is less evidence that these elite concerns were shared by the simple peasants in the provincial border regions, where economic imperialism was not an issue. If indeed the patriotic preoccupations of the elite found some resonance among the tradition-bound masses in the hinterland, the precise nature of this interaction remains a research problem. What is certainly true, in view of the considerable physical mobility of Shandong's rural dwellers, is that currents of concern and apprehension could rapidly spread across the country in the form of village gossip, inflammatory pamphlets and placards, and, most important, unsettling rumors. The emergence of the pro-dynastic slogan “Protect the Qing, exterminate the foreign” in late 1898 is a good example. Although promoted by the Boxers, it is my belief that it was transmitted to them indirectly from elite currents of resistance to foreign economic and political encroachment. Similarly, the popular belief that the anti-Christian campaign had been authorized by the emperor and/or the empress dowager was persistent and widespread. Whether this notion could be construed as an attempt by conservative elements of the Chinese-Manchu ruling class to deflect rebellious potential by way of channeling it into an anti-Christian and antiforeign movement is an intriguing question but beyond the scope of this essay.

Recent scholarship has put forward a rather more compelling explanation for the dramatic expansion of the Boxers, namely the prolonged famine episode caused by the extensive drought of 1898–1900, which in conjunction with other factors produced a far more explosive potential for violence. Paul Cohen argues most convincingly that the drought was the critically important element in the genesis and explosive growth of the Boxer movement and of popular support for it in the spring and summer of 1900. Although violence, dearth, and famine were recurring events and part of everyday life in parts of North China, this particularly severe and prolonged environmental disaster coincided with a number of other significant and threatening events. In this context the most frightful rumors spread across the countryside and into the cities. They had unusual potency and were widely believed. Fear of drought-induced death and the belief that the disturbing presence of aliens was ultimately responsible for this calamity encouraged the spread of the old harrowing and often racist tales about foreigners and their Chinese adherents. The charge that Christians were poisoning wells was by far the most widely circulated news. Given the particular conjuncture of circumstances, this highly inflammatory rumor at a time of life-threatening famine was instrumental in creating mass panic and hysteria. In this time of crisis, tolerance was at a minimum in the affected communities and old
quarrels over scarce resources were easily revived. The fearful postcoup climate thus helped revive long-forgotten incidents and transform simmering local animosities into widespread and more or less simultaneous outbreaks of organized violence against Christians and missionaries.

From Conflict to Accommodation

In the final analysis the Boxer movement was driven by a volatile mixture of grievances, resentment, misery, and fear as a multistranded and complex response to mounting internal and external pressures. While the unfortunate entanglement of secular and religious imperialism in the form of religious protectorates was to some extent a contributory factor in the sudden upsurge of anti-Christian violence between late 1898 and 1900, the actual nature of that relationship was never as close as is often asserted in the scholarly literature. Moreover, it is an exaggeration to claim, as is often done, that the uprising was in reaction to the imposition of the foreign evangelists’ version of ideal Christian living upon local society. On certain occasions some missionaries and local Christians did violate the cultural and moral principles of Chinese society or interfered in local politics. But it is my contention that toleration and acceptance of the Christian faith were operating most of the time in most places, including areas of traditional violence. Such anti-Christian conflict as did break out was more often than not linked to traditional forms of strife.

On the whole, the reality of contact between Christians and non-Christians, especially when foreign agents were not directly involved, was very different from the violent confrontations commonly portrayed in the literature. The more common pattern was one of peaceful coexistence between adherents of the church and their non-Christian neighbors. What was emerging from the locally negotiated Christian accommodation to prevailing social arrangements was a kind of Chinese folk Christianity, largely constructive and non-threatening. The Boxer Uprising was merely a temporary setback, the outcome of a particular conjuncture of circumstances during an abnormally severe natural calamity. Whereas in normal times a modus vivendi might have been worked out, during the environmental crisis of 1898–1900 foreigners and local Christians became convenient scapegoats.

This reading of the Boxer phenomenon helps to explain why, after the much-needed rains came and restored the land, the pre-Boxer pattern of toleration and cooperation between Christians and non-Christians reasserted itself. Moreover, many of North China’s surviving Christian communities emerged much stronger from the Boxer ordeal. As the Vincentian missionary Planchet put it: “The Church of China received its baptism of fire in 1900. These Chinese, who were said to be faint-hearted and fickle in their faith, went into battle like old soldiers, and cut a very fine figure there. These neophytes, who formerly were called by the disdainful name of ‘rice Christians,’ declared their faith like the Christians in the time of the persecutions of Rome or Lyons.”

Indeed, one could regard the Boxer Uprising as a significant turning point. For one thing, the traditionally turbulent parts of North China witnessed a remarkable subsiding of “missionary cases” after 1900. Catholic and Protestant missionaries, for their part, had come to realize that an aggressive approach, such as interference in litigation, was proving counterproductive in the long run. At the same time, provincial officials and innovative local notables were now ready to invite missionaries and Christians to participate in the long-overdue modernizing reform program, primarily in the area of education. In other words, the Christian enterprise achieved a degree of recognition by the Chinese ruling class, and in this favorable climate Christianity continued to expand. This understanding of the dynamics of the Boxer movement allows us to see the events of a century ago in North China as a tragic anomaly.

Notes

5. For an account of Protestant losses at Baoding, the capital of Zhili, see I. C. Ketter, The Tragedy of Paoingfu: An Authentic Story of the Lives, Services, and Sacrifices of the Presbyterian, Congregational, and China Inland Missionary Missionaries Who Suffered Martyrdom at Paoingfu, China, June 30 and July 1, 1900 (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1902).
8. The term “Kiaochow,” referring to the German leasehold, must be distinguished from the adjacent Chinese administrative territory of Jiaozhou.
My Pilgrimage in Mission

Aylward Shorter, M.Afr.

My father, Alan W. Shorter, was Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum in London and underwent a conversion while studying the religion of the ancient Egyptians. He came to believe that Egyptian religion had providentially prepared the way for Coptic Christianity. The study of this religion prepared the way for his own conversion to the Catholic Church. Although he died when I was six years old, leaving my mother to bring up four children during the Second World War, his influence and his faith remained an integral part of our family life. Born on May 2, 1932, I grew up in a house that was filled with books and memorabilia of Egypt and Africa. At one time, my mother—a remarkable person and a devout Catholic—was parish secretary for the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, and missionaries would visit our house at Seaford on the south coast of England.

From an early age, I thought of my future in the Catholic priesthood, and I was encouraged in this direction by both Catholic and Anglican members of my family. My great-grandfather, Francis Caudwell (1830–1920), was a saintly Anglican priest and a pioneering missionary in the East End of London. His memory also influenced the family. For my education, I was sent to two boarding schools run by Benedictine monks. The fine Catholic liturgy at Downside Abbey satisfied in me an intuitive need for the aesthetic in worship.

From Military Service to Missionary Vocation

After the sheltered atmosphere of the Benedictine abbey and its school, I began two years of national service in 1950. The rude reality of basic military training came as a severe culture shock. I decided that, as soon as military service was over, I would return and ask to join the monastery. Then I received a letter from a schoolfriend in Zimbabwe, saying, “Come to Africa,” and I applied for an African posting after commissioning in the British army. I found myself seconded to the Third (Kenya) Battalion of the King’s African Rifles, and soon the interests of my youth were rekindled.

Arriving in Kenya as a nineteen-year-old in the decade before independence, I was obliged to learn Kiswahili, which was the first foreign language I learned to speak with any fluency. (I had learned French at school but never had an opportunity of using it.) The ability to communicate in an African language with Kenyan soldiers of my own age, although they were visibly and culturally so different from myself, was a major discovery. This experience was intensified when we were sent to fight in the Far East, and I found myself alone with twenty or thirty Kenyans on lengthy patrols in the Malaysian jungle. Moreover, I was edified by the Christians among these soldiers and by the openness they displayed in the practice of their faith. I was, you could say, being evangelized by them. At the same time, our chaplain, a Mill Hill missionary, put into my hands a Kiswahili catechism and asked me to help instruct the soldiers who were catechumens. This was my first taste of intercultural witness and the germ of a missionary vocation.

In the fall of 1952 I returned to Britain and paid an emotional visit to Downside Abbey. In the high-vaulted church the monks were singing the words of Ezekiel: “Now I shall bring back Jacob’s captives and take pity on the house of Israel” (Ezek. 39:25), and “One thing I ask of the Lord, this is what I seek: that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life” (Ps. 27:4). In spite of these seemingly prophetic words, I made no move in the direction of a monastic vocation. It was at Oxford University, where I studied modern history, that I began to realize that I was not called to be a Benedictine monk in England but to return to East Africa as a missionary. I made contact with the Missionaries of Africa, popularly called White Fathers because of their white Arab costume, and they encouraged me to complete my history degree before joining their society in September 1955.

Missionary Formation

After two years studying philosophy in Ireland and one year of novitiate in Holland, I joined the multinational community of a theological seminary in Ottawa, Canada. Here the intercultural experience of military service was deepened through my formation in the Missionaries of Africa. Not only did I eventually become fluent in French, but I quickly shed the stereotypes of foreign cultures that I had acquired as part of a somewhat insular and class-conscious upbringing. I took my missionary oath on June 17, 1961, after a mystical experience at Pentecost had confirmed my resolve to “serve Africa for life.”

I returned to London to prepare for priesthood, and after ordination on June 30, 1962, I was sent to be a guest student in the newly founded Faculty of Missiology of the Gregorian University in Rome. Here I came under the influence of the Jesuit anthropologist Joseph Goetz, who strongly advised me to return to Oxford to study social anthropology. During my year in Rome the Second Vatican Council held its first session, and the life of the saintly Pope John XXIII reached its climax. It was an experience that prepared me very positively for change in the church.

Back at Oxford, I sat at the feet of famous anthropologists such as E. E. Evans-Pritchard and his gifted pupil R. G. Lienhardt. After gaining the postgraduate diploma in social anthropology, I was allowed to commence doctoral studies immediately and returned to East Africa in 1964 to conduct fieldwork among the Kimbu people of Tanzania. This fieldwork lasted more than two years and was, I suppose, a privilege granted to few members of my missionary society. It was an experience of total immersion in an African culture. Living alone in a Tanzanian village, albeit with the generous background support of my confreres, I was completely indebted to the local people for the information I collected and for the social life they shared with me. At the same time, I was useful to them as their priest.

In many ways, these years were comparable to my encounter with the Kenyan soldiers, but the experience was more prolonged and went much deeper. Academically, it provided the basic insights on which to build a growing appreciation of African culture and of its place in the Christian scheme. Emotion-
ally and spiritually, it strengthened my missionary commitment beyond measure. Living continuously in a remote Kimbu village, I recorded and learned the Kimbu language and shared the life of the people in virtually every respect.

**Entering the World of Rural Africans**

In particular, I tried to enter their mental world. This was not merely a case of one of the non-poor entering the world of the poor, but of a product of Western urban society attempting to understand the thinking of an essentially rural people, a people whose village clearings were surrounded by dense woodland, the abode of birds and animals of every description. In the oral literature that I collected on my small tape recorder, which I transcribed during the long hours of night, the frontiers between the human world and the animal kingdom disappeared. Human beings turned into animals and back again into human beings. Animals spoke with human voices. Nature took revenge on humanity, and creatures could get even with God.

Kimbu cosmology was not a nature religion in the sense that people worshiped natural phenomena, but it was definitely a "religion of nature." Nature not only spoke to the Kimbu of a spiritual dimension of existence, it put them in touch with that world of spirit. Theirs was an organic universe, a biological cosmos, and human beings lived in continuity with this world organism. Animate and inanimate beings participated in each other's reality. It was a harmonious world that was complete and intelligible in itself, even if it possessed its own share of terrors.

The late Professor Monica Wilson identified growth in social scale as the characteristic form taken by sociocultural change in contemporary Africa. According to her, this growth included a change in theological scale, something she had noticed happening among the Nyakyusa (distant neighbors of the Kimbu) fourteen years earlier, under the impact of Moravian missionary evangelization. Such a change in theological scale was taking place among the Kimbu when I came to stay among them. Like harmony in music, the Kimbu religious understanding swelled and expanded under the influence of the Christian sacramental imagination, and unwittingly or unwittingly, I found myself an agent in this process.

From my school days onward, the poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins has been, for me, a journey of personal discovery. From Hopkins I learned to sense a purpose and a presence in nature that faith identified as the cosmic Christ. The world, according to Hopkins, existed to name and praise Christ—to put the beholder in touch with him, to subject the whole of creation to the reign of God, to place "all things under his feet" (1 Cor. 15:27), as Paul expressed it, quoting a messianic psalm. This was the burden of Hopkins's poetic message. The Kimbu knew nothing of Hopkins and little enough of the teaching of St. Paul, but I discovered that this was the way Kimbu Christians wanted to encounter Christ. Nature was the setting for human life and was consequently part of the cosmic rebirth brought about by Christ.

