For the last decade or more, December 31, 2000, has loomed for a good many Christians as the date by which they hoped to see the completion of world evangelization. They will very likely be disappointed—and they are not the first.

In April of 1900 the challenge and hope of world evangelization converged, at least for North Americans, in New York City's Carnegie Hall. Thomas A. Askew, in the opening pages of this issue, provides a “you-were-there” account of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference—ten days of missionary reports, testimony from young, articulate non-Western converts, debates over mission issues and strategies by world-renowned leaders, and the emergence of young visionaries like John R. Mott and Robert E. Speer. In these pages we breathe the atmosphere of our forebears' hopes and ideals. Clearly, they felt that the evangelization of the world could be done, and ought to be done, within their own generation.

David G. Dawson analyzes the financing of missionary expansion in the early twentieth century, and how the men of the church—particularly those in the business world—were enlisted in the cause of mission. Over a period of just a few years, North American financial support for world mission increased in some denominations by 200 percent or more.

Robert T. Coote evaluates a more recent but similar fervor for world evangelization—the AD 2000 movement and its concern for the 2,000 to 10,000 remaining unreached people groups. A central preoccupation of the movement is the concentration of least-evangelized peoples occupying a large swath across Asia and Africa dubbed the 10/40 Window. Some of our readers may think this AD 2000 campaign sounds like the undertaking of a few fringe evangelical. But as Coote notes, linking new efforts in world evangelization with the date of December 31, 2000, captured the attention and energies of significant numbers of mainstream Protestants and Roman Catholics as well as evangelicals.

But closure—the “not yet” of our title—continues to elude us. John R. Mott died in 1955 at the age of ninety without seeing the world evangelized in his generation. And now, as the twentieth century draws to a close, we find that Christians (defined in the broadest sense) constitute a slightly diminished proportion of global population as compared to the year 1900. And thousands of people groups remain unreached. With December 31 looming, some leaders in the forefront of the AD 2000 movement have moderated their forecasts, acknowledging that maybe we don’t really know whether or not reaching the last unevangelized people group on earth constitutes completion of world evangelization. So how will we know when we have fulfilled the terms of the Great Commission? Can Matthew 24:14 continue to be used—as evangelicals have used it for more than a century—as a key to the timing of Jesus' promised return and glorious kingdom?

We will continue to rely on Jesus’ promise to be with us in the “now,” until the very end of the age, as we seek to be faithful to the Great Commission. But we will also confess that there remains a mystery as to why the “not yet” is not yet!
The New York 1900 Ecumenical Missionary Conference: A Centennial Reflection

Thomas A. Askew

Ten years ago, New York’s Carnegie Hall celebrated its grand opening, which took place a century earlier, in 1890. The 1990 centenary program highlighted memorable past events in that famous venue: concerts, recitals, premieres, honored gatherings—every type of distinguished achievement. Glaringly omitted from the list, however, was one of the most ambitious, well-attended, and internationally significant conclaves in the auditorium’s history: the New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference, held from April 21 to May 1, 1900.

Carnegie Hall served as the conference headquarters and location of plenary addresses for the more than sixty sessions that also filled nearby churches and meeting places. Estimates placed attendance numbers at 160,000 to 200,000 for the ten-day gathering. Simply stated, it was the largest sustained formal religious event in the history of the Republic to that date and the best-attended international missionary conference ever. Participants included former president Benjamin Harrison, sitting president William McKinley, New York governor Theodore Roosevelt, as well as globally distinguished clergy and mission leaders. Official delegates numbered 2,500, with 162 mission boards represented. The term “ecumenical” was introduced in the title, not implying that every branch of the Christian church was cooperating, but “because the plan of campaign which it proposes covers the whole area of the inhabited globe.”1 The conference drew wide coverage from the secular and religious press.

The failure of the Carnegie Hall centenary publicity even to mention the conclave betrays the profound shifts in the religious ethos and cultural memory since 1900. Largely forgotten, except for a few missiologists and historians, is the challenge that Christian foreign missions stimulated in the popular imagination at the opening of the twentieth century. This essay recognizes the centennial of the New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference2 and offers selected perspectives on that bygone epoch of missionary dynamic.

Conference Goals and Preparation

A survey of press accounts, leaders’ testimonials, conference speeches, and official records reveals a composite of objectives that could be termed inspiration, consultation, and cooperation. Separately delineated these were:

1. To mobilize congregations and Christian public opinion toward greater mission commitment, financial support, and increased missionary recruits; to do so by communicating the advances of the passing nineteenth century and enumerating the needs of the non-Christian world in the opening twentieth century. There was also an apologetic objective: to meet antimissions criticism within and without the church. In this sense New York 1900 must be viewed as a public media event, one of the most extensive attempted in American religious history.

2. To provide an international forum for missionaries and mission executives to assess experiences, strategies, and issues. In this regard the conference sought to foster professional consultation within a broader popular program. Yet it must be remembered that New York 1900, like previous trans-Atlantic gatherings, was not a church council. Bearing no official authority, representatives spoke only for themselves. Procedural principles prohibited formal resolutions. Nevertheless, exchanges did take place on questions of vital concern, issues that would be more systematically unpacked at the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1910.

3. To demonstrate a unified church and manifest the oneness in mission of Protestant Christianity, resulting in greater comity between the denominations in reaching the world for Christ. In short, to aid a fragmented Christianity in finding ways to collaborate on foreign fields. This quest for cooperation, exemplified by the annual consultations of mission leaders at various field conferences overseas, was an aspiration carried over from the 1888 London Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World and before.

The New York 1900 organizers took into account qualitative changes that had developed in mission efforts during the 1890s. These included the swelling ranks of female missionaries as well as the dynamic mobilization of student volunteers, topics that were accorded a “Women’s Day” and a “Youth Day” on the agenda. Recognized but assigned less emphasis were two other initiatives of the decade, the interdenominational “faith-mission” movement and the emerging dialogue among leaders of the globally dominant religions, exemplified by the 1893 Parliament of the World’s Religions at Chicago’s Columbia Exposition.3 Any assessment of New York 1900 has to evaluate its effectiveness in terms of its three goals, seen in end-of-the-century context.

Expectations ran high as invitations for the New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference were dispatched. A perusal of popular mission publications in the United Kingdom reveals great interest as delegations planned to attend. “The time of the gathering is significant. We are on the dividing line between two centuries. . . . Let there be earnest prayer [for the conference] . . . inaugurating a new era in the evangelization of the world” editorialized the Missionary Record in Scotland.4 In New York the Missionary Review of the World sponsored a “postal card symposium” requesting that key representatives enumerate their goals for the conclave.5 Memories of the London 1888 Centenary Conference fueled anticipation. At least 120 of those at New York 1900 also had experienced the London 1888 Exeter Hall meetings. Fittingly, New York 1900 was perceived as a logical continuation of trans-Atlantic mission consultations reaching back to the Union Missionary Convention occasioned by the visit of Alexander Duff to New York in 1854.6 A request at the 1878 London Conference on Foreign Missions for an international gathering every decade was fulfilled by the London 1888

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A public rally of the importance of the conference was achieved because of proficient organization, celebrity appeal, accessibility for large crowds, and themes that resonated with mainstream public sentiments. Given the lack of modern communications technology, New York 1900 was a marvel of implementation. Tens of thousands flocked to the sixty-plus formal sessions (six or seven held daily across the city) and a plethora of other specialized gatherings that encouraged interchange and comradeship. "The business moved on from day to day without a hitch. But how it was done was the marvel and admiration of all. . . . Colleges, clubs, and other public institutions threw open their doors [to host] receptions, dinners, and other social entertainments."14

Wide press coverage contributed to the high level of public interest. Daily columns in the New York Times were long and detailed, sometimes recording discussions absent in the official proceedings. At the close of the conference, the New York Tribune published an illustrated extra edition of sixteen pages. Adding to the visual impact was a huge exhibit of native curios, artifacts, and missionary photographs that drew more than 50,000 viewers.