During my first year in Ukumbu, the Second Vatican Council completed its final session with the "Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church." This document, with its explicit encouragement to look for St. Justin's "seeds of the Word" in the religious traditions of non-Christian peoples, struck a chord, and I set to work trying to identify themes from Kimbu religion that could be developed within Christianity. A major Kimbu symbol for the supreme being, as summit and sustainer of life, was the sun in its zenith. With my Kimbu community, I explored the ways in which this symbol could be legitimately applied to Christ, "the rising sun (who) has come from on high to visit us." We looked at Kimbu salvation myths to see how they could illuminate or reinforce Christian salvation theology. And we examined Christian ideas about the stewardship of creation in the context of Kimbu traditions of respect for the integrity of the environment.

At the same time, the Christian village elders set up basic communities for prayer, pastoral self-care, and social ministry. The Sunday celebrations, which echoed this ferment of theological reflection and pastoral commitment, became more and more widely known, and on journeys to outlying places I encountered people who already knew all about them.

**Teaching, Research, Writing**

In 1968 I took up the post of lecturer in African pastoral anthropology at the newly founded Gaba Pastoral Institute in Kampala, Uganda, and in the following year I became founder and first director of the Gaba Research Department. The ten years that I spent with the Pastoral Institute in Uganda and in Kenya, after its move to Eldoret, were years of sustained creativity. I directed international research projects on catechists, marriage, and ecumenism, and I also became moderator of the Makerere University Diploma in Theology. This work took me to theological seminars and study centers in many African countries and introduced me to outstanding African theologians such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, C. G. Baëta, John Mbiti, and Jean-Marc Ela.

During these years I published a number of books, articles, and reviews that reflected my developing interests in African religious symbolism and in what has come to be known as inculturation—the dialogue between Christian faith and human cultures. My historical and anthropological training also qualified me to participate in the various conferences on the historical study of African religion that were sponsored in eastern Africa by the Ford Foundation. I learned much from these encounters.

A major problem that I faced at this time was caused by the cultural relativism that reigned in anthropological circles. Cultures were typically described in pseudo-Wittgensteinian terms as "mutually exclusive language games." If this were true—if human cultures were systems of thought that could not communicate with one another—what became of missionary evangelization? The answer came from the writings of John Henry Newman, to which I was introduced at Bristol University by Newman scholar John Coulson. In 1977 I had left Gaba and had taken up a teaching post at St. Paul's Senior Seminary, Kipalapala, Tanzania. This responsibility I combined with a Visiting Fellowship in African Religions at Bristol University, where Coulson was senior lecturer. Newman helped me to appreciate faith, not as a propositional concept, but as a creative, imaginative act. This insight linked up with my interest in African symbolism and with the growing understanding among scholars that cultures and religions are symbol systems.
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In 1981–82 I enjoyed a sabbatical year, during which I spent two and a half months in the Holy Land, following a Bible course and making a thirty-day retreat. This experience helped me to understand the topography of the Bible lands as never before. It also coincided with my writing a textbook of fundamental theology in a Catholic theological series, a task I had been given by its general editor, the late Michael Richards. Although a daunting assignment, the writing of this book (Revolution and Its Interpretation) was very helpful to me personally, as it became a restatement of my own faith and an integration of my special missiological interests with the demands of a wider theology.

Involvement with Urban Mission

In 1980 I had been asked by the Missionaries of Africa to carry out a survey of the seventeen urban projects they were then running in Tanzania and Kenya. In the latter part of 1982 I visited fourteen urban parishes and chaplaincies in Tanzania and three in Nairobi, Kenya. These projects I studied during 1983, while living at St. Teresa’s Parish, Eastleigh, a Nairobi neighborhood parish with which I have been connected ever since. In the last sixteen years, the area covered by St. Teresa’s Parish has acquired a population approaching 400,000. Of these, 150,000 or so live in an immense squatter village called Mathare Valley, a place that the late Mother Teresa of Calcutta called the worst slum she had ever seen. People live in shanties built out of recuperated waste materials, without proper sanitation, lighting, water supply, or rubbish collection. Violence, prostitution, drug trafficking, liquor brewing, and other illegal activities flourish, and there are literally hundreds of street children, sleeping on the streets and making a living there. The rest of the parish consists of estates originally built for Asians but now subject to a massive influx of African migrants, filling the crowded compounds and high-rise tenements and choking the streets with stalls, kiosks, and informal industries of various kinds.

In the midst of this “full tide of human existence,” St. Teresa’s Parish provides a place of stability, integration, and prayer, helping people to cross over the human barriers of tribe, language, and class, and offering services to alleviate the poverty and other morbid factors of slum life. The parish runs a community center and employs social workers. It has around sixty home-based health care workers. In addition, it feeds, houses, and educates close to a hundred street children and possesses an active Justice and Peace Committee. It runs directed spiritual retreats-in-life, and above all it animates some thirty basic Christian communities.

The central activity of these communities is communal reflection on Holy Scripture. In this activity the members move from the concrete to the concrete, as they imagine the biblical scenes from their own experience of being human. This process is vividly demonstrated in the biblical dramatizations and Bible-inspired morality plays that they contribute to the liturgical celebrations at St. Teresa’s Parish.

The humanity of Jesus is the focus of theological reflection in the small Christian communities. Their members feel that they are part of the family of Jesus. He is their elder brother. They celebrate his compassion and his healing activity. This focus relates to people’s concern with sickness and health and to the activities of small Christian communities in caring for, and praying with, the sick. Above all, they appreciate the option of Jesus for the poor. The small Christian communities belong to the world of the poor, which Jesus entered and with which he identified.

Like the Christology of the rural Kimbu, the Christology of the urban small Christian communities is also an ascending Christology, rising from the realities of experience in the world to an intuition of the divine. In the urban case, it begins with a consideration of what it means to be human in conditions that are inhuman, applying to an understanding of Jesus all the essential aspects of human experience before reflecting on what it means to say that Jesus is God.

Witness Through Teaching

I had been appointed to the Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA) in Nairobi, which eventually opened its doors in 1984, and I spent four years as a lecturer there. At Kipalapala I had been teaching African diocesan seminarians. At CUEA I was teaching young African priests. These were difficult and challenging years, when the new university suffered a number of growing pains. In 1988, however, I was suddenly removed from the turmoil of university founding and appointed seventh president of the Missionary Institute London, where I served for seven years. Those years in London were the longest period I have spent in my home country since the age of eighteen. It was certainly interesting to take up contact with the life of the church in Britain. What was more valuable to me personally, because it reflected the changing reality of mission, was the fact that I had now graduated from the training of African diocesan priests and seminarians to the training of African missionaries. Then in 1995 I was appointed fourth principal of Tangaza College, Nairobi, an institution similar to that in London, but considerably larger.

I believe that these various teaching assignments have taught me a great deal about intercultural witness and intercultural living and about the obstacles that lie in their path. Witnessing to the intercultural communion of the church is for me the essence of mission, whatever particular work the missionary does, whether it is primary evangelization, ordinary pastoral work, teaching, or whatever. Mission understood in this sense is basically an attitude of mind or, better still, a spirituality. It is a willingness to be evangelized by others and to evangelize them in a way that does not threaten or undermine their culture. Mission conducted in this spirit appeals to culture and makes positive use of it. Understood in this way, mission is part of what Pope Paul VI (in Evangelii Nuntiandi) called the “mutual enrichment” of the local churches in the communion of the universal church. It is a living of that communion in a very practical and explicit manner.
The Legacy of Eugene de Mazenod, O.M.I.

Yvon Beaudoin, O.M.I.

Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod was born in Aix-en-Provence, France, on August 1, 1782. He was the eldest of three children born to Rose Joannis and Charles Antoine de Mazenod. His father was the president of the Court of Accounts and Audits of Provence. The family belonged to the lesser nobility and so, at the beginning of the French Revolution, they had to go into exile. They fled first to Nice and then to Turin, Venice, and finally to Naples and Palermo. Eugene lived in these various places from 1791 to 1802, unable to pursue a regular course of studies except during a brief sojourn in Turin.

He returned to Aix in 1802, where his mother and his sister had been living since 1795. De Mazenod was disturbed and disappointed by the condition in which he found his native city, which was in ruins both materially and morally. After some years of personal crisis, in 1805 he began to take an interest in the abandoned church and to teach catechism and visit prisoners.

Then one Good Friday, in a moment of grace, he “wept bitter tears” because of his past life and his human ambitions. Deciding to become a priest, he studied philosophy and theology at the seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris from 1808 to 1812 and was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Jean François Demandolx, in Amiens, on December 21, 1811.

Returning to Aix at the end of 1812, the young priest commenced his preaching apostolate to the poor and to the workers in their own Provençal language during Lent of the following year. He founded an association of Christian young people in Aix that, within a few years, grew to a membership of 400. De Mazenod also ministered to the spiritual needs of the seminarians in the local seminary and visited the prisoners in the local jail.

In 1823 the Diocese of Marseilles, which had been united to that of Aix during the Revolution, was restored. De Mazenod’s uncle, Fortuné de Mazenod, was appointed bishop and asked to have his nephew as vicar-general. Eugene, ordained to the titular See of Icosia on October 14, 1832, succeeded his uncle in 1837 and continued as bishop of Marseille until his death on May 21, 1861.

He was canonized in Rome by Pope John Paul II on December 3, 1995.

Origins of de Mazenod’s Vocation

During his stay in Venice from 1794 to 1797, de Mazenod often visited the Zinelli family, from which two sons had become priests. One of them, Don Bartolo, supervised the spiritual and intellectual formation of the young emigrant. As part of his reading program, the boy was given the book Recueil des lettres édifiantes sur les missions étrangères (A collection of edifying letters on the foreign missions).1 Bishop Jacques Jeanard, who was a close collaborator of Bishop de Mazenod in the diocese of Marseilles from 1837 to 1861, tells us that this reading “awakened in him a strong desire to devote himself some day to the conversion of infidels.”2

A letter from de Mazenod written on October 2, 1855, and addressed to Father Tamburini, O.M.I., professor in the junior seminary of Vico in Corsica, seems to confirm this information. De Mazenod invites Father Tamburini to promote missionary vocations, and in doing so he reveals this secret: “I was only twelve years old when God awakened in my heart the first and most effective desire to dedicate myself to the missions and to work for the conversion of souls.”3

During the period 1798 to 1805, while he lived in Naples, Palermo, and again in Aix, de Mazenod seems to have devoted his thoughts to other matters and even to marriage. From the period 1805–8 we have only one indication of his continued interest in the foreign missions. A Miss Julie de Gandèves, in one of her letters to him, wrote: “Yesterday we saw a Capuchin who was coming from the quarantine station. He was arriving from Tunisia where he had been sent on mission: he had remained three years in that country. . . . Really, it is most edifying. Is it not something to arouse your zeal? I know that you have a taste for this type of ministry.”4 Nevertheless, from 1805 onward he began to return to his former fervor, and a conversion took place that led to his entering the seminary of Saint-Sulpice.

During his years of formation in Saint-Sulpice, de Mazenod was an active member of a missionary circle that had as its animator his friend the impetuous Charles de Forbin-Janson. A number of future missionaries belonged to that group: Henri de Solages, Father de Chazournes, and other seminarians who were to become bishops, Sulpicians, Jesuits, and so forth.5 His sharing in the missionary circle did not change de Mazenod’s mind regarding his decision to become a priest so as to return to Provence and evangelize the poor.6 However, it provided him with material to nourish his interest in the evangelization of non-Christians. He was able to transform that interest and realize it in the course of his life as vicar-general and later as bishop and especially as superior general of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
Missionary Initiatives

De Mazenod was appointed vicar-general to his uncle on July 6, 1823. Right from the time of their arrival in Marseille, the new bishop and his vicar-general had established a local work of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (founded by Pauline Jaricot in Lyon in 1822). The purpose of the society was to collect funds and to promote prayer for the missions. Having himself become bishop in 1837, de Mazenod frequently and warmly recommended the society in his pastoral letters. He often chaired the meetings of the associates, and he corresponded regularly with the directors of the society in Lyon and in Paris.

In 1837, among the dioceses of France, the subscription by the Diocese of Marseilles was the third largest, and in 1838 it was the highest. At the time of the establishment of the society in the diocese, subscriptions amounted to 1,000 francs (1823-24). It had increased to 26,000 in 1839 and to 79,000 in 1861. These figures prove that Bishop de Mazenod, "whose heart overflowed with Catholicism," was capable of communicating his solicitude for the spread of the faith to his clergy and his people.