The opening session on Saturday evening, April 21, 1900, joined visual elements with national celebrities and international missionary heroes. A huge global map (50 feet long, 25 feet high) of two panels, one for each hemisphere, served as backdrop. Flanking honorary speakers Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt in the front row were white-haired veteran missionaries who had become legends in their own times. Among those were John G. Paton of the South Seas, Bishop Thoburn of India, Cyrus Hamlin of Constantinople, J. Hudson Taylor of China, Robert Laws of Africa, and Dr. and Mrs. James Hepburn of East Asia. Behind these luminaries sat the delegates from Europe along with members of the general conference committee. For foreigners the presence on one platform of such dignitaries was astounding. "To equal that in our country, we should require to bring together the Lord Mayor of London, the Prime Minister of Britain, and H.R.H., the Prince of Wales, and hear them advocate the cause of Christian missions."15 Equally inspiring was the conference music directed by Ira D. Sankey and others. The opening hymn, "Jesus Shall Reign," unleashed a wave of emotion that would reverberate through the entire ten days of the conference.

The planners especially sought to involve prominent business leaders who were assured of the fiscal efficiency of missions and who believed that profitable trade followed the missionary. J. Pierpont Morgan was listed as an honorary vice president, and Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller were listed as honorary delegates. The chair of New York's Chamber of Commerce, Morris K. Jessup, welcomed the delegates, presided on opening night, and introduced President McKinley. "Merchant princes" (as A. T. Pierson called them), such as Jessup, William E. Dodge, William T. Harris, and John Wanamaker, participated. Reflecting on the impact on businessmen, former president Harrison observed: "The great metropolis halted in its march of greed, to consider the meaning of this convention, and there was not a great mercantile house in the city in which it was not a theme of interested discussion."16

The most dramatic public rally took place midweek in Carnegie Hall. Four hundred female missionaries were "marshalled on the platform in groups by Mrs. A. J. Gordon of Boston, amid the clapping of thousands of hands, the waving of thousands of handkerchiefs, and the smiles and tears of a host of women worked up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm."17 Somewhat patronizingly, the New York Times noted the "hysterical hallelujahs. . . . the fluttering handkerchiefs looked like the whirling of thousands of snowflakes." It also editorialized: "The millinery and varied colored costumes made the scene one of exceeding brightness, for, notwithstanding that the missionaries have in a measure eschewed the frippery of the world, they nevertheless have the eternal feminine love of brightness and color. They were also imbued with an intense enthusiasm and the points made by the various speakers were vigorously applauded."18 Not wanting men to look condescendingly on such displays, Maria Hale Gordon reminded males of their enthusiasm when soldiers returned from a war. Climaxing the day, young Christian women from China, Japan, Armenia, India, and Turkey were introduced in indigenous dress. Prominent among this group was Lilavati Singh of India, professor of English literature at Lucknow College, whose conference address advocating mission-supported higher education for women prompted former president Harrison to exclaim, "If I had given a million dollars to foreign missions, I should count it wisely invested if it led only to the conversion of that one woman."19 The platform tributes to women signaled recognition of the new roles they were assuming, a fact largely ignored in earlier conferences.

New York 1900 ignited strong public affirmation because it resonated with the popular assumption that Western Christendom and the church were agents of progress for the world's peoples. All the speeches by public dignitaries reflected this confidence. President McKinley said of missionaries, "Who can estimate their value to the progress of nations? Their contribution to the onward and upwards march of humanity is beyond all calculation."20 Expounding a brand of "muscular Christianity," Governor Roosevelt echoed similar thoughts, with particular attention to missionary efforts among North American Sioux Indians. "You are doing the greatest work that can be done. The life worth living is the life . . . of the man who strives [to] leave the world a little better and not a little worse."21 Likewise, former president Harrison admonished that beyond the economic, scholarly, and technological development of the era, it is "to the Word of God and the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ we must turn for hope . . . . The Church is not a revolutionary hooter." Missionaries "preach no crusade; incite no rebellion by instilling the principles of the Gospel of Christ . . . . the doctrine of the parity of man."22 This emphasis on the unity of humankind and the gradual redemptive and civilizing power of the Gospel confirmed a confidence that the native populations of the globe could be elevated by embracing Christianity. Here was a daunting challenge that brought together postmillenialists, amillenialists,
premillennialists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, and others, a cause that William R. Hutchison has termed America’s “moral equivalent for imperialism,” a “shared belief in a ‘right of conquest’ for Christian civilization.”

By 1900 America’s “moral imperialism” had expanded to include political and economic control, as the United States in 1898 gained an overseas empire. Though the Philippines were referred to in at least eight different addresses, none stated the pro-imperial viewpoint more forcefully than Methodist Bishop John F. Hurst “as to the right and duty of a superior nation to govern the weaker . . . to bring these people to see and recognize the superiority of what we know as civilization, and give them the opportunity to adopt it.” It must be remembered that New York 1900 occurred in an America of traditional churchly values and optimistic ideals, a period “when the political and commercial expansion of Europe and America had directed the thought of Christendom to distant parts of the earth,” as the editors of the conference proceedings noted. Given a society that considered itself Christian, it should not surprise contemporary readers that New York 1900 generated such high levels of attention.

As Consultation

Appraising the conference, an English correspondent observed, “It was big. There was no doubt about that. . . . There were big preparations, big meetings, a big program, big speakers; and everyone hoped there would be big results.” The bigness, however, worked to the disadvantage of long-term effectivenes. The program was too extensive to achieve concrete results. The numerous concurrent sessions scattered across the city did not permit consistency of topic or attendance. Significant speakers were assigned competing time slots in different venues. The more than 500 addresses were limited to twenty minutes each, followed by brief responses. Providing a platform for many voices worked against full exposition of topics. The prohibition of voting even informal recommendations left discussions without closure. Such limitations were avoided in planning Edinburgh 1910, which surely benefited from lessons learned at New York.

The above caveats do not mean, however, that vigorous exchange was absent. A sample list of subjects presents a taxonomy of policy questions faced by Protestant missions at the dawn of the new century, including the role of native churches, women in missions, effective evangelistic methods, the place of education and philanthropy, medicine, missionary preparation, Scripture translation, literature preparation, administration, government relations, and non-Christian religions. There was also a country-by-country survey. Allotted forty minutes instead of the usual twenty, Church Missionary Society secretary Eugene Stock launched deliberations with a terse, instructive appraisal of mission developments from 1800 to 1900. His overview, divided into twenty-five-year segments, provided an unusual perspective from one of the most sophisticated minds at the conference.

Symbolic of the Victorian fascination with scientific tabulation, Princeton’s James S. Dennis offered a galaxy of statistics, later included in the conference proceedings appendix, on mission funding and operations across the world.