From 1838 onward he also asked his parish priests to celebrate the feast of the Epiphany with solemnity. The Blessed Sacrament was exposed throughout the day, and the bishop asked the faithful to pray particularly on that day for the conversion of pagans.

De Mazenod did not promote the Society of the Holy Childhood with the same fervor, although it had been founded by his friend Charles de Forbin-Janson. First, it seemed to him that it took away from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. When, in 1854, the Roman Congregation of Propagation Fide accepted in principle the usefulness of the Holy Childhood, Bishop de Mazenod introduced it to his diocese also.

Founding of the Missionary Oblates

De Mazenod’s purpose in founding the Missionaries of Provence in 1816 was to evangelize the poor in the south of France, but he did not exclude the possibility of accepting missions abroad at a future date. In the first edition of the Rules in 1818, we find this significant passage: "They are called to be cooperators with the Savior, the co-redeemers of the human race and, even though their present small number and the pressing needs of the people in their immediate vicinity cause them to limit their zeal for the present to our countryside, their ambition should be to stretch out in holy desire to the immense extent of the whole world."

In 1826, during the procedures to obtain approval of the Rule, Cardinal ponens Maria Pedecini gave the impression that approval was being asked for France only. On January 2 de Mazenod wrote to the cardinal: "I seem to have understood that you think we have requested approval for our congregation specifically for France only. That would be an error that would damage the good that the congregation, with God’s help, hopes to do, and I feel it is my duty to let you know by this letter that one of the main reasons why we have asked for the approval of the Holy See is precisely because of an ardent desire to propagate the good being done by the ministries to which our members are at present devoting themselves in whatever part of the Catholic world they may be called either by the common father of all the faithful or by the bishops of the respective dioceses."

Basing himself on this principle, de Mazenod awaited the calls of Providence. The first one came when the French army took over Algeria at the beginning of July 1830. Bishop Fortuné de Mazenod, on behalf of his nephew, who had gone to convalesce in Switzerland, wrote to the court chaplain and to the prime minister, Prince de Polignac, offering the religious services of the oblates in Algeria. Some of the fathers wrote to de Mazenod on this occasion, asking that they be allowed to bring the light of the Gospel to Algeria. His reply was that it was necessary "to await God’s hour. The Lord will manifest his will when it pleases him; we shall try to aid his plans, but I am alarmed at the smallness of our numbers when considering a colony." Shortly afterward, Charles X was overthrown in the July Revolution, and his place was taken by Louis-Philippe. The liberal entourage of the new monarch was little concerned about the evangelization of Algeria and even opposed to parish missions in France. This development was a blow to the heart of the Oblate Congregation in their principal aim and purpose.

It is understandable that, in the September 29 session of the General Chapter of 1831, the following proposal was put forward and accepted unanimously: “that some of our members be sent to the foreign missions as soon as the occasion is considered favorable in the judgement of the superior general.”

Father Joseph Guibert, later archbishop of Paris and cardinal and at this time superior of the Shrine of Our Lady of Laus, did some recruiting among the young people in the Alps region so that the obstacle of the smallness of numbers could be removed and the door could be opened to the foreign missions. He was thinking of missions in Asia and America. "It is indeed a need of the times,” he wrote to de Mazenod. "There must be an incentive to the zeal of a newborn congregation. To rest would be to court death.” His plans were not followed up, however, because of the opposition of Bishop Arbaud of Gap.

In 1832 and again in 1833 de Mazenod offered the oblates for service in Algeria and the United States, to Cardinal Carlo Maria Pedecini, prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda. His offer was not accepted because, as far as Algeria was concerned, the Oblate Congregation was not recognized by the French government and, according to the then secretary of Propaganda Congregation, Monsignor Castracane, the missions in America were not in need and there was no urgency for sending missionaries to that country.

The Oblates in North America

Bishop de Mazenod was fifty-nine years old when he sent his first missionaries abroad. It was, in fact, 1841 when he judged that “God’s hour” had come. Bishop Bourget, who had been appointed to Montreal one year previously, stopped in Marseilles on his way from Rome. He was looking for priests who would conduct parish missions and, later, evangelize the Amerindians. He met with de Mazenod at end of June. In July de Mazenod consulted his fellow religious. All were in favor of sending oblates to Canada. A final decision was taken at the beginning of August. On October 20 four priests and two brothers left Le Havre, and they arrived in Montreal on December 2. That was the beginning of what was to be known as the White Epic (l’épopée blanche). Each summer, throughout the remaining twenty years of his life, de Mazenod sent missionaries to North America: three or four each year at first, nine in 1847, five or six each year thereafter until 1861. So well had he formed his sons, and fired as they were like himself with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, that in ten years they had traveled the length and breadth of North America. Beginning in 1841, they established foundations in eastern Canada and in the United States, in the West in 1845, on the Pacific coast in 1847, in Texas and northern Mexico in 1849–52, on the banks of the Mackenzie River.
and on the shores of the frozen Arctic sea from 1858 onward. He himself encouraged the superiors he appointed, Father J.-B. Honorat and then Father Guigues, to accept a foundation in Bytown (Ottawa), “a town with a great future,” and in 1847 St.-Boniface (Manitoba), because the oblates are being called to evangelize “the whole of North America” to extend “from sea to sea.”

Ceylon, Algeria, Natal

Many bishops visited Marseilles, given its prominence as an important port on the Mediterranean. One who visited in 1845 was Bishop Horace Bettaichini, an Italian Oratorian, who had recently been appointed coadjutor to the vicar apostolic of Colombo (in Ceylon). A former oblate, now a missionary in Kandy, had advised him to approach de Mazenod with a view to obtaining some of his religious for Ceylon. The General Council examined the request on April 4, and again on June 22, 1846, and it was resolved to consult the Roman Congregation of Propaganda. Their reply was that the matter was not urgent, as Bishop Bettaichini had obtained some Italian priests. Nevertheless, the latter made another appeal to de Mazenod in 1847. De Mazenod then asked for priests to work in the northern part of the island, in the area of Jaffna (where he was to be appointed vicar apostolic in 1849). After further consultation with Propaganda, de Mazenod chose three priests and one brother. They left Marseilles on September 21, 1847, and arrived in Jaffna in February 1848.

There were many difficulties. Some were caused by the climate, some by misunderstandings with other European or Goanese missionaries, and also by the scattering of the missionaries throughout the different villages of the Jaffna region, which rendered community life impossible. In spite of everything, however, the group of oblates accepted a considerable undertaking in proportion to that of the other apostolic workers in the island. In the fifteen-year period from 1848 to 1861, thirty-three oblates left France, Ireland, and England (where they had been established since 1841–42) for the mission in Ceylon, and two others entered the congregation locally: Father Christopher Bonjean, who later became vicar apostolic of Colombo, and Brother Paul Stephen Poorey, who was the first Ceylonese oblate. In 1857 the superior, Father Étienne Sermier, was appointed vicar apostolic of Jaffna, and he proceeded to put into action the plans he had been working out since his arrival ten years previously. He organized a team of priests to conduct parish missions, and he founded schools and a seminary for the formation of catechists and priests.

De Mazenod accepted two mission fields in Africa. Bishop L.-A.-Augustine Pavy of Algiers (1846–66) asked him for oblates for his diocese. The missionaries worked in Algiers for seventeen months, from the end of February 1849 to the end of July 1850. Eight of them were sent either to Blida or to Philippeville. Their stay in Algeria was short because, as in Jaffna, the priests had to work in isolation, in villages far apart. Furthermore, neither Bishop Pavy nor the French government gave them any hope of trying to evangelize the Muslims.

In the spring of 1850 Mgr. Alessandro Barnabò, secretary of Propaganda Congregation, asked de Mazenod to send oblates to South Africa. This mission had two advantages: the vicar apostolic would be an oblate, and the mission would be in a non-Christian milieu. The decision to accept was taken quickly. De Mazenod recalled his men from Algeria in order to send them to Natal and appointed as their superior Father Jean-François Allard, who was novice master in Canada. The latter arrived in Marseilles in the summer of 1851. He was ordained bishop on July 13 and left for Africa at the end of the year with four missionaries.

For ten years the oblates worked among the white Catholics in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, then among the Zulus in three mission stations. Their apostolate among the black population was apparently a failure: there were no adult baptisms. This lack of success explains why de Mazenod sent few missionaries there. At his death in 1861 there were only five priests and five brothers in the mission. In 1861, however, the oblates began to follow one of the last words of advice given by their founder, and these words proved to be prophetic. On September 4, 1860, de Mazenod had written to Father Joseph Gérard: “The time will come when the merciful grace of God will, as it were, explode and your Kaffir church will be formed. For that to happen, it will perhaps be necessary to penetrate more deeply among the tribes.” In October 1861 Bishop Allard and Father Gérard crossed the Drakensberg mountain range and entered Basutoland, where they found a people who readily welcomed the proclamation of the Gospel.

Conclusion

De Mazenod was inflamed with zeal for the salvation of souls, and yet he spent all his life in the south of France. Nevertheless, his principal biographer, Mgr. Jean Leflon, considers him to be “one of the greatest missionary bishops of his time.” It was, in fact, especially as founder and superior general of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate that he was missionary, and it was because of the foreign missions that the oblates became known and attracted vocations. In 1841, twenty-five years after their foundation, their numbers were only about 60; in 1861 there were more than 400 members, of whom 200 were working outside of France.

Not only did de Mazenod send many of his missionaries abroad, but he inspired them with a flaming zeal. He often reminded them that they were walking in the footsteps of the first apostles. Here are a few of his exhortations. In 1851 he wrote to Father Pascal Ricard, a missionary in Oregon: “Foreign missions compared to our missions in Europe have a special character of a higher kind, because this is the true apostolate of announcing the Good News to the nations which have not yet been called to knowledge of the true God and of his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord. This is the mission of the apostles: Euntes docete omnes gentes (Matt. 28:19). This teaching of the truth must penetrate to the most backward nations so that they may be regenerated in the waters of baptism. You are among those to whom Jesus Christ has addressed these words, giving you your mission as he gave their mission to the apostles, who were to convert our fathers. From this point of view, which is the true one, there is nothing higher than your ministry.” To Father Henri Faraud in the isolated Mission of the Nativity in the far north of Canada, where Faraud struggled with the icy cold, the distance from his confreres, and the languages he had to learn, de Mazenod wrote in 1857: “In spirit I pressed you to my heart, touched to the point of tears by all you have had to suffer to conquer those souls for Jesus Christ, who has clothed you with his power and sustained you by his grace among so many difficulties. But also, what a reward you will have beyond this world, when one thinks of the wonders that have been brought about through your ministry. One has to go back to the first preaching of Saint Peter to find anything similar. An apostle like him, sent to proclaim the Good News to those savage nations, the first man to speak to them of God, to bring them to the knowledge of Jesus the Savior, to show them the way that leads to salvation, to give them rebirth in the waters
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In four lectures given in March, 1984 at the Overseas Ministries Study Center, Stephen Neill speaks on “How My Mind Has Changed about Missions.” Bishop Neill was one of the great missionary statesmen of the twentieth century. He served as a missionary in India for twenty years, an Associate General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, and Professor of Missions at the University of Hamburg, Germany. 266 minutes on two tapes

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

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

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of holy baptism, one can only prostrate oneself before you so privileged are you in the church of God by reason of his choice of you to work these miracles.\(^3\)

In the Preface of the Rule approved by Rome in 1826, de Mazenod wrote that the oblates should “spare no effort \(nihil\ linguendum inausum\) to extend the Savior’s empire.” Faithful to this guideline, he himself was the first to “spare no effort” to ensure the stability and the progress of the missions entrusted to his sons: recruiting members, forming them, giving them courageous directives for their apostolate among unbelievers, and obtaining the necessary financial help for them, informing Propaganda of the best measures to make their apostolate effective, and to create an atmosphere favorable to the fostering of generous dedication, even on occasion pleading the cause of his missionaries to bishops who did not understand them. These are the principal themes he deals with in his abundant correspondence.\(^3\)

From these writings it is clear that he was a missionary in both spirit and reality. In the words of one of his missionaries in Sri Lanka:

He possessed that spirit of conquest which impelled the apostles to go everywhere forward to spread the kingdom of God. As head of a congregation dedicated to the missions, he always had clearly before his mind’s eye a real concern for the territories entrusted to his sons. The apostolate, the problems of the various missions, the efforts of the missionaries—nothing was foreign to him. He concentrated his attention on every new Christian community that was being born. He gathered information and sought counsel in order to be able to give each missionary appropriate instructions. Unfortunately, he did not have all the data we have today on missionary methods and problems. . . However, these methods and techniques are not everything in the missionary apostolate. What is essential is the burning concern to preach the message of the Redeemer to the world, the apostolic charity which inflamed the heart of Saint Paul and launched him along the roads of the Roman Empire to win souls over to Christ. This charity also burned in the heart of Eugene de Mazenod . . . who contributed more than anyone else to creating the missionary spirit of the Congregation of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate.\(^4\)

### Notes

1. Letters from Jesuits, written from China and the East Indies. Thirty-four volumes were published from 1702 to 1776, with translations in Italian, English, and other languages.
6. He had promised his mother, who was opposed to his vocation, to do so. See letter of April 6, 1809, in *Oblate Writings* 14, *Spiritual Writings*, p. 118.
7. See pastoral letters for Lent 1838, 1839, 1847, 1848, 1852, 1856, 1860.
8. See his diary entries for May 18, 1837, January 25 and May 3, 1839, and January 28, 1840. The originals are in the OMI General Archives in Rome, section JM.