Two general presentations on relating to world religions prefaced a country-by-country survey. George Robson of the Scottish United Presbyterian Church posited that despite the persistence of idols and evils in non-Christianized societies, foreign religions “are not wholly the inventions of wickedness, but . . . [contain] relics of truth[,] survivals of purposes and aspirations, that, however misdirected, were originally pure.” He advised following the apostle Paul, who expounded the exclusiveness of Christian truth but enlisted “the elements common to other religions with Christianity” to present Christ as the fulfillment, not the destroyer, of the noblest religious sentiments. Robson also argued that thoughtful non-Western converts were best equipped to dialogue with their non-Christian peers. President J. M. Barrows of Oberlin College, who had attended the 1893 Chicago Parliament of Religions, extolled Christianity as “the best, and the highest, and the truest in the knowledge of God.” He went on to declare that “it is historically certain that the Judeo-Christian revelation has been the mainstream of history and [that] all other historical streams are tributary to Christianity.” Nevertheless (he continued), in the light of recent research and experience, non-Christian faiths “are part of the great world of religion. . . . We must know them to know man, to know ourselves and to know God in all his revelations.” Reflecting an evolutionary, optimistic confidence, Barrows went on to state that the ultimate result will be “a perfected humanity” joined under the leadership of “the resurrected Christ.” In their emphasis on Christ as the fulfillment, not the utter destroyer of non-Christian faiths, Robson and Barrows reflected perspectives further explicated at Edinburgh 1910.

Women in foreign missions were accorded prominence. Yet it is difficult to assess all the deliberations by and about females. Though sixteen stenographers took verbatim reports of all sessions, the published proceedings omit some addresses and discussions on women’s topics reported in the New York Times. Women’s significance was orally lauded by males, but most female voices were largely confined to the separate, parallel sessions for women and not integrated into the primary presentations. Nevertheless it was evident that a new era had opened, with professional women now playing vital mission roles. The plight of exploited womankind around the world was a recurrent theme, emphasizing that only Christian females could effectively minister to these dramatic needs. To do so, however, female missionaries must be prepared to adapt to non-Western customs.

Mrs. Moses Smith, president of the Women’s Board of Missions of the Interior (Congregational, Chicago), underscored this new thrust. “In the Church, woman was held in conservatism that only heroic courage could surmount. . . . The entering of women into this larger Christian service marked an era in the history of the Church which the future historian will be quick to recognize . . . [yet] many fail to apprehend the place and power of women’s work in foreign missions.” Emily H. Miller, a dean at Northwestern University, called for the right of women to hold and manage their own property; that was the way to increase financial support for missions. Helen Barrett Montgomery observed that one of the signs of vitality of women’s foreign missions societies was the level of concern of their critics. She resoundingly opposed any move to merge the women’s organizations with the general denominational boards.

Questions arose as to whether female missionaries gaining
converts in zenanas (i.e., secluded polygamous households) should be permitted to baptize new believers, and whether such converts should be encouraged to leave their husbands. There was no consensus, although the more cautious approach of waiting for male-administered baptism and asking women to stay with their husbands seemed the majority opinion.35 As at previous conferences, the problem of polygamous converts was debated without agreement.36 A discussion ensued even over the best marriage policy for couples dedicated to overseas service. The high illness and death rate for young missionary wives caused some, including Hudson Taylor, to advocate postponing marriage for two years until the singles had each acclimated to the field situation.37

While the relationship to governments and the need to nurture leadership in the younger churches were discussed, the legitimacy of Western colonialism in foreign lands was not. Undesirable behavior by Western colonialists, however, was condemned. President Barrows advised modesty as becoming an ambassador for Christ. “Christianity is compelled to apologize for Christendom…. Many things beside the wickedness of the human soul prevent pagan nations from coming rapidly into the ranks of Christendom; memories of wrongs, rapacities, all the more brutal because perpetuated by strength upon weakness; liquor traffic, opium shames, rude and domineering ways, official discourtesies . . . careers of vice and villainy…. It is not the best of Christianity that has always made itself most prominent and pervasive in the non-Christian world.”38

Though New York 1900 focused on foreign ministries, Native Americans and blacks received some attention. In addition to Theodore Roosevelt’s allusion to mission work among the Sioux, the success of the Church Missionary Society with the coastal tribes of British Columbia was highlighted. J. Taylor Hamilton, secretary of the Moravian mission board, provided a brief but stirring historical overview of Moravian and other missions to Native Peoples scattered from the North American interior to coastal Labrador and the Arctic islands.39 As for the blacks, Charles S. Morris, missionary of the Black National Baptist Convention, made a special appeal to meet the needs of South African believers who suffered extreme prejudice and rejection at the hands of white Christians. Morris’s answer was for mission societies “to recognize that the American Negro can do work there that no other peoples can do…. I believe that God is going to put it into the hearts of these black boys and girls in the schools of the South to go with the message [of the Gospel] to South Africa and to West Africa, and vindicate American slavery as far as it can be vindicated by taking across the ocean the stream of life.” While criticizing South Africa, Morris said nothing about segregation and prejudice in the United States.40

Rereading the thousand-plus pages of text in the two-volume edited proceedings of New York 1900 reminds the contemporary reader how vast were the challenges of the times. For the conference editors the gathering marked another noteworthy episode in the decades-long dialogue among North Atlantic leaders of missions. “Conferences sometimes lead to more important things, even as protocols sometimes lead up to Treaties.”41

Steps Toward Cooperation

No question received more consideration at New York 1900 than collaboration between mission societies. A preliminary study committee issued a sixteen-page report preparing for discussion that spread over three extended sessions. The word “comity” was frequently employed because few envisioned an organic federation of Protestant denominations at home and abroad. Alexander Sutherland, chair of the study committee, set the context for action: “There has always been a tendency in human nature to exalt opinion into dogma and to mistake prejudice for principle; and this tendency is responsible for not a few of the divisions so characteristic, alas, of Protestant Christianity.”42 Now was the time for adopting realistic and concrete steps to avoid duplication, competition, and confusion among non-Western Christians.

Speakers drew on collective achievements in solving field problems in China, Jamaica, Mexico, Assam, India, Japan, China, and Korea to reinforce the urgent need for regional strategic planning. In the midst of this quest for comity, however, a discordant note was sounded by A. Schreiber, expressing a complaint from Germany. He cautioned against “very prominent men here in America who have put Germany into the same line with any heathen land, and are sending people to Germany to convert the heathen Germans.”43 Here was another indication of the unease some German leaders felt toward American evangelistic aggressiveness.

Some voices advocated more than comity. G. W. Knox of Union Theological Seminary declared that “comity is too weak…. We must have more than that.” W. R. Huntington, rector of New York’s Grace Church Episcopal, felt “It is bound to come—Christian unity.” Likewise W. H. Findlay, Wesleyan missionary to India, challenged the societies present to be knit “into an ecumenical confederation. Would that this conference might herald, might even initiate, such a union.” Similar aspirations were intimated in Gustav Warneck’s paper: “If evangelical missions are suffering from one lack more than another, it is the want of organization in which the Roman Catholic missions are so much their superiors.”44

In contrast, Sutherland summarized the larger moderate consensus by delineating ideal guiding principles that included avoidance of counterproductive actions, exercise of mutual respect for other Christian bodies, cessation of rivalry, nonproselytizing of other Christians, and avoidance of duplication. Applied on the field, this approach meant collaboration in publishing, hospitals, higher education, territorial division, and worker employment. Furthermore, an interdenominational “consultation committee” should be launched on each field. Sutherland was too realistic to expect widespread implementation. “Indeed, some may consider the whole thing as visionary and impractical . . . but if even two or three could be included to lead the way . . . doubtless other missions would soon follow . . . to hasten the fulfillment of the Savior’s prayer, ‘that they all may be one.’”45

Since no conference resolutions were permitted, an unofficial caucus of about 200 delegates (North American, British, German, and Scandinavian) met at Central Presbyterian Church on the day following adjournment. F. F. Ellinwood offered a motion, passed unanimously, to recommend forming a perma-
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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nent international coordinating committee. But it was not to be. The 1901 meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America admitted the need but decided the time had "not yet come for the establishment of such an international committee as that suggested by the post-conference resolution." Though the failure of New York 1900 to stimulate formation of an international committee disappointed some delegates, the cause was advanced. It is worth noting that at least 125 delegates at New York also attended Edinburgh 1910. Ten of these were named to the permanent thirty-six-member Continuation Committee created at Edinburgh, including James L. Barton, Arthur J. Brown, John R. Mott, Eugene Stock, and R. Wardlaw Thompson, who served on the executive committee of that larger body, which Mott chaired. In retrospect, New York 1900 may be viewed as a contributory, if not an essential, step toward the greater collective action of missionary organizations at Edinburgh 1910.

Concluding Impressions

Assessed in terms of its goals—public information, missionary consultations, future cooperation—New York 1900 came closest to achieving the first of these. In a closing address, Robert E. Speer reminded the delegates that the intent was not to legislate or to enforce opinion but to share experiences and face candidly the practical questions of missions. "The conference was a demonstration of the missionary character of Christianity. . . . It met merely to suggest and to influence opinion and to quicken hope and courage." He especially emphasized its apologetic value in challenging critics of the missionary cause. The conference reaffirmed faith in "the fundamental convictions of the gospel" and confirmed the practicality of missions. Yet Speer did not see New York 1900 as never to be excelled. "[A]lthough it exceeded all other Christian conferences, it was yet but promise and prophecy of more, and not the crest of a wave never again to rise so high." These words were prescient. Edinburgh 1910, with its studied preparation, efficient deliberations, and concrete outcomes, took the decennial conference movement to the next level of effectiveness.

Essentially New York 1900 was a religious event, the largest in American history devoted to world mission. English delegate W. H. Findlay termed it "this greatest religious gathering of modern times." It impacted the lives of thousands. Personal testimonials called the conference uplifting, inspiring, assuring, challenging, and mobilizing. In an era when laity and clergy rarely reached across ecclesiastical or international boundaries to worship, pray, and plan together, the conference provided a profound unifying experience. The event gave fresh impetus and credibility to the goal of Christian mission. The Methodist Recorder in England described the goal as "extending the area of civilization and Christendom. . . . Newspapers whose tradition was to deny any serious value to missionary labors, and to treat civilization and Christendom. . . . Nor should the significance of what today would be termed personal networking be overlooked. Emerging leaders such as John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, and Helen Barrett Montgomery mingled with aging veterans of nineteenth-century mission advance as well as with colleagues from across the globe. Eugene Stock’s postconference activities exemplify the benefits of networking. Having met many new faces at the conference, he traveled afterward, visiting Canadian and American Episcopal communities. Impressed with the ability of High and Low Church leaders to cooperate at New York 1900, he carried back to Britain a commitment to encourage more of the same in the Church of England.35

Despite the ecumenical claim of global representation, New York 1900 was decidedly an Anglo-North American enterprise. Delegates from the foreign fields were primarily Western, English-speaking missionaries. Non-Western nationals were few. Of 500 speakers, only eight came from the younger churches, three being women from India. Continental Europe was underrepresented, and its mission heritage underrecognized. If, as has been suggested, London 1888 signaled the coming of age of North American missions, New York 1900 symbolized the United States and Canada achieving full partnership with the United Kingdom in world mission.36 From another perspective, New York 1900 may be viewed as the last demonstration on this side of the ocean of that loosely defined trans-Atlantic evangelical united front that had coalesced in Victorian times. Given twentieth-century theological tensions, advancing secularism, and tragic world events after 1914, it is difficult to imagine such a gathering taking place a generation later, especially in New York City at Carnegie Hall.

Looking back at New York 1900, the contemporary reader senses a discernible distance from the confidences and language displayed. Christianity too readily was viewed in territorial terms. The assumption was that Christendom with its advanced culture and religion would bring the benefits of civilization, commerce, and the Christian faith to the rest of the world. The Western empires would provide the stable context for achieving these goals. The word "race" was employed in an imprecise and casual manner that would be unacceptable today. Triumphalism punctuated with martial metaphors was too prevalent for today's cross-cultural sensitivities.

The world is very different now. Christendom as then conceived no longer exists; nor do the empires. Twentieth-century depredations have shattered Western assumptions of moral superiority. Yet in the midst of their misplaced confidences and human limitations, the generation of participants at New York 1900 accomplished more than they realized. They prepared the way for greater mission effort, cooperation, and understanding. Their humane concern for the suffering, their commitment to the dignity of women, their recognition of the effectiveness and necessity of indigenous witness, and their nurturing of a worldwide church stand today as an impressive and enduring legacy.

Notes


2. Hereafter referred to in the text as New York 1900.

3. Neither A. B. Simpson of the Christian and Missionary Alliance nor Rowland Bingham of the Sudan Interior Mission was present. The Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Africa Inland Mission did send delegates. J. Hudson Taylor from the China Inland Mission was
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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Dr. Ted Ward
Professor Emeritus of International Studies and Educational Research,
Michigan State University
Professor of International Studies, Mission, and Education, ret.,
Trinity Evangelical Divinity School
the best-known “faith mission” delegate at the conference. President John Henry Barrows of Oberlin College, an organizer of the 1893 Parliament, was prominent at New York 1900. It should be remembered that Oberlin was in the forefront of sending graduates as missionaries, many of whom were martyred with their families in the Boxer outbreak in China during the summer of 1900.

4. *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*, January 1, 1900, p. 115. I appreciate Margaret Acton’s generous help in locating Scottish printed sources on the conference. Thanks also to Sarah Scott and Justin Isaac, former Gordon College student research assistants.


7. Smith’s trip was approvingly noted in the *Free Church Scotland Monthly*, February 1, 1900, p. 35.

8. Only a modest number of persons from the Continent actually attended; explaining that few Germans came because of not knowing English, A. Schreiber acted as spokesman for all the European societies. The thirteen other societies were from: India (1), China (1), Australia (6), New Zealand (3), Hawaii (1), and West Indies (1).


12. Ibid., p. 216. McLaren recommended to Scotland the friendly habit of American ministers shaking hands in the church vestibule with parishioners instead of retiring to the vestry after each service.

13. *Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, August 1, 1900, p. 179.


15. Ibid.


17. EMC, 1:46. Maria Hale Gordon, the widow of American Baptist Mission Union leader Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836–95), had attended London 1888 and remained active at the Missionary Training Institute founded by her husband in Boston in 1889.


19. EMC, 1:47.

20. Ibid., p. 40.

21. Ibid., p. 43.

22. Ibid., p. 45.


24. EMC, 1:497. Neither William Jennings Bryan nor former president Grover Cleveland, both churchmen and Democrats, were present to offer alternative anti-imperialist views on American expansion, though the latter was cited as an honorary member of the conference. Noted American expansionist Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, U.S. Navy, and General Leonard Wood, military governor of Cuba, were listed as honorary members along with Civil War generals Lew Wallace, author of *Ben Hur*, and O. O. Howard, founder of Howard University and director of the Freedman’s Bureau during Reconstruction.


26. *Record*, May 18, 1900, p. 481. The *Record* also observed that the English delegation of about 100 felt it was accorded ample program inclusion; the *Record* was disappointed, though, that some United Kingdom speakers were scheduled at the same hour at diverse locations and that not all British societies sent representatives.