### Bibliography


As we begin the new millennium, church leaders around the world are confronted with a serious problem. While many Western churches face a leadership crisis, the formal paradigm of institutionally educated professional ministers cannot alone meet the burgeoning need for trained leaders in the Two-Thirds World.

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The table opposite is the sixteenth in an annual series describing statistics and trends in world mission. This year, the millennium year, our focus is the question of Christian fragmentation and the search for unity. There is little argument as to what Jesus’ original intention was. He expected his followers to be united (John 17:21). Unfortunately, efforts to achieve unity have produced nowhere near the desired ideal. Here are some illustrations.

**Failures of Drive for Union**

Throughout the twentieth century many thousands of determined Christian leaders and activists have attempted to begin the process by uniting a small number of significant strands of Christianity through church union negotiations. This effort meant theological and ecclesiastical discussions to culminate in one single united church, a new denomination. Some of these schemes have in fact produced the desired union. Of the hundred or so successful unions, one thinks immediately of, as the best known and probably the most significant, the Church of South India, which in 1947 united four major traditions into one single church. This success was followed in 1970 by the Church of North India, with an even wider range of participating traditions.

Unfortunately, there are several negative comments to be made. First, these unions have all been somewhat disappointing in that they have not succeeded in introducing any dynamic, united form of Christian life and outreach, as was widely anticipated at the time of union. Mission and evangelism have remained at the same low levels as in the former experience of the denominations involved.

Second, the successful unions are very small in numbers. By A.D. 2000, there were only sixty united or uniting denominations in existence, with 70 million affiliated members. Numerically they form a mere drop in the ocean of 1.9 billion church members worldwide today.

Third, for every successful union there are ten abject failures. The latter usually take the form of church union negotiations toward a specific united church in a specific part of the world that after twenty, forty, sixty, or more years of theological and ecclesiastical discussions, finally collapses over some intractable problem such as ecclesiastical polity or some other aspect of ecclesiastical polity. One thinks of the tortuous years of Anglican/Methodist discussions in England during the twentieth century, which have today left those two traditions in Britain in the same situation they were in 100 years ago.

**Rash of New Denominations**

Fourth, no one anticipated how the search for united or uniting churches would be rendered virtually meaningless by the massive increases in denominationalism across the world as Christianity spread. Thus the number of Christian denominational bodies in the world, which in the year 1900 stood at 1,880 distinct denominations, rapidly increased from year to year throughout the century. As of A.D. 2000 the total is 33,800 distinct and organizationally separate denominations. Even in the year 1947, while jubilant churchmen across the world were celebrating the achievement of the Church of South India, 300 totally new denominations were formed. Today the rate is nearly one new denomination every day.

Who is fragmenting at the present? Protestantism has the longest record of fragmentation if one wants to compare numbers: thus in 1970 there were 8,100 Protestant denominations, which by A.D. 2000 had risen to 9,000 denominations. But today Orthodoxy is also experiencing this trend. Since the collapse of European and Soviet Communism in 1990, virtually every Orthodox country has suffered schisms and counterschisms. In the tiny republic of Montenegro, nominally a diocese of the Belgrade-based Serbian Orthodox Church, clergy have renamed their church the Montenegrin Orthodox Church. An even more radical faction has formed the Montenegrin Autocephalous Orthodox Church, with a bishop, six priests, and 10,000 faithful, headquartered in the famous Cetinje Monastery (the historic Royal Mausoleum), still the cultural, spiritual, and emotional capital of Montenegro.

Anglicanism is another huge ecclesiastical bloc. Its 120 million professing members (80 million affiliated) form the Anglican Communion, but this body is surrounded by over forty schismatic denominations with 7.6 million church members. These groups are all out of communion with Canterbury, but their bishops and clergy and laity still regard themselves as in the original Anglican tradition.

**A Positive Assessment**

Although this situation worldwide looks chaotic, if we are thinking in organizational terms, there are a number of valuable constructive interpretations. One is that it is far more difficult for totalitarian countries such as Communist regimes to make a dent in this massive global Christianity, no matter how much they may try to regulate, harass, suppress, or even the one-time goal of many regimes—liquidate it.
### Status of Global Mission, 2000, in Context of 20th and 21st Centuries

#### WORLDPOPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>mid-2000</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Total population</td>
<td>1,619,886,800</td>
<td>3,696,148,000</td>
<td>5,266,442,000</td>
<td>6,055,049,000</td>
<td>7,823,703,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Urban dwellers (urbanites)</td>
<td>1,397,193,000</td>
<td>2,774,965,000</td>
<td>4,038,604,000</td>
<td>5,001,397,000</td>
<td>6,618,846,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rural dwellers</td>
<td>2,222,793,000</td>
<td>3,921,183,000</td>
<td>1,227,838,000</td>
<td>895,652,000</td>
<td>3,201,859,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Adult population (over 15)</td>
<td>1,025,938,000</td>
<td>2,311,139,000</td>
<td>3,563,848,000</td>
<td>4,255,333,000</td>
<td>5,987,863,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Literates</td>
<td>286,705,000</td>
<td>479,129,000</td>
<td>2,423,417,000</td>
<td>2,623,825,000</td>
<td>4,910,048,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nonliterate</td>
<td>739,233,000</td>
<td>832,010,000</td>
<td>1,140,431,000</td>
<td>991,488,000</td>
<td>1,077,815,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### WORLDWIDE EXPANSION OF CITIES

- 7 Metropolises (over 100,000 population)
  - 300
- 8 Megacities (over 1 million population)
  - 20
- 9 Urban poor
  - 100 million
- 10 Urban slum dwellers
  - 20 million

#### WORLD POPULATION BY RELIGION

- 11 Christians (total all kinds) (=World C)
  - 558,056,300
- 12 Muslims
  - 200,102,200
- 13 Hindus
  - 1,905,330,000
- 14 Buddhists
  - 125,959,700
- 15 Nonreligious
  - 225,600
- 16 Atheists
  - 776,862
- 17 New-Religiousists
  - 5,910,000
- 18 Tribal religionists
  - 106,393,600
- 19 Sikhs
  - 2,960,600
- 20 Jews
  - 12,269,800
- 21 Non-Christians (=Worlds A and B)
  - 1,061,830,500

#### SCRIPTURE DISTRIBUTION (all sources)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>mid-2000</th>
<th>2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57. Bibles per year</td>
<td>5,266,442,000</td>
<td>8,128,352,000</td>
<td>2,423,417,000</td>
<td>2,623,825,000</td>
<td>4,910,048,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Scriptures, incl. gospels, selections per year</td>
<td>3,921,139,000</td>
<td>6,055,049,000</td>
<td>3,563,848,000</td>
<td>4,255,333,000</td>
<td>5,987,863,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CHRISTIAN WORKERS

- 23 Affiliated church members
  - 321,576,500

#### CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS

- 24 Church planters
  - 469,300,000
- 25 Pentecostals/Charismatics
  - 3,700,000
- 26 Great Commission Christians
  - 50 million
- 27 Average Christian martyrs per year
  - 35,600

#### MEMBERSHIP BY ECCLESIASTICAL BLOC

- 28 Anglicans
  - 30,573,700
- 29 Catholics (non-Roman)
  - 276,000
- 30 Marginal Christians
  - 927,600
- 31 Nonwhite indigenous Christians
  - 7,743,100
- 32 Orthodox
  - 115,897,700
- 33 Protestants
  - 103,056,700
- 34 Roman Catholics
  - 266,419,400

#### MEMBERSHIP BY CONTINENT

- 35 Africa
  - 8,756,400
- 36 Asia (new UN definition)
  - 20,770,300
- 37 Europe (new UN definition)
  - 368,131,200
- 38 Latin America
  - 60,026,800
- 39 Northern America
  - 59,659,700
- 40 Oceania
  - 4,322,100

#### CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS

| Service agencies | 1,500 |
| Foreign-mission sending agencies | 600 |
| Stand-alone global monoliths | 35 |

#### CHRISTIAN WORKERS

| Nationals (all denominations) | 1,050,000 |
| Allen's foreign missionaries | 62,000 |

#### CHRISTIAN FINANCE (in U.S. $, per year)

| Income of Pentecostals/Charismatics, $ | 127,159,000 |
| Income of Native American missions, $ | 235,112,000 |
| Income of American missionaries, $ | 277,248,000 |
| Income of foreign missions, $ | 1,094,713,000 |

#### CHRISTIAN CHRISTIANITY

| Personal income of church members, $ | 270 billion |
| Personal income of Pentecostals/Charismatics, $ | 250,000,000 |

#### CHRISTIAN RADIO/TV STATIONS

| Stations | 200,000 |
| Calc. for secular stations | 1,050 billion |

#### CHRISTIAN URBAN MISSION

| Non-Christian megacities | 5,200 |
| Non-Christian urban dwellers per day | 15,900 |
| Urban Christians | 159,600,000 |

#### CHRISTIAN EVANGELISM

| Evangelism-hours per year | 10 billion |
| Disciple-opportunities per capita per year | 6 |

#### WORLD EVANGELIZATION

| Unreached population (=World A) | 813,223,000 |
| Unreached as % of world | 70.2 |
| World evangelization plans since a.d. 30 | 71 |

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**January 2000** 25
The Legacy of Johannes Beckmann, S.M.B.

Fritz Kollbrunner, S.M.B.

Johannes Beckmann could easily have become a teacher of German philology instead of a missiologist. He once told me—he was sixty-three at the time—that missiology did not interest him very much during his early theological studies, whereas German literature held much interest for him. He read, among others, Johannes Sorge, and toward the end of his theological studies he published an article in Vaterland, a daily of central Switzerland, about Thomas Mann as a man in search of the truth. In fact, however, his course was ultimately directed to the world mission of the church.

Beckmann was born in Essen, Germany, on May 2, 1901. His father worked as a locksmith with Krupp Steel. A Jesuit priest—known to the family and in charge of spiritual guidance at the college of the Missionary Society of Bethlehem (SMB) at Immensee, Switzerland—brought young Johannes to Immensee, where he began his college studies in 1914. He graduated in 1921 and entered the diocesan seminary in Chur, Switzerland. In 1922 he entered the first novitiate of the recently founded Missionary Society of Bethlehem at Wolhusen, Switzerland, where he became a member of the society.

His SMB superiors at Immensee could well have wanted the young Beckmann to study German literature, which would have led to a teaching post at their college. However, two things decided otherwise. As a student, Beckmann underwent a goiter operation during which his vocal cords were damaged. Because of this handicap a teaching profession was not an option. In addition, he had also fallen ill with tuberculosis during his studies for the priesthood at the seminary at Wolhusen. Because of his health, therefore, a deployment to the mission field in China could not be considered. Instead it was decided that he should take over as editor of the society’s magazine Bethlehem.

During his time at Wolhusen, Beckmann almost got himself expelled. He felt that the management of the seminary was rather narrow-minded, and he did not keep his thoughts to himself. Pietro Bondolf, the superior general of the society, considered dismissing him. Throughout his life Beckmann exhibited a true liberal attitude, with wide horizons and breadth of vision.

China—First Field of Research

After his ordination to the priesthood in 1926, Beckmann went to the university in Münster to prepare himself for his assignment as editor of Bethlehem. At Münster he was mentored by Joseph Schmidlin, the pioneer Catholic missiologist, who taught at the university as the first ordinary professor of missiology. A sign of how highly Schmidlin thought of the young scholar is the fact that he made him a coworker in compiling his history of the popes.