31. NYT, April 27, 1900, p. 5.

32. EMC, 1:218–29.

33. NYT, April 27, 1900, p. 5, carried a summary of Dean Miller’s paper, which was not included in EMC.


35. NYT, April 25, 1900, p. 5; EMC, 2:99.


37. Ibid., 1:315.

38. Ibid., p. 359. The liquor trade was denounced in many speeches.

39. Ibid., pp. 40, 46, 485, 487–89.

40. Ibid., pp. 400–71.

41. Ibid., p. 10.

42. Ibid., p. 273. Sutherland was one of only three persons identifiable whose names appeared on the rosters of attendees at all three: London 1888, New York 1900, and Edinburgh 1910.

43. Ibid., p. 237.

44. Ibid., pp. 272, 279, 290.

45. Ibid., p. 275–77.


47. EMC, 1:59, 64.

48. Ibid., p. 64.


50. Ibid.


Funding Mission in the Early Twentieth Century

David G. Dawson

According to John R. Mott, one of the secrets of the success of the nineteenth-century evangelist Dwight L. Moody was that he was able to mobilize Christian businessmen to fund his work. Mott (1865–1955) emulated Moody in this regard and committed himself to raise money for missions. One of Mott’s associates in student work, Luther D. Wishard, joined him in this commitment. Recognizing the need for financial support for the missionaries of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM), 1,200 of whom were serving overseas by 1900, Wishard took a leave of absence in 1897 from his work as international secretary with the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). His purpose was to ask on behalf of the SVM missionaries, “Who will send us?” He became the architect of the Forward Movement (FM), the chief aim of which was to put before ministers of the churches and businessmen of the laity the needs of foreign missions.

Wishard reported that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at its October 1898 meeting, took the following action: “Resolved, That a Forward Movement be inaugurated to develop interest in foreign missions among the churches, and especially to secure the adoption of missionaries by particular churches, individuals and families.”

Wishard and other mission leaders (including Mott and Robert E. Speer) founded the movement at a time when “forward movements” were a common way to address perceived needs. Arthur T. Pierson, noting previous forward movements, called for a revival of evangelical piety and a renewal of its connection to service.

Businessmen and the Forward Movement

The emergence of American economic confidence and leadership during this period was reflected in the advances made in supporting the cause of missions. Following the lead of business and industry, churches developed models of efficiency, consolidation, and specialization that had the effect of producing the “corporate denomination.” The FM was a men’s movement, the natural response of businessmen who had a vision for supporting the burgeoning corps of college students volunteering to spread the Gospel to the ends of the earth. Until now, or so it seemed to many, major responsibility for the foreign mission enterprise had fallen to women. David McConaughy, who later became secretary of the FM, was critical of men for failing to take leadership: “So far as concerns the missionary enterprise, the layman has not been in it.” He parodied the situation in a verse he wrote for the 1906 Foreign Missions Conference:

In the world’s broad field of action  
In the bivouac of life  
You will find the Christian soldier  
Represented by his wife.

Leaders of the FM appealed to the business world of men and challenged them to bring their expertise to the church’s calling: “Is it not high time that the men of the church cease relegating this vast enterprise to the good women, who have set so splendid an example, and bring to bear upon the undertaking more of the brain and brawn, the energy and the executive ability that is being put into other and less important lines of business?”

Although the FM was principally a lay-led movement, there was a clear expectation that pastors had a particular obligation to support missions. Mott argued that one of their responsibilities was to advocate systematic giving, including subscriptions for missions. The FM program was designed to bring the need of missions before every member and ask for each person to pledge a regular amount.

A key element of the genius of the FM was its understanding of the need to make the support of missions real and personal to the donor. “The truer ideal is, to bring every member of the church face to face with his personal obligation to do his part toward giving the Gospel to every creature, contributing systematically and proportionately for the purpose.” In promoting personalized giving for missions, Mott declared, “Experience shows that the plan of asking churches or individuals to give toward the support of specified objects, results, as a rule, in their giving more largely than that of asking them to give to the general missionary fund of the denomination.”

The FM was built on evidence that personalized giving worked. Wishard surveyed 155 churches that featured “special objects” in mission fund-raising and 155 that had none. Over the period of the study, the first group increased its support of missions by $74,300 while the second actually decreased by $6,967. The denominational boards supported this centerpiece of the FM, even though there were some reservations among staff.

Givers were sometimes asked to provide scholarships for particular students, native teachers, and preachers. But that appeal proved problematic. Not only was there the tendency toward possessiveness (by both parties), but there were the inevitable personal failures of the individuals being supported as well as the waning of donor interest. What happens if the scholar you support fails in school? What are the implications of your sending the individual a special gift at Christmas when that person’s classmates do not receive one? What happens if the local church leadership says that your scholarship-supported student is not an appropriate candidate for the ministry? What happens if your scholar contracts a serious illness? Would you transport him out of the country for treatment when other students would not have that option? What do you tell the worthy recipient if the particular donors involved in the support lose interest?

To mitigate some of the potential abuses, mission board executives developed the “station plan” and the “parish-abroad plan.” The station plan invited complete support for a mission station on the overseas field, including the missionaries, national workers, buildings, and programs. The parish-abroad plan encouraged the American congregation and its members to make the connection between the support of their own parish and the support needed to establish a parish abroad.

Even so, the mission board staff people cautioned against “undue emphasis placed upon special objects, [and suggested that] an effort be made to arouse pastors to the necessity of so stating the broad work of missions, that they will persuade their
people to give to the general fund and not to specific objects.”

For the most part, however, the fund-raising principle of the FM was direct, personalized giving. Though the business culture (and the church with it) was moving toward “consolidation” and “efficiency,” it was not until the 1920s that centralization and unification of mainline denominational mission budgets marginalized the practice of personalized giving.

Development and Program of the FM

On November 5, 1894, three years before Wishard’s FM initiative, businessman E. A. K. Hackett of Fort Wayne, Indiana, offered to give $6,000 a year for two years to defray the expenses of an effort to induce churches and individuals to give to the work of foreign missions. The FM became the answer to that vision. The idea was for it to function as an umbrella organization that would encourage the formation of denominational FMs.

The programs launched by the movement included mission education, regular correspondence with the field, mission study classes with a series of textbooks, and men’s missionary conferences. “Year Books of Prayer” were circulated along with periodicals. “PM Notes” ran regularly in denominational periodicals. Denominational staff organized committees on regional and local levels. Congregations appointed PM committees. Annual reports documented the progress. Testimonial letters were received from congregations where the FM had a positive impact. Missionaries on furlough made tours to appeal for individuals and congregations to pledge support for definite parts of the work or for the salaries of specific missionaries who had volunteered to go but for whom there was no money. Success was evident, and no denomination could afford to ignore the positive impact.

At the onset of the FM, many congregations did not support any mission boards. In most denominations receipts had been declining, even when membership was increasing. But with the advent of the FM, giving increased significantly. The number of missionaries (all denominations) grew from 2,481 to 3,776 between 1892 and 1905. Mission giving grew from $4,181,327 to $5,807,167 during the same period, and per-member giving increased substantially.

The Forward Movement Missionary Handbook (1905) identified the challenge faced by the missionary movement: “The greatest problem which confronts us for the opening century, is that of distributing the missionary responsibility which has become congested in official centers.” FM president Francis Wayland lamented, “The tendency will be more and more for churches to turn over their missionary obligations to societies, for societies to turn it over to Boards, for Boards to turn it over to Executive Committees, and Executive Committees to Secretaries; so that, in the last result, the chief responsibility for the great work will rest on the shoulders of a dozen men.”

The FM countered this situation by combining personalized mission giving with systematic pledges based on theologically sound financial stewardship principles. The result was a more direct sense of responsibility in local churches and a significant growth in giving for foreign mission as well as other programs of the Protestant churches. A decade after the 1905 Handbook statement, Speer declared that progress had been “far in excess of the hopes of many.” The FM focus on personalized, direct support of missions made a tremendous impact in all denominations and, in fact, prepared the way for the development of the Laymen’s Missionary Movement.

The Laymen’s Missionary Movement

At least partly because the FM was co-opted into the structures of most denominations, it did not survive as an independent institution. In many ways it was the precursor of the more institutionalized Laymen’s Missionary Movement. Even though the two movements are seldom mentioned in the same literature, they formed a natural progression of growing interest among men in the missionary calling of the church. David McConaughy dedicated a book to “those far-seeing and large-hearted Presbyterian laymen who pioneered the Forward Movement for Missions, anticipating by several years the Laymen’s Missionary Movement.”

John B. Sleman, Jr., an insurance man from Washington, D.C., inspired by an SVM convention at Nashville during the Christmas holidays of 1905, joined J. Campbell White, Samuel B. Capen, John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, David McConaughy, Robert P. Wilder, Luther D. Wishard, and others connected to the SVM and the FM in calling for a meeting in New York City in conjunction with a commemoration of the Haystack Prayer Meeting a century earlier. The purpose of the informal one-day conference on November 15 was to discuss whether a more united effort ought not to be made to greatly increase ... the participation of laymen in all our denominations in missionary enterprises. ... The tremendous development of the past decade calling for the largest exercise of business methods and broadest extension of financial support at home would seem to indicate that the time is ripe for the laymen in the churches to take a larger measure of leadership in missionary enterprises than ever before. The increase in wealth in the church is an element of greater danger unless it be used in the furtherance of the Kingdom, and no great increase in the gifts from the present generation of responsible business men can be expected without the determined and enthusiastic leadership of a group of such men. [Is it not] appropriate that at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the students’ prayer meeting held in the quiet of the Berkshire hills there should be a prayer meeting of business men at the very heart of wealth and business activity in New York City?

Chaired by Samuel B. Capen, the conference produced the following statement,

Be it resolved that this gathering of laymen called together for prayer and conference on the occasion of the [centennial anniversary of the] Haystack Prayer Meeting, (1) designate a Committee ... to consult with the Secretaries of the Missionary Boards of all the denominations ... with reference to a campaign of education among laymen to be conducted under the direction of the various Boards, (2) to a comprehensive plan looking towards the evangelization of the world in this generation, and (3) to forming a Centennial Commission of Laymen ... to visit as early as possible the Mission fields.

In 1907 thirty denominations endorsed the proposal, and
Capen and others worked together to form what became the Laymen's Missionary Movement (LMM). Capen served as the first chairman, and J. Campbell White was the general secretary. Along with an executive committee appointed at the organizing meeting, these men prepared the basic documents of the LMM. They were clear about what the LMM was not. It was not a missionary board, recruiter, or sender of missionaries, nor was it an organization for young people or women. And it was not an interdenominational movement working outside denominational lines.12

The LMM Program

The program of the LMM was built around three- or four-day conventions that averaged well over 1,000 in attendance. More than fifty cities hosted conventions in 1909-10, and these were preceded by six summer conferences. In 1912-13, there were 425 shorter interdenominational conferences in cities of all sizes, attended by 350,000 with 200 speakers (who also spoke in local churches), and 300,000 books and pamphlets were sold. In 1914-15 the LMM, in cooperation with the United Missionary Campaign, sponsored 695 events, again of the smaller, conference variety. The following year events were held in only 69 cities because of the world war. However, the attendance in Chicago was 4,556, and in Los Angeles 5,990, the largest men's convention ever held in those venues.13

As stated at the Boston Conference of 1908, "The problem is in the apparent indifference of men in nominally Christian lands to the welfare of the world and in their ignorance of the actual accomplishments of the missionary enterprise. ... More money, every Christian man a giver to mission—this is the objective. Effected, it would result in possible enlargement instead of destructive entrenchment and remove forever the unchristian as well as unbusinesslike annual deficits of the Boards." To address this problem the conferences and conventions were designed to be educational and motivational. The programs included home and foreign missions, matters of personal evangelism, deferred giving, church finance, specific country situations, stewardship, immigration issues, urban poor, and return of soldiers.20

Pledges, but no offerings, were received at these events, the assumption being that money flowed best through the churches. The cost of LMM structure and administration was provided by a small group of board members and others. The LMM periodical Men and Missions (first published October 28, 1909) articulated the program of the movement and provided a forum for debates on mission issues. Reports on campaigns were given, and readers were informed about important mission issues, including the fact that the ratio of amounts spent by American churches for local budgets and national ministry in the homeland compared to the amounts spent overseas was 12:1.

The LMM, like the FM, was self-consciously a laymen's movement. The constantly recurring theme is that of men taking responsibility and bringing their business expertise to the most important business of the church.

In the normal operations of the LMM's work, the typical local committee member was a self-employed business or professional man near the end of his career. Half of the LMM men had received a college education, and most were active in other religious activities. The overwhelming majority were Republicans. Presbyterians dominated the denominational representation, and New York was the geographic base. Most lived in Middle Atlantic East Coast cities. Few of them were men of "old money," and few were extremely wealthy. They were activist men of faith.21

Even though the emphasis was clearly on the male identity of the LMM, a large number of women attended the mass meetings. Secretary William Howard Taft (who became president of the United States in 1909) addressed a LMM crowd of 5,000 in 1908 in New York City, where he noted that "a good share of the five thousand persons present were women."22 The 1928 LMM Annual Report stated that of the 12,182 participants in the previous year's major events, 44 percent were women.23

Merging of home and foreign missions committees in 1913 marked the beginning of decline.

Because of its success there was particular pressure for the LMM foreign mission focus to be broadened to include wider mission work. This ongoing debate is documented in executive committee minutes over several years. At the meeting of September 20, 1907, the executive committee stated its focus to be that of foreign missions, not because other concerns are unimportant but "because the Movement originated in the foreign missionary interest, because it is directly devoted to the foreign missionary purpose, and because it believes that all other forms of effort will be benefited by the adequate performance of the Church's foreign missionary duty."24

On no less than ten occasions in succeeding years the executive committee rejected proposals to expand its interests to include home missions. Finally, in 1913, the American Home Missionary Society and others prevailed. The minutes agree to "advocate that congregations have one committee for the whole mission of the Church, both at home and abroad."25

The United Campaign Committee (UCC) for home and foreign missions efforts was the result, and it was mentioned prominently in future minutes of the executive committee. The UCC sponsored the Interdenominational Conferences of the United Missionary Campaign. Thus, 1913 clearly marks a turning point for the LMM—and the beginning of its decline. The future belonged to the United Missionary Council (UMC), which was explicitly committed to fund-raising for missions, both home and overseas.