In 1924, the Vatican had entrusted part of Manchuria to the young Missionary Society of Bethlehem. This assignment led Beckmann to focus on the church in China as his first field of missiological research. His doctoral dissertation in 1930 was entitled Die katholische Missionsmethode in China in neuester Zeit (1842–1912) (The missionary policy of the Catholic Church in China in recent times). Two years later he published a popular study of Heilungkiang, the province of Manchuria where his confreres worked as missionaries.

In 1930, after Beckmann obtained his doctorate, his superiors assigned him to the teaching staff of the SMB seminary in Wolhusen. Here he taught church history and missiology. By integrating mission history into general church history, he pioneered a new path. Especially valuable are his lecture notes on the history of the missions in China.

Beckmann was a member of the Missionary Society of Bethlehem. Formerly a lecturer of missiology at the Theological Faculty in Lucerne, he has served as editor of the Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft since 1988. His books include Die Katholizität der Kirche und die Mission (Schöneck-Beckemied: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1973) and The Splendor and Confusion of Mission Today (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1974).

An opportunity to get to know the Far East soon presented itself. Because of the threat of war in Europe, in 1935 the SMB decided to ordain a number of seminarians a year ahead of time and to send them to China. Beckmann accompanied them as their teacher and tutor to complete their theological training in Tsitsikar, Manchuria. For almost two years, 1935–37, he taught and traveled in Manchuria, also arranging visits to Japan and Korea.

Although Beckmann developed other fields of research, he always remained interested in China. With his fellow professor Gebhard Frei, during the war years Beckmann gave a series of lectures at the Volkshochschule (college for adult evening classes) in Lucerne. They were published in book form under the title Altes und neues China (China old and new). The book traces the history of Christianity in China, including its prewar political history. In 1959, in Wort und Wahrheit, Beckmann made a critical but balanced evaluation of the Catholic Church in Communist China.

Beckmann was mentored by Schmidlin, the pioneer Catholic missiologist.

For volumes 5 and 6.1 of Hubert Jedin’s Handbook of Church History, Beckmann wrote the sections on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century mission history, in which the story of China takes a prominent place. He was especially successful in presenting the complex controversy on the Chinese rites in a very clear manner. Still another of his later works dealt with an important theme of the early missions in China, namely the encounter of missionaries with Taoism. It was first published in the commemorative publication for Bengt Sundkler and later somewhat enlarged in Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft.

Exploration in Africa

In 1938, upon his return from China, Beckmann found a new assignment awaiting him, this time in Africa. He was to accompany the first two missionaries to Southern Rhodesia, the second mission field assigned to the SMB. Beckmann was directed to explore the country and discuss with the superiors of the Jesuit missionaries already present in the country where in the prefec-
tute of Salisbury the SMB missionaries should work. The area assigned to them became the Apostolic Prefecture of Fort Victoria (later, in 1955, the Diocese of Gweru). During his stay and travels in Africa from autumn 1938 to spring 1939, Beckmann—a keen and interested observer—kept a diary that was published in 1993. It gives a description of the situation of the church. In parts it is rather critical and in no way flattering to the Jesuits and Marianhill missionaries whose work he witnessed. There are also passages in the diary that do not—in our day—sound very ecumenical. The rivalry between the various Christian churches can clearly be felt.

Beckmann’s Die Katholische Kirche im neuen Afrika (The Catholic Church in the new Africa), published in 1947, shows how intensively he concerned himself with Africa. Much in the book is now dated, and some of the judgments and evaluations are not in every regard correct. The recurring concern of the author, however, has lost nothing of its validity: his interest in a genuinely indigenous, or inculturated, local church. This had been Beckmann’s main concern in his presentation of the church in China. It was the overriding missionary priority in the time between the two world wars and indeed until the time when Africa became politically independent.

Missionalia Helvetica

After his return from Africa in 1939, Beckmann never again left Europe. In fact, apart from attending a few conferences elsewhere in Europe, he seldom left Switzerland. In 1932 the seminary of the SMB had been transferred from Wolhusen to the former summer hotel Kurhaus Schöneck near Emmetten above Lake Lucerne in the Swiss canton of Nidwalden. In 1944 the municipality of Emmetten, on whose territory the seminary was situated, made Beckmann a citizen of their village—and thereby also of Switzerland.

The seminary in Schöneck became the real sphere of action of the young professor. Here he taught and lectured in missiology, church history, mission history, and sinology and conducted advanced tutorial classes. At the same time he also taught at the University of Fribourg (though not as an official university lecturer) and became cofounder of the institute of missiology of that university. Beginning in 1944 he also gave lectures at the Tropeninstitut (Institute for tropical science) in Bale and wrote articles in its journal Acta Tropica. On May 2, 1970, in recognition of his work and teaching, the University of Fribourg conferred on Beckmann an honorary doctor of theology degree.

Because of his throat operation, Beckmann had difficulty in speaking. For this reason he turned to writing as his main activity. A look at his bibliography shows the wide scope of his writings on a multitude of missionary topics. As a young professor he tried by word and writing to arouse the interest of Swiss youth in the missionary ideal. Beckmann researched all areas related to Swiss missionary work. He wrote on the life and work of Swiss missionaries throughout the world and studied the range of missionary ideas in Swiss plays of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He investigated the popular veneration of St. Francis Xavier in central Switzerland and never tired of describing the charitable work of Swiss missionaries, especially of the religious sisters. He even contemplated the foundation of an institute for the history of Swiss missions. In the seminary he was largely responsible for the missionary training of future SMB missionaries. His advice and counsel concerning missionary pastoral practice were greatly appreciated.

Although the idea of an institute for the study of Swiss mission history did not materialize, something else did. In 1945 Beckmann launched the periodical Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft (NZM). During World War II missiology lay prostrate, especially in Europe. The periodical Zeitschrift für Mission, launched by professor Schmidlin, had been banned. Even contact by correspondence with colleagues in Germany became impossible. For this reason Beckmann launched the new periodical for missiology. Although he was assisted by three scholars of religious orders, Franz Solan Schäppi, O.M.Cap., Laurent Kilger, O.S.B., and Pierre de Menasce, O.P., the main load of editorial tasks fell on Beckmann. Later he was assisted by Johann Specker, S.M.B. His society was not able to give much financial support, apart from providing office facilities and the help of seminarians and later of brothers. In addition to the quarterly journal, the series Schriftenreihe, a monograph series on the same topics, was started in 1947. (The greater part of these themes appeared originally as a series of articles in NZM.) Three years later, in 1950, the Supplemanta series was started, providing missiologists with a convenient and inexpensive platform for publication.

Fascinated by Latin America

In the early 1950s Beckmann started to publish on Latin America. What held his greatest interest was the history of ideas of Latin American missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their underlying motivation. He found that eschatological expectation was an important motivation. During my own studies in Rome in 1966, Beckmann asked me to provide him with a photocopy of the very rare José de Acosta book De temporibus novissimis in the library of the Gregorian University. Beckmann investigated, among other subjects, the aim of some mendicant friars, who—after failing to establish authentic Christianity in Latin America—tried to do so in China. Beckmann published his findings in the Schriftenreihe under the title China im Blickfeld der mexikanischen Bettelorden des 16. Jahrhunderts (China in the vision of the sixteenth-century Mexican orders of mendicant friars). He also examined the mission and theological ideas of Bartolomé de Las Casas as well as the prevailing missionary concepts and ideas at the universities of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. In the course of his research he also made discoveries that affected his personal life. While investigating the life of the Dominican friar Luis de Granada, he came across de Granada’s spiritual director John of Avila, a reformer from the ranks of the secular clergy. Beckmann acquired his writings and used them for his own spiritual reading.

Beckmann’s Legacy

Early in 1961 Beckmann suffered a heart attack in Schöneck. Fortunately, the publishing house Herder had just published his latest book, Weltkirche und Weltreligionen (The church and religions of the world) as a paperback. It was meant to serve as a
Mission is “the imparting of the fullness of life dwelling in the church, the body of Christ.”

Beckmann is also influenced by the ecclesiology of Karl Adam (1876–1966), to whom he refers in the article.

In connection with the indigenous nature of the church, Beckmann emphasized the apostolate of the laity, inasmuch as the whole church is essentially missionary. Here he anticipated a basic insight of the Second Vatican Council. He had been appointed to the council as an adviser but, because of his poor health, could fulfill this task only from a distance, which he did in particular through his publication of La Congrégation de la Propagande de la Foi face à la politique internationale (The Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith in relation to international politics).

Beckmann kept himself well informed about current events, which is shown by his annual reports on Roman Catholic missions in the International Review of Missions (1964–67). Nevertheless, he concentrated on the history of missions as his failing health forced him to conserve his strength more carefully. He also realized that a new wind was blowing. There was the question of the salvific significance of non-Christian religions. New theological trends appeared, such as the theology of revolution, the “God-is-dead” theory, and above all the significance of political theology. He saw only the first faint signs of liberation theology. Beckmann could not, nor did he want to, deal with these new trends ex professo any more. History was much firmer ground for him. His confère Jakob Baumgartner, who lived in the same house in Fribourg, confirms that Beckmann had a great trust in history. I take this to mean that Beckmann believed that human history, and not least the history of the missionary church, was firmly in the hand of God. This was perhaps his most precious legacy.
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Missionary Kid Memoirs: A Review Essay

Jonathan S. Addleton

Accounts of the lives of American children who grew up in foreign countries make for engaging reading. A growing number of studies discuss in academic detail their "third culture" childhoods. These studies often reflect a psychological perspective and are based on extensive survey research or interviews. These children of one culture, raised in a second culture, reportedly go on to create a "third culture" of their own. Secular rather than Christian publishers. For a more popular and

Interesting, several MK memoirs have been issued by

The exotic settings are clearly meant to help sell the books in

The writings of Johannes Beckmann can be found in the library of the

Articles About Johannes Beckmann

B Baumgartner, Jakob. "Der Beginn der Missionstätigkeit der SMB in

Addleton has worked for the U.S. Agency for International Develop-
ment (USAID) in Pakistan, Yemen, South Africa, Kazakhstan, and Jordan. He has written two books, Undermining the Center (Oxford Univ. Press, 1992) and Some Far and Distant Place (Univ. of Georgia Press, 1997), the latter a memoir of his own childhood as the son of Baptist missionaries in Pakistan.

odist, among others) and a number of countries (including India, China, Pakistan, Vietnam, Nigeria, and Congo). Taken together, they provide a fascinating glimpse into the world of missionary children, one that often turns out to be far different from what their parents might have imagined beforehand.

Interestingly, several MK memoirs have been issued by secular rather than Christian publishers. For a more popular and

The exotic settings are clearly meant to help sell the books in

For Daniel Barth Peters in Through Isaac’s Eyes, it is the uprooting
from a suburban Californian childhood to war-torn Vietnam, a
juxtaposition that includes “Rocky Road ice cream and golden
Buddhas.”

In reality, these books quickly move beyond exotic locales to
display a number of different approaches, reflecting, among
other things, the peculiarities of a specific childhood, the beliefs
and practices of particular missionary parents, and the varying
historic circumstances and cultural backgrounds in which MKs
are raised. Interestingly, given the tendency in contemporary
American memoirs to emphasize self-confession and highlight
awe and astonishment rather than the anger, bitterness, or re-
casting them, even in cases where the authors have become
self-avowed atheists or agnostics. In the main, these books reflect
partly reflect those of a whole generation of other MKs from
China, an astonishing number of whom went on to apply the
kind of missionary zeal that they had witnessed in their child-
hoods in more secularized settings. Henry Luce, perhaps the
most famous of all the MKs from China, was later a cofounder of
Time magazine, using it as a journalistic platform for promoting
a new and more active American role in the world. Other MKs of
his generation from China and elsewhere went on to become
noted diplomats or academics, helping to interpret to wider
American audiences the foreign countries in which they had
been born and raised.

Stephen Alter’s All the Way to Heaven, bearing the subtitle
“An American Boyhood in the Himalayas,” follows to some
extent in this same tradition. (There is also a strong link with the
past in the sense that both his parents and his grandparents were
missionaries to India.) A novelist and writing instructor at MIT,
Alter’s memoir, along with Espey’s Minor Heresies, Major Depart-
ures, subtitled “A China Mission Boyhood,” ranks among those
few books likely to emerge as MK memoir classics in the years
ahead. Perhaps there is something about a Presbyterian child-
hood that encourages good writing and deep (but not too deep!)
self-reflection. By and large, both books successfully avoid the
excessive self-absorption that is the pitfall of so many contempo-
rary memoirists.

Alter and Espey are especially effective in handling the movement
between the comic and the tragic, both of which seem
so close at hand in the childhoods of many MKs. For both
authors, the comic includes the theological wrangles that mark
the small, yet often divided, missionary community as well as the
sometimes forlorn attempts to re-create small-town America in
unlikely settings in China and India. The tragic includes the
death of school classmates, in Alter’s case as a result of a train
accident and in Espey’s case because of disease. Both memoirs
are also notable for their moving yet restrained prose, providing
a fitting elegy for a community and a way of life that seem to have
passed into history. While both Alter and Espey are unable to
accept the religious premises that animated the missionary vi-
sion of their parents, they do display touching filial devotion and
a marked appreciation for the type of childhood that their
parents gave them.

 Alter’s memoir is notable also in that it recalls what he
himself describes as a liberal upbringing, growing out of a
mainline denominational experience that, in the latter decades of
the twentieth century, became less common as evangelical
and fundamentalist missionary societies assumed greater impor-
tance. Both Alter and Espey include critical asides about these
communities, while perhaps missing an opportunity to comment on how such groups tend to emerge from a different strata of American society. For example, Espey recalls religious emotions that “seemed excessive even for a Baptist and made one think of the Holy Rollers.” Similarly, Alter notes he was “turning against the self-righteous, charismatic forms of Christianity that were so prevalent in Landour, the hysterical preachings of fundamentalist missionaries who believed that India was full of satanic evil and that they and their brethren had taken it upon themselves to save the souls of eight hundred million sinners.”

All the Way to Heaven is presented by its publishers as the unique account of a missionary childhood, one that casual readers may assume has become rather uncommon if not actually extinct. In fact, however, although such upbringings no longer figure prominently in the popular consciousness of mainstream American society, new generations of MKs are growing up with life stories that are similarly fascinating.

According to Paul Seaman in Far Above the Plain, citing an April 1995 article in Evangelical Missions Quarterly, there are now at least 130 MK schools in 56 countries, with a total enrollment of more than 15,000. Seaman also estimates that there are more than 300,000 adult MKs living in the United States alone. The number is almost certainly growing, even as the types and varieties of MK experiences continue to multiply. Indeed, some experiences—the American family raised out of the back of a VW microbus carrying the Gospel across the Americas, for example, or the Australian family, ostensibly English language teachers but missionaries nonetheless, with children growing up in a remote part of western China, attending local schools, and speaking fluent Chinese, to name only two—offer intriguing creative possibilities that perhaps will one day also find their way into print.

Important differences inevitably separate the recollections of a new generation of MKs growing up in evangelical households from the narratives emerging out of a more traditional denominational upbringing. Most notably, perhaps, the interpretive role assumed by MKs in the early decades of this century seems less critical and is probably far less welcome than in the past. Why rely on the views of an MK about society in China, India, or the Arab world, when there are hundreds of thousands of Chinese, Indians, Arabs, and others who live in the United States, have U.S. citizenship, and can speak authoritatively about their experiences for themselves?

In this changed milieu, the MK memoir is perhaps more interesting for what it says about particular spiritual communities and specific missionary upbringings than for what it says about any given foreign country. In addition, memoirs written by the more recent progeny of evangelical missionaries seem to lack some of the self-confidence and certainty displayed in the memoirs of older writers such as Espey and Littell. Both Espey and Littell vividly recall childhoods that were lived out during a time when missionary networks extended much more deeply into the political, academic, and journalistic fabric of “mainstream” American society.

The occasional shrillness of Daniel Barth Peters in Through Isaac’s Eyes is suggestive of this uncertainty and lack of confidence, in this instance detracting noticeably from an otherwise commendable attempt to render into literary form the life of an MK raised in a fundamentalist household. One of the relatively small number of MK memoirs issued by an ostensibly Christian publisher and bearing a promotional blurb from Bill McCartney, founder of Promise Keepers, the ultimate spiritual commitments of Peters himself remain ambiguous and murky.

As the title suggests, Peters’s father was an Abrahamic figure, only too willing to sacrifice his son at the altar of a higher missionary calling—in this case, in Vietnam. Peters is interested in moving beyond the usual stereotypes about missionaries. He also appears committed to presenting a sympathetic, plausible case for the integrity and authenticity of the missionary endeavor, at least as it is played out in the life of his father. While some sections of this memoir are moving, others tend toward the emotional, melodramatic, and even hysterical. The effect is unnerving, as if we are being taken on a tour of an astonishing past by a guide who himself does not really know the way.

Paul Seaman’s Paper Airplanes in the Himalayas also includes a focus on father-son relationships, this one involving a Methodist agricultural missionary in Pakistan who is as silent and self-contained as his son is open and voluble. While including rich detail on boarding school life, this book is more about trying to come to terms with the present than an attempt at recovering a lost past. Along with its companion volume, Far Above the Plain, it offers an interesting perspective on the MK experience, not only as interpreted by Seaman but also through the eyes of a number of other MKs from Murree Christian School in northern Pakistan. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the selection of essays included in both volumes is the breadth of human experience communicated by former students from a seemingly isolated boarding school whose total enrollment has never exceeded 200. It also suggests some of the ways in which individu-
Patrick Johnstone

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als can experience identical events and yet interpret them in very different ways.

Although in effect a collection of related short stories rather than a memoir, Margaret Meyers’s first book, Swimming in the Congo, is at least partly autobiographical. Her narrative is beautifully rendered, respectful and moving. Not only toward the American evangelical experience as it is played out in a remote foreign mission field but also toward the indigenous African and European Catholic cultures that she encountered along the way. The prose is graceful and appealing. In particular, Meyers avoids the melodramatic extremes that undermine Through Isaac’s Eyes. She is also very effective in re-creating the dreamlike quality of her experiences, better nonfiction than fiction. Meyers’s book suggests how MKs living anywhere, everywhere often experience, assaulted as they are by a myriad of sights, sounds, and smells that are enough to last a lifetime. Most MK writers appear to believe that their upbringing makes for better nonfiction than fiction. Meyers’s book, however, suggests that there is a rich vein of MK experience that can also be effectively rendered in novel form.

Finally, Ruth E. Van Reken’s Letters I Never Wrote, while not technically an MK memoir, offers some interesting insights into the heart and soul of a particular MK who went on to become a missionary herself. During the late 1980s this book became a minor underground classic among MKs, selling more than 25,000 copies with little or no advertising or paid publicity. Though making no great literary claims, it touched a nerve because of its honest portrayal of a theme that appears at least implicitly in virtually every MK memoir, namely the pain and regret of a life marked by constant separation and many partings.

This almost universal MK experience stems in part from the memories of boarding school that many MKs share. Whether they have originated with Pearl Buck, herself an MK, to describe their own, sometimes tenuous, sense of belonging: partly at home everywhere, but not fully at home anywhere. By and large, the MK memoirists discussed here also reflect this view. What they are often much less explicit about, however, is a range of other, equally compelling truths: that the experience of cultural displacement and marginalization has become one of the defining features of this century; that the inability to identify home with a specific geographic location is increasingly commonplace; that the ability to maneuver across boundaries of class, culture, language, and religion can be a gift as well as burden; and that many aspects of an MK upbringing, far from being peculiar or unique, increasingly lie at the heart of human experience, at least as it is being played out in our time. Retelling these stories from childhood and trying to make sense of them thus has real moral value and significance, not only for those who write them but for their readers as well.

**Book Reviews**

**A World History of Christianity.**


The sure editorial hand of Adrian Hastings and the sturdy work of his contributors have combined to take an important step toward a genuinely global history of Christianity. Recent general histories have made increasingly sincere gestures toward this same goal. But the weight of convention has to date mostly prevented others from reflecting the world’s current distribution of believers, where the demographic balance, but not yet the historiography, has shifted from North to South. This volume marks a breakthrough.

It contains thirteen separate chapters in which specialists on various regions or eras will doubtless find weaknesses. But to an aspiring globalist with formal training only in Western subjects, I judge the results to be superlative. Seven sections authoritatively treat the more familiar story: Martin Goodman on “the emergence of Christianity,” Adrian Hastings on the period A.D. 150–55, Mary Cunningham on Orthodoxy in Byzantium, Benedicta Ward and G. R. Evans on the medieval West, Andrew Pettengre on Reformation and Counter-Reformation, Bruce Mullin on North America, and Mary Heimann on western Europe from the Enlightenment. Even in this well-trod terrain, however, there are important contributions to world Christian history—for example, from Hastings with substantial treatment of developments beyond the Roman Empire and from Mullins with the inclusion of Canada in his narrative.

It is, however, the innovative character of the book’s other half that fulfills the claim of its title. R. E. Frykenberg’s chapter on India combines a clear account of a complex history with a particularly insightful discussion of how the class of Western Protestant missionaries (tending toward the artisan) interacted unexpectedly with Indian *castes*. In an account that is stronger on Protestants than Roman Catholics, but exemplary for highlighting Christian-Islamic interaction, Kevin Ward efficiently summarizes African stories from early Ethiopia to modern Zionism. Philip Walters’s depiction of eastern Europe since the fifteenth century nicely balances Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant—as well as Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and Communist—elements. Editor Hastings offers an unusually effective synopsis of Latin American history, though one that should spark lively discussion (for example, on the damage done to Catholicism by maintaining a celibate clergy). R. G. Tiedemann patiently records the various
appearances of Christianity in China and East Asia during earlier centuries before providing a helpful survey of recent developments. David Hilliard offers in the last chapter a sure-handed account of events in Australia and New Zealand developments. David Hilliard offers an insightful introduction to Christianity in the Pacific Islands (which in all its diversity looks anything but Western). This unusually fine book closes with thirty-five pages of well-selected bibliography, ten helpful outline maps (which would have been even more helpful interleaved with the pertinent chapters), and a full index of names and places.

Mark A. Noll


The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy in Latin America.


In the past forty years military dictatorships ruled many countries in Latin America and finally gave way to more democratic governments. The Catholic Church played a variety of roles in that transition, which is the topic of this book. Jeffrey Klaiber is a good guide; he is an American Jesuit who has lived in Peru for thirty-five years and teaches at the Catholic University in Lima.

Amid the tensions of the last decades, the “church was the only large national institution with the necessary moral legitimacy to serve as a bridge for dialogue” between opposing forces (p. 263). It could not have played a mediating role if it had not “experienced a radical change in its own orientation,” which took place in the Second Vatican Council and the 1968 Medellin bishops’ conference (p. 263). In the end, the influence of the church for human rights was both negative and positive. Klaiber cites the variety of pressures from the papacy, from ecclesial unity versus division in each country, the vision and character of particular bishops and local leadership, the concrete political contexts, and the foreign influences at work.

While others have described the role the church played in individual countries, Klaiber’s purpose is “to present a

Fifteen Outstanding Books of 1999 for Mission Studies

The editors of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH have selected the following books published in 1999 for special recognition of their contribution to mission studies. We have limited our selection to books in English, since it would be impossible to consider fairly the books in many other languages that are not readily available to us. We commend the authors, editors, and publishers represented here for their contribution to the advancement of scholarship in studies of the Christian mission and world

Bamat, Thomas, and Jean-Paul Wiest, eds. 
Popular Catholicism in a World Church: Seven Case Studies in Inculturation. 

Dempster, Murray, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Peterson, eds. 
The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel. 

Hastings, Adrian, ed. 
A World History of Christianity. 
Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans. $45.

Hiebert, Paul, Daniel Shaw, and Tite Tiénotou. 

Kirk, J. Andrew. 
What is Mission? Theological Explorations. 

Madsen, Richard. 
China’s Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society. 
Berkeley: Univ. of California Press. $27.50.

Makower, Katharine. 
The Coming of the Rain: The Life of Dr. Joe Church. A Personal Account of Revival in Rwanda. 

Myers, Bryant L. 
Walking with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development. 

New Directions in Mission and Evangelization 3: Faith and Culture. 

Sharpe, Eric J.
Chennai, India: Christian Literature Society. Paperback Rs. 120.

Shenk, David W., and Linford Stutzman, eds. 
Practicing Truth: Confident Witness in Our Pluralistic World. 

Shenk, Wilbert R. 
Changing Frontiers in Mission. 

Sigmund, Paul E., ed. 
Religious Freedom and Evangelization in Latin America. 

Van Gelder, Craig, ed. 

Witte, John, Jr., and Michael Bourdeaux, eds. 
Proselytism and Orthodoxy in Russia: The New War for Souls. 
prophetic and pushing for democracy.

We can be grateful to the author and to Orbis Books for this fine study. Of much value also are the endnotes, the bibliographies (arranged by countries), and the general index.

—H. McKennie Goodpasture

H. McKennie Goodpasture is Professor of Christian Missions, Emeritus, at Union Theological Seminary and the Presbyterian School of Christian Education in Richmond, Virginia. His missionary experience was in theological education in Portugal from (1959–65).