Accomplishments of the LMM

Measured in dollars for mission, no other institution had such an impact as the LMM on the foreign mission work of the American church. Between 1907 and 1909 Methodist giving increased by 166 percent, Presbyterian by 240 percent, and Baptist by 265 percent. Total mission giving in U.S. denominations increased from $8,980,000 in 1906 to $45,272,000 in 1924.26 William B. Millard compares the level of membership in major denominations as it grew in the ten years between 1904 and 1914:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Membership: up 25.4% (16,462,102 vs. 13,128,208)</th>
<th>Total Giving: up 39.7% ($137,080,840 vs. $98,099,411)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home Missions: up 62.8% ($21,163,789 vs. $13,002,114)</td>
<td>Foreign Missions: up 87.5% ($11,635,517 vs. 6,205,453)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly per member for local expense: up 11.1% (16.0¢ vs. 14.4¢)</td>
<td>Weekly per member for missions: up 32.1% (3.7¢ vs. 2.8¢)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

October 2000
Between 1906 and 1924 the number of U.S. Protestant foreign missionaries increased from 5,708 to 16,754.28 "Protestant congregations by 1923 gave 25 to 35 percent of their offerings to missions and benevolent causes, up from 14 to 18 percent at the turn of the century."29 While giving in every other Protestant nation was in decline in 1908, the U.S. churches showed substantial increases. The United States replaced Britain in 1908 as the largest contributor to foreign missions, as 85 percent of foreign missions by 1923 gave 25 to 35 percent of their offerings to missions and benevolent causes, up from 14 to 18 percent at the turn of the century."29 While giving in every other Protestant nation was in decline in 1908, the U.S. churches showed substantial increases. The United States replaced Britain in 1908 as the largest contributor to foreign missions, as 85 percent of foreign missions giving came from the English-speaking world. Capen observed that in churches that did not use the plan, there was decline.

Although the effective work of the LMM lasted only twelve years (1907-19), it had a tremendous impact. Sydney E. Ahlstrom wrote, "The thousands of laymen awakened by the movement also became powerful agents in other crusades and campaigns during the World War and the twenties, illustrating what has always been the most important aspect of the entire foreign missions impulse: its reflex effect on the life and church activities of Christians at home."[30]

John R. Mott, the most prominent mission leader of this period, summed up the significance of the LMM in a retrospective he wrote in the late 1930s: "In some respects the inauguration of the Laymen's Missionary Movement was the most significant development in the world mission during the first decade of the present century."[31]

The foreign missions enterprise of American Protestantism was making great strides when World War I intruded. The devastation in Europe and the need to rebuild idealistic hopes led American church leaders to emerge from the war years devastated by this barbarity among "Christian nations" but with a renewed commitment to great efforts to alleviate human suffering.

Denominations developed special programs that came together in a cooperative effort known as the Interchurch World Movement (IWM). The IWM is a subject that goes beyond the scope of this article, [32] but suffice it to say that its legacy was one of great disappointment. This might be attributed in part to radical centralization, theological controversy, and a changing student culture. However, lessons about mission funding are to be found in the FM and LMM focus on personalized giving, explicit focus, mission education, and direct involvement by men.

Notes

3. Ibid.
11. Ibid. See also David G. Dawson, "Mission, Philanthropy, Selected Giving, and Presbyterians," parts I and II, American Presbyterians 68, no. 2 (Summer 1990) and 69, no.3 (Fall 1991).
15. Laymen's Missionary Movement, Minutes of Executive Committee [hereafter, LMM Minutes], [no date], file 1, item 3, pp. 3-4, by courtesy of the Burke Library of Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York [hereafter, Union].
16. LMM Minutes, November 15, 1906, YDS, file 1, item 7, page 1.
17. LMM Minutes, 1906-13, Union, file 1, item 8, page 7.
23. 1928 Annual Report, p. 4. The effective work of the LMM concluded in 1919; however, remnants of the movement continued or were revived in later years.
24. LMM Minutes, Union, file 2, item 8, p. 2.
25. Ibid., file 8, item 2, pp. 1-2.
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“AD 2000” and the “10/40 Window”: A Preliminary Assessment

Robert T. Coote

A year and a half ago the mission committee of our local church decided to adopt the Han Chinese in Laos for its special interest. First Baptist Church, Meriden, Connecticut, is but one of thousands of churches around the world that have had their interest in mission spurred by the AD 2000 Movement, with its emphasis on the 10/40 Window and its goal of completing world evangelization by December 31, 2000.

It is time for an assessment. What was to be accomplished by the end of the century? Was it realistic to expect to establish believing communities in all of the several thousand unchurched people groups across the globe, such as the Han Chinese in Laos? Was this just another case of naïve American evangelical enthusiasm? A high-profile attempt to trigger the second coming of Christ by fulfilling the conditions of Matthew 24:14? Was this just another case of Westerners, and they largely paid their own way. The AD 2000 Movement has achieved a remarkable degree of effectiveness in involving the global, interdenominational Christian community.

A Worthy Heritage

Old Testament prophets envisioned a day when “the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea” (Isa. 11:9; Hab. 2:14). In 1719 Isaac Watts responded to that biblical dream with the hymn “Jesus Shall Reign Where’er the Sun.” During the years of the Great Awakening in colonial America and in England, local revivals were seen as precursors to the worldwide extension of the Gospel, the “end of history,” and the millennial reign of Christ.

William Carey was one of the first to marshal global population data to demonstrate the need for foreign missionary efforts. By the mid-nineteenth century mission researchers had developed a grid of shaded squares, each square representing a million people, with the non-Christian world indicated by the darker sections of the diagram. In the late 1880s this visual aid was employed by Fanny (Mrs. H. Grattan) Guinness, cofounder with her husband of the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions (Harley House), and by Benjamin Broomhall, secretary of the China Inland Mission. Guinness titled her page “A Dark Picture.” Broomhall’s version was relieved by three white squares in the middle of the darkest sections to indicate

Diagram recreated from Benjamin Broomhall, The Evangelisation of the World (1887) p. 6, showing the estimated population of the world. (Total world population 1,424,000,000 (each square equals 1 million).
three million "Mission Converts" out of 1,026 million "heathen" and "Mohammedans." A comment by the vicar of Islington accompanied the display: "Is it not a solemn fact that ... of every three persons walking on the vast globe, two have never heard of the Saviour?"

This popular diagram from the nineteenth century appeared again in 1927. Pope Pius XI had called for a Holy Year missions exhibit to be held in Rome in 1925. Supervision and preparation for the event was entrusted to Robert Streit, O.M.1. (1875–1930), the pioneer Roman Catholic mission bibliographer. In follow-up to the exhibition, Streit produced Catholic Missions in Figures and Symbols. In this volume the diagram displays 1,726 squares, accounting for a world population of 1,726 million. Understandably, this time it is the Catholic section—featuring 305 white squares—and not the Protestant that crowns the top of the diagram. The "Pagan" section is just under 50 percent of the whole, and "Mohammedans" account for another 14 percent. Streit's commentary reads: "[Christian mission is] only at the beginning. . . . For the sake of souls, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ gave His mission command two thousand years ago. . . . The religious map of the world should not be merely looked at but meditated upon on our knees before a crucifix. More than half of mankind is still sitting in darkness and the shadows of death."

**Reviving an Old Dream**

Obviously the architects of the AD 2000 Movement had a great deal of history to inform their vision. One who played a major role in helping them to take history seriously was Todd Johnson, a member of Youth with a Mission (YWAM) and a son-in-law of Ralph D. Winter. Winter, founder of the U.S. Center for World Mission and general director of the Frontier Mission Fellowship, Pasadena, California, is known for his plea for the unreached peoples at the International Congress on World Evangelization, held in 1974 in Lausanne, Switzerland. Over the last quarter of a century Winter has been developing some of the key missiological concepts behind the present movement. The first half of the AD 2000 watchword, "A church for every people by A.D. 2000," was forged at a frontier missions consultation held in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1980, a meeting substantially inspired by Winter.

Thus, thanks to his father-in-law, Todd Johnson has been breathing the air of AD 2000. He now serves as director of the World Evangelization Research Center in Richmond, Virginia, where he is a colleague of David B. Barrett and compiler with Barrett of this journal's "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission," which appears each year in the January issue.