African Christianity: Its Public Role


This book is one of the fruits of the research funded by the Leverhulme Trust from 1992 to 1995 on the topic “Christianity in Post-Independent Africa.” Pioneered by Richard Gray and Adrian Hastings, it has been an important contribution from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. A sequel to Gifford’s Christianity in Doe’s Liberia (Cambridge, 1993) and The Christian Churches and the Democratization of Africa (Leiden, 1995), it examines the churches’ contributions in the crises that have dogged Africa since independence and the significance and nature of both the recent growth of Christianity and its increasing role in the public square. Gifford studies the churches as a social institution with diversities, changing character, varied levels of operation, and numerous organizations. He applies Weberian administrative indices and borrows models of political analysis such as colonial heritage, dependency, extraversion, Afropessimism, legitimacy, civil society, theology, and emergent movements. He provides case studies of Ghana, Cameroon, Uganda, and Zambia.

Gifford concludes that the churches share the pathology of African collapse, which includes patrimonial culture, ethnic conflicts, inefficiency, poor financial accountability, and weak theology. Extraversion predominates, signified by vestiges of colonial heritage, proliferation of non-governmental organizations, and dependence on foreign funds, experts, and literature. Yet there is much numerical growth. Catholics predominate; Pentecostals are the most salient; the Aladura are declining.

Gifford sidesteps the matter of Christian-Muslim relationships. Nevertheless, the depth of data is invaluable. Sensitive to criticisms of his earlier works, the author injects significant qualifiers. But the church is not merely like the state; the method fails to produce an accurate image of a lived faith and the overemphasis on extraversion is jarring. Can the African church avoid transnational trends? Happily, Africa expert Andrew Walls has noted the vibrant creativity that makes Africa the laboratory of modern Christianity.

—Ogbu U. Kalu

Ogbu U. Kalu, Professor of Church History at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, is currently visiting at the Center for the Study of World Religions and teaches African Christianity in Harvard Divinity School.
GLOBALIZATION OF PENTECOSTALISM
edited by Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen

This book marks a milestone in the emergence of Pentecostal scholarship. Perhaps for the first time knowledgeable Pentecostal teachers probe the dawning globalisms of the Pentecostalisms that circle the world. With an instructive symmetry readers will find an unparalleled garden of analysis, scholarly to be sure but not without a few irrepressible and characteristic breakthroughs of Pentecostal piety. The tradition survives, even in the hands of its serious scholars.

Russel P. Spittler,
Provost and Professor of New Testament,
Fuller Theological Seminary

Mission as Transformation
Vinay Samuel & Chris Sugden

Mission as transformation has been a struggle for evangelicals. Our Two-Thirds World colleagues have patiently assisted many of us to the table. This book provides a gathering place for the seminal papers and discussions that are part of this twenty-five year journey.

Bryant Myers,
Vice President,
World Vision International

Most Popular Titles
Mangoes and Bananas - Hwa Yung
Seeking the Asian Face of Jesus - Chris Sugden
Strategy of the Spirit - Everett A. Wilson
Not By Might Nor By Power - Douglas Petersen
Faith and Modernity - Philip Sampson, Vinay Samuel, and Chris Sugden
Theology and Identity - Kwame Bediako

Forthcoming
Paradigm Wars: The Southern Baptist International Mission Board Faces the Third Millennium (Keith E. Eitel)
Theological Education in a Post-Ideological World (Peter Kuzmic, ed.) Impact of Christian Mission on Dalit Consciousness (Samuel Jayakumar)

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Oi Ki Ling is an independent researcher based in Hong Kong. She graduated from Hong Kong University, taught history and religious studies, and then took an M.A. in modern international studies at Leeds University, U.K. She later received her Ph.D. from the same university, and this book is based on her doctoral thesis. In it she makes a valuable contribution toward further understanding of the reactions of both missionaries and Chinese Christians to the establishing of the People's Republic of China in 1949. She also offers a more historically authenticated evaluation of the missionary experience and thinking than was possible at the time and in the aftermath of the missionary withdrawal.

In some ways the title is misleading, for the book covers more than the changing role of one group of missionaries in a period of seven years. Although her main focus is on British missionaries, she discusses them in the context of the whole missionary presence and experience during the previous 150 years. The book's interest is therefore wider than the experience merely of British missionaries. In another sense, however, it is narrower than the title. Most of the archival materials used are from Nonconformist missionary archives. Although in the total British contribution to China missions the Anglican share was comparatively small, its distinctive tradition of church-state relations, as well as the later important role of some Chinese church leaders brought up in that tradition, merits attention but is missing from this work. However, the archives and journals of almost all other mission bodies and related ecumenical organizations have been well researched. Chinese-language sources have also been extensively used. In time to come, when Chinese official records are more accessible and Chinese Christians may desire to reassess their history, we can hope that Oi Ki Ling will still be researching.

—George A. Hood

1999–2000 Senior Mission Scholars

OMSC welcomes into residence for the fall 1999 semester Senior Mission Scholars David A. Kerr and J. Dudley Woodberry. Beginning his career in the Middle East, Dr. Kerr is known for his expertise in the area of Christian-Muslim relations. He has taught at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, the Duncan Black MacDonald Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations at Hartford Seminary, Connecticut, and now at Edinburgh University, where he directs the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World. Dr. Woodberry is the retiring Dean and Professor of Islamic Studies, School of World Mission, Fuller Seminary, Pasadena, California. Ordained in the Presbyterian Church (USA), for several years he pastored churches in Kabul, Afghanistan, and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. He is editor of Muslims and Christians on the Emmaus Road (1989).

In the spring semester of 2000 OMSC's Senior Mission Scholars will be Samuel Wilson and T. Jack Thompson. Dr. Wilson is Professor of Missions and Evangelism, Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry, Ambridge, Pennsylvania. He served for a number of years as a missionary with the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Peru, and then directed the MARC division of World Vision International, where he worked alongside Dr. Raymond Bakke in organizing evangelism and church planting workshops around the world in major urban settings. Dr. Thompson is seconded by the Presbyterian Church in Ireland to the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, Edinburgh, where he is Lecturer in Mission Studies. A former missionary in Malawi, he is the author of Christianity in Northern Malawi: Donald Fraser's Missionary Methods and Ngoni Culture (1995).

In addition to providing leadership in OMSC's Study Program, the Senior Mission Scholars are available to OMSC residents for counsel regarding their own mission research interests.

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De la misión a la teología.


De la misión a la teología (From mission to theology) is a collection of three essays by Samuel Escobar, professor of missiology at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The first two are updated revisions of works published previously in English. The third is an essay initially presented to a Spanish-speaking section at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion.

This volume, dedicated to John H. Yoder, is the first in a series projected to be published by the Latin American Theological Fraternity (of which Escobar...
is a founder as well as honorary president), with the goal of facilitating theological reflection on the significance of the Gospel for church and society in Latin America. Rene Padilla serves as general editor.

The title of the book reflects the reality that while Latin American evangelical theologians function on the fringe of the dominant cultural elite in Latin America, they function at the very center of the missionary action of the churches. The first essay surveys the search for an authentically Latin American Christological missiology. The second essay deals with the missionary legacy of John A. Mackay. In North Atlantic circles Mackay is remembered primarily as the longtime president of Princeton Theological Seminary and an architect of the World Council of Churches. Escobar reminds his readers that before coming to Princeton, Mackay was a missionary educator and evangelist in Latin America. Mackay’s classic analysis of the spiritual condition of Latin America, his theological methodology with its emphasis on a “theology of the road,” and his missionary style constitute a legacy highly relevant to the contemporary situation. The third essay, drawing upon recent studies by two Puerto Rican writers, Angel Mergal and Santiago Soto Fontanez, explores the relationship between evangelical pietism and sixteenth-century Roman Catholic spirituality.

In these brief pages Escobar interacts with an incredibly broad range of thinkers and writers. A mere glance at the footnotes provides the reader with an introduction to the thinkers who have shaped the landscape of Latin American Protestant missiological and theological thought during the past century.

Kenneth B. Mulholland


This work provides a window into ongoing thinking by Catholic theologians on the challenging issue of Christian relations with, and attitudes toward, other faiths.

Father Mohammed, a Jesuit priest, devotes the first chapter to an orthodox thumbnail sketch of Islamic history, scripture, and belief. Chapter 2 summarizes the historical background to modern-day Christian-Muslim relations, firmly linking European colonial expansion with Christian mission. In these chapters the author makes no attempt to engage with, or even briefly refer to, alternative approaches to the important topics addressed. For example, he indicates no knowledge of revisionist school challenges to normative Muslim historiography. Moreover, no mention is made of the missionaries who spoke firmly against colonial expansion, nor does the author explain that in some locations, such as northern Nigeria, colonial authorities were protective of local Muslim structures and actively prevented Christian missionaries from working in these areas.

The third chapter includes reference to past studies by Christians of Islam, as well as Muslim approaches to interreligious relations. The author summarizes here the approaches of both polemical and irenic Christian voices. However, he chooses to discuss only moderate Muslim writers, thus leaving the reader with the contrasting impression of Islamic balance and Christian imbalance. In the latter part of this chapter, Father Mohammed flies a clearly pluralist

Peaceable Witness Among Muslims provides a unique treatment of Christian engagement with Muslims. Gordon D. Nickel offers provocative, innovative proposals for drawing on the Anabaptist peacemaking heritage to develop a peaceable method for communicating the gospel of peace among Muslims.

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flag, declaring acceptance of the prophetic claims of Muhammad and accepting the Qur'an as a word of God.

Throughout the book, one senses that the author is adhering to self-imposed limits, carefully avoiding any difficult topics that might upset the sensibilities of Muslim readers. He has clearly conducted and written up his research through the filter of his own pluralist theocentric views and written up his research through the lens of interfaith relations, which readers need to be aware of in engaging with this work. If read critically, however, this book can provide a useful window into emerging Catholic approaches to interfaith relations, although it should be acknowledged that many Catholic theologians would not be comfortable with the author's conclusions in this work.

—Peter G. Riddell

Peter G. Riddell is Director of the Centre for Islamic Studies and Muslim-Christian Relations at London Bible College, U.K. An Australian citizen, he spent five years working in Indonesia and Jerusalem and has traveled widely throughout the Muslim world.
Peace Be with You: Justified Warfare or the Way of Nonviolence.


Eileen Egan, coworker with Mother Teresa and close friend of Dorothy Day, worked with refugees in Europe in World War II under the auspices of Catholic Relief Services. Seeing firsthand the ravages of war, she was a passionate and eloquent voice for peace at the Vatican and at the United Nations, as well as being cofounder of Pax Christi USA.

In Peace Be with You, Egan contrasts the gospel nonviolence of the early Christians with the belief in the "just war," which began in the fourth century and proved to be a watershed in history. Christians came to accept violence and war, with the nadir coming during the Crusades, when torture and slaughter were enlisted in the defense of Christendom.

Utilizing just-war theory, nation-states have managed to find their wars just, with the churches marching under their national flags, reversing works of mercy in order to pursue works of war. This book is nonetheless hopeful, as Egan examines the growing influence of gospel nonviolence and peace theology, stimulated by Gandhi, King, Dorothy Day, and other peace witnesses. Egan shows the positive impact this thinking had on the Second Vatican Council and subsequent developments, such as the people power revolution in the Philippines, increasing peace voices in the churches, and nonviolent movements around the world.

This profoundly important book deserves to be widely read and studied.

—Richard L. Deats

Richard L. Deats is director of communications and editor of Fellowship magazine at the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Nyack, New York. Formerly professor of social ethics at Union Theological Seminary in the Philippines (1959–72), his books include Nationalism and the Churches in the Philippines and Martin Luther King, Spirit-led Prophet.

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Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem.


This is an important summary and extension of Virginia Garrard-Burnett's work over the thirteen years since her dissertation was published under the title A History of Protestantism in Guatemala. It is unique as a study of a single Latin American nation since the formal advent of Protestantism in Guatemala in 1882. Particularly welcome is the focus on rural communities and ethnicity.

As the author notes, "The particular history of Protestant work in Guatemala touches on many of the salient themes of Guatemala's national history, writ small" (p. xiv). Early Protestant ties to liberal governments in Guatemala reflect a political policy of antagonism toward the Catholic Church as well as "spiritual manifest destiny" (p. 21) emanating from the United States at the turn of the century. Social mission involving education and health care demonstrates concern with modernization and the construction of the nation-state through assimilating (or "civilizing") the Maya population, which remains the majority in Guatemala today.
World Christianity and Mission Position
McCormick Theological Seminary
Chicago, Illinois

McCormick Theological Seminary, a seminary of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in an ecumenical theological context, announces a new faculty position: The Henry Winters Luce Chair in World Christianity and Mission. McCormick seeks to make an appointment to this senior position beginning July 1, 2001. In this position the person will teach courses selected across a range of topics such as missiology, interreligious dialogue, and World Christianity. The primary aim of the teaching will be to prepare church leaders/ministers to serve the Church in the racially diverse North American context. The courses will orient students to the reality of global Christianity, address the challenges of ministry in a religiously pluralistic world, and engage the Church in mission in contemporary society.

Applicants should possess an earned Ph.D. in mission studies, Ph.D. in theology or history with a mission-related topic, or a D.Miss. Applicants must have demonstrated scholarship in mission studies and relevant global experience in the Church. Ordination or active participation in the life of a congregation is expected. Rank and compensation will be commensurate with experience.

Persons interested in applying should send a resume and cover letter describing their suitability for the position to Dr. David Esterline, Dean of the Faculty, McCormick Theological Seminary, 5555 S. Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, IL 60637, USA (or send an e-mail to desterline@mccormick.edu). The deadline for applications is March 15, 2000.

Nevertheless, Protestant influence cannot be reduced to conspiracy theories connecting it with neo-conservative religious and political agendas in the United States. Wealth and success-oriented neo-Pentecostalism represented by General-President Efrain Rios Montt is only one part of Guatemala’s evangelical panorama. Initial Protestant support for the 1944–54 revolution and some Protestant involvement with guerrilla activity during the civil war that ended in 1996 show diverse responses to political and social dilemmas in recent Guatemalan history. Such diversity is overlooked when too much attention is given to Pentecostalism as the largest umbrella group of Protestants or to the apolitical nature of much Protestant discourse.

Protestantism in Guatemala provides valuable grounding for studies dealing with Protestants (evangelical, Pentecostal, neo-Pentecostal, historical) in Guatemala. While Protestantism often does re-create community in response to massive social dislocation, Garrard-Burnett acknowledges the local character of the Guatemalan evangelical experience. It is not an insignificant thought that the resurgence of both a “Maya Catholic Church” and “non-Christian Maya Religion” might “owe a debt, like it or not, to the Protestant move to provide a usable template for pluralism, theological fluidity, and contextualized growth” (p. 169).

—C. Mathews Samson

C. Mathews Samson is a doctoral student in anthropology in the University at Albany, State University of New York. Ordained in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), he spent the 1985–86 academic year as a volunteer in mission in Mexico and 1997–98 conducting field research in Guatemala.

Announcement of Tenure Track Position in Missiology

Asbury Theological Seminary’s E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism announces a tenure track opening for a missiologist with strengths in world religions and Christianity’s interface with other religious traditions. Ph.D. required, with preference given to candidates with cross-cultural experience. Rank and salary dependent on applicant’s experience and publications. Primary responsibilities include teaching and mentoring doctoral students. Asbury Theological Seminary is within the Wesleyan theological tradition and, within our confessional ethos, is an affirmative action employer. Interested persons should apply by February 15, 2000. Send letter of inquiry and curriculum vita to:

Darrell Whiteman
Chair, Search Committee
E. Stanley Jones School of
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Between May 1995 and March 1996, the Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL) convened a series of three theological consultations in order to develop the biblical foundations of the mission of the church. These meetings were held in conjunction with the Centro Kairos de Discipulado y Misión in Buenos Aires, Argentina; the Centro Evangélico de Misiología Andino-Amazónica in Lima, Perú; and the Comunidad Teológica in Mexico City. This volume brings together fifteen papers presented at these consultations. Written in Spanish and edited by René Padilla, it contains some of the best evangelical scholarship in Latin America today.

The quality of the contributions is consistently strong. The authors demonstrate sound exegesis and bring a considerable breadth of perspective to their works. Vital themes of Latin American theology, such as social justice, corporate solidarity, and the ministry of all believers in evangelism, permeate the volume. Hebrew and Greek are repeatedly utilized, but the style is not unduly technical. A study guide at the end enhances its usefulness for serious study groups within the local church. The absence of Brazilian scholars and the presence of only two women authors are minor weaknesses; overall, however, the rich variety and depth of Latin American evangelical scholarship are quite evident.

Sydney Rooy begins with a historical overview of how various sections of the church have understood its mission. Four scholars—Edesio Sánchez, Esteban Voth, Mervin Breneman, and Norberto Saracco—analyze the mission of the people of God in the Pentateuch, Psalms, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, respectively. Mariano Ávila brings a missiological approach to bear on...
the prophetic vocation in the Old Testament, and Carlos Villanueva analyses the apocalyptic literature.

From differing points of view, Dario Lopez and Pablo Davies analyze Luke's understanding of the church's mission, and Pedro Arana does the same for John's gospel. The complexities of intercultural mission are highlighted in Samuel Escobar's work on Paul's ministry to the Gentiles, and a fascinating study of the mission of the church in Revelation is presented by Juan Stam. The volume concludes with contextualized topical studies by Nancy Elizabeth Bedford, Catalina de Padilla, and Arnoldo Wiens, on the Christian mission with regard to suffering, the role of the laity, and within a context of corruption, respectively.

This is must reading for the serious student of Latin American theology today.

—Lindy Scott

Lindy Scott, Associate Professor of Spanish, Wheaton College, and North American Coordinator of the Latin American Theological Fraternity, is author of Salt of the Earth: A Socio-Political History of Mexico City Evangelical Protestants (1964–1991) and Bibliografía de los Evangélicos en México.


Paul Jenkins, Basel Mission archivist, edited this collection of papers from an international seminar held in Basel in October 1995 to celebrate the centenary of the publication of C. C. Reindorf's History of the Gold Coast and Asante. Only two out of the eight essays address in any significant way Samuel Johnson, who wrote History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate. With their vast collection of oral histories, depth of ethnographic information, and use of participant-observer methods of investigation, Reindorf and Johnson share many characteristics of modern historians.

Carl Christian Reindorf, a mulatto (Euro-African), and Samuel Johnson (a descendant of West African slaves who had been liberated and resettled in Sierra Leone), write of events in their African past from a Christian perspective. Through the seven photographs, one is transported to a different era; through the essays one is confronted with haunting issues—the proper interpretation of the African past from a Christian perspective.

The conference, as well as these published papers, was intended to be "an act of historical Wiedergutmachung" (p. 13), righting a wrong. To a large extent, this volume serves that purpose. Primarily, it aims to correct the intentional or accidental silence from Basel on the publication of Reindorf's History. It would have been commendable to have more Africans, as well as women, participate in the conference and in the book project.

Jenkins should be congratulated for organizing the conference and editing such a superb work. The meticulous bibliographical data, in different languages and archival systems, plus the cross-references make this book itself a significant contribution to African history.

The recovery still has far to go. For, after all, Johnson, like Reindorf, sought "to remove the reproach of the educated natives of Yoruba [who] are well acquainted with the history of England ... Rome, and Greece, but ... of the history of
their own country . . . know nothing whatsoever!” (p. 64). This comment sounds like a modern-day critique of the educational system in Africa.
—Casely B. Essamuah

Casely B. Essamuah, educated at the University of Ghana, Legon, and Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is a minister of the Methodist Church, Ghana. He is currently a doctoral candidate at the Boston University School of Theology and serves as Minister of Missions at the historic Park Street Church, Boston.


This book is an auspicious beginning for a theological series published in Africa that addresses African concerns. Kretzschmar, a South African-born author and senior lecturer at the University of South Africa, provides a carefully researched historical and theological analysis of the Baptists in her country that reveals the difficulties facing them as they seek reconciliation in the postapartheid era.

Her thesis is that members of the predominately white Baptist Union had a “privatized” faith, that is, the Christian Gospel was limited to the private or spiritual concerns of the individual. Thus they either deliberately avoided the public sphere or responded to it in an uncritical and ineffective manner. Privatization occurred at two levels—the formulation of theology and policies by the denomination’s leaders, and the day-to-day activities and beliefs of local congregants. This factor explains why, in a country filled with churches, white South Africans developed and conformed to a political system that made them a pariah nation. Kretzschmar begins by defining privatized religion and relating it to the larger process of secularization and shows that it enabled individuals to withdraw from the pressures and problems of society. Separating personal and social ethics, their religion was dualistic. It spiritualized the Gospel, avoided contextualizing the message, and reinforced rampant individualism.

The book focuses mainly on the historical development of the South African Baptists and maintains that they ignored radical elements in their tradition that could have enabled a more holistic message. The Baptist settlers who first came from England (1820) and Germany (1857–58) brought a Eurocentric theology that permitted them to benefit from colonialism. From the outset their witness was encapsulated in the confines of settler self-interest. Whites lacking sensitivity to the indigenous peoples dominated the Baptist Union (formed 1877). They created the South African Baptist Missionary Society in 1892 to carry on work among blacks but did not integrate black congregations into the Union structure and in 1927 gave them second-class associational status as the Bantu Baptist Church. When the apartheid regime came under increasing fire from Christians within the country, some Baptists demanded change as well. Among these were the Fellowship of Concerned Baptists (1986) and the Baptist Convention of South Africa, which evolved out of the black church organizations and became
independent in 1987.

Writing from the perspective of a Convention supporter, Kretzschmar provides a compelling and insightful story of Baptist Union failure. The theoretical section stressing race-class-gender orthodoxy and contextual theology is less satisfying; the book can stand on its own feet without trendy theory. The facts she presents are simply overwhelming. The Baptists were as guilty as other white churches in their complicity with the system.

—Richard V. Pierard

Richard V. Pierard (American Baptist Churches, USA) is Professor of History at Indiana State University, Terre Haute. He has been a Fulbright professor in Germany and in 1997 and 1999 was a visiting lecturer at the Moscow Theological Seminary of the Russian Union of Evangelical Christians-Baptists.


These erudite volumes include the interdisciplinary essays of a May 1992 international symposium in Germany commemorating the 400th birthday of the great Jesuit missionary astronomer Adam Schall. They provide the clearest assessment yet of Schall’s significance in East-West relations. Born into a prominent Cologne family, Schall studied theology and science in Rome and imbibed Europe’s admiration for China. During the Ming dynasty’s twilight years, he proved himself Matteo Ricci’s worthy successor by building Christian congregations in Xi’an and Beijing and by influencing important literati with his writings on astronomy, mathematics, and Christianity. By helping the Chinese to “fathom the stars in the sky ... [and] their Creator in Heaven” (p. 8), Schall hoped to advance Jesuit accommodationism and convert the country from the top down. The first Qing emperor (ruled 1644–61) called Schall “Grandpa” and ensured Jesuit continuity by putting him in charge of the Astronomical Bureau. There Schall brilliantly shaped the dynasty’s new calendar (the regulator of official and daily life) by harmonizing Chinese and European methods of calculation.

Schall emerges from these pages as an astute intercultural mediator who perpetuated European respect for Chinese civilization. Sadly, his promising efforts were sabotaged at the court by rising anti-Christian xenophobia and attacks by his colleagues on his approach.

Meticulously edited by Roman Malek, director of the China-Zentrum and the Monumenta Serica Institute, these 54 essays—in English (28), Chinese (17), German (8), and French (1), with summaries in alternative languages—are supplemented by a multilingual bibliography, a thorough index and glossary, and vivid illustrations. They admirably advance the symposium’s goal to inspire further international research on Schall and Sino-Western dialogue. In this regard, Bishop Paul Shan of Taiwan notes that Schall’s “marvelous synthesis of faith and science ... is a challenge to modern Chinese people” (p. 20). The rest of us, too, are Schall’s beneficiaries. Hence the ultimate significance of this important book.

—P. Richard Bohr

P. Richard Bohr, formerly a teacher and lay chaplain at Diocesan Boys School, Hong Kong, is Associate Professor of History and Director of Asian Studies at the College of Saint Benedict and Saint John’s University, in Saint Joseph and Collegeville, Minnesota.

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Applications are invited from emerging Third World scholars for 10 research scholarships of US$2,000 to research papers for presentation at a symposium at the University of Pretoria, July 3-7, 2001 on Interpreting Contemporary Christianity: Global Processes and Local Identities. Full travel and conference costs will be paid. Further information from Mrs Liesl Amos, CWC Project Office, Westminster College, Cambridge, CB3 0AA, UK. Phone and Fax: +44-1223-741090. Email: cwc@divinity.cam.ac.uk. Deadline for applications: March 31, 2000.

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Statement required by the act of August 12, 1970, section 3685, Title 39, United States Code, showing ownership, management, and circulation of INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH. Published 4 times per year at 490 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511.
Publisher: Gerald H. Anderson, Overseas Ministries Study Center, 490 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511.
Editor: Gerald H. Anderson, Overseas Ministries Study Center, 490 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511.
Associate Editor: Jonathan J. Bonk, Overseas Ministries Study Center, 490 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511.
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