In 1988 Johnson published a monograph entitled *Countdown to 1900: World Evangelization at the End of the Nineteenth Century.* This is a detailed study of a late nineteenth-century campaign led by Arthur T. Pierson, editor of *Missionary Review of the World,* A. J. Gordon, founder of the Boston Missionary Training School (later Gordon College), and many others. Thanks to Johnson's essay, Pierson's ideas and passion for world evangelization have been quoted frequently by leaders in the contemporary movement, including the declaration, "It can be done; it OUGHT to be done; it MUST be done."

**Prodded by Matthew 24:14**

The rhetoric of the AD 2000 Movement has given the impression that the church can expect Jesus to return as soon as it completes its assigned task of world evangelization—potentially, there-
Glover, J. Oswald Smith, and others. This understanding of Matthew 24:14 received support almost half a century ago in The Blessed Hope, a landmark eschatological study by New Testament scholar George Eldon Ladd of Fuller Seminary. 17

Nevertheless, in a September 1989 essay, in which Winter again speaks of "closure" and the "end of history," he emphatically states that he is not implying any prediction: "Nothing could be more thrilling than to talk about finishing the Great Commission, or finishing what Jesus described as bringing us to the end of history, as this verse in Matthew [24:14] does... [But] I don't believe we are interpreting scripture correctly if we assume that there is an inevitable linking between completion and His return, although this verse may mean that. I certainly do not feel we ought to try to predict the date of His return, even if we feel we can be certain what kind of work can be done by the year 2000."18

Bush has also asserted that he attaches no eschatological importance to the year 2000: "The year A.D. 2000 is not being announced as the year of the Lord's return or as the primary motivation for obedience to the Great Commission."19

Winter, while reiterating his belief that the movement's goals can be achieved by December 31, 2000, recently declared:

I know of no reputable mission agency which has ever spoken officially of completing the Great Commission by any particular date. The Great Commission is an undefined concept... If [world evangelization] means evangelizing every individual PERSON by a particular date, it will be an achievement immediately undone one single second later as more children grow into the age of accountability, thus needing to be evangelized. That is, you can't "finish" evangelization in this sense, ever. Well, what CAN be finished by the end of this century? Missions!... It would mean a "missiological breakthrough" [in the form of a viable believing community in every group in the world.]20

Winter patiently insists, in countless writings and discussions, that he reserves the term missions for the initial cross-cultural breakthroughs in previously unreached ethnolinguistic or socially or politically isolated people groups. The extension of a gospel witness after that point, in Winter's thinking, is evangelism (which is best carried out by indigenous believers). Therefore for Winter the AD 2000 goal is to plant a church in every unreached people group, not to guarantee a presentation of the Gospel to every person. Once this distinction is understood, it is easier to accept his disclaimers about Matthew 24:14. Like Pierson, he is advocating what amounts to a human goal; if achieved, it will certainly help the cause of world evangelization, but Winter is not presuming how close it may come to fulfilling the implications of Jesus' words.

Sharpening the Focus: The 10/40 Window

Benjamin Broomhall's generation used a rectangular diagram of coded squares to represent the world's need for the Gospel—the AD 2000 Movement has used the 10/40 Window. In July 1990, Bush and Pete Holzmann, a specialist in computerized mapping, found that the great majority of nations with miniscule evangelical populations formed a band of about 60 countries with at least half their area lying between 10° and 40° latitude above the equator. The countries within this rectangle extend across Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, from Morocco to Japan.21 Bush immediately saw the potential for a simple way to focus the Christian world's attention on the most gospel-needy part of the globe.

At first glance, the resulting 10/40 Window seems to offer a clean, concrete picture of the unfinished task. But in actual operation, the window proves balky. How many countries and how many people are we talking about? The first promotion of the window appeared in the September-October 1990 issue of AD 2000 and Beyond, the magazine of the AD 2000 Movement. Here Bush explains that the window contains 62 countries and nonsovereign entities. (The latter include Gibraltar, West Bank, Gaza Strip, Hong Kong, and Macao.) Out of 55 least evangelized countries in the world, Bush continues, 50 are among the 62 in the window; and 97 percent of the 3 billion people in the world's 55 least evangelized countries live in these 50 least evangelized countries.22

As a measure of least evangelized, Holzmann and Bush originally settled on any country having less than 0.5 percent (1 person out of every 200) evangelical population, but they did not publish this piece of the criteria. The most elaborate presentation of the window, a colorful, eight-page brochure entitled "The 10/40 Window: Getting to the Core of the Core," with commentary by Bush (repeated from his original text in 1990), came out in mid-1995. In small print under the map we learn that the (new) source of the data used to develop the map is Patrick Johnstone's 1986 edition of Operation World. The criteria for color-coding—indicating least evangelized—is said to be countries "with the smallest percentage of Evangelical and Christian population," but again, the actual parameters are not stated. Later literature suggests that the parameters used were less than 2 percent evangelical and less than 5 percent Christian. This change to a double criteria, depending upon how it is applied, could result in numbers of Middle Eastern and other countries falling out of the net because of large populations of Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Coptic, and/or other Orthodox Christians. In other words, these large Christian populations might be viewed as "trumping" low evangelical populations, such as found in Portugal.

The map itself shows significant revision. Spain is no longer identified as being at least half inside the window; Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan—which only recently had gained status as independent nations, and which are not at least half within the window—are added to the color-coding to include them among the least evangelized; evidently they are associated with the window, despite the violation of the original criteria. (The reader wonders, Why are they not also found in the accompanying list of countries?) Portugal has been removed from color-coding, apparently—along with Spain—no longer considered least evangelized. Ethiopia has been added to the color-coded set. (Why now? Why not in the first place?) Inexplicably, Laos is not color-coded in either the 1990 or the 1995 version,
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although it falls below both the Christian and the evangelical parameters. Albania is color-coded in both versions, though it falls almost entirely outside the window. Benin, Burkina Faso, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Sudan, and Taiwan are not color-coded in either the 1990 or 1995 versions, though they fall below the evangelical, if not the Christian, parameters.

The accompanying commentary says there are 61 (not 62 as we were told in 1990) countries in the window, 50 (not 55) least evangelized in the world, and 37 (not 50) least evangelized in the window. We are left to speculate that the new authority for the evangelized in the world, and 37 (not 50) least evangelized in the window, together have the net effect of reducing the number of least evangelized countries within the window from 50 to 37. Despite this reduction in the number of countries, the text still asserts, "Those 37 countries comprise 97% of the total population of the 50 least evangelized countries!" (p. 2).

In other literature on the window, not all of it originating from the AD 2000 international office but rather from numerous other agencies participating in the movement, we read that there are 65 countries in the window; that the criteria of least evangelized is (1) less than 2 percent Christian, (2) less than 2 percent evangelical, (3) less than 5 percent Christian and less than 3 percent evangelical, and (4) less than 5 percent evangelical. The number of unevangelized persons in the window is also given variously. Are they 2.9 billion (97 percent of the 3 billion cited in 1990), 2 billion, or—as stated by Patrick Johnstone—1.3 billion, maybe even under a billion.

Over the last five years, I have seen 75 different nations named as least evangelized and identified with the 10/40 Window. That is twice the number given by Bush in the primary source of 1995. What one ends up with is a irregular map (no longer a "window") that looks very much like the map used on the cover of Samuel Zwemer’s 1911 publication The Unoccupied Fields of Africa and Asia, or the stylized map employed by Bryant Myers in his The Changing Shape of World Mission (MARC/World Vision, 1993). I grant that the 10/40 Window may indeed have been useful as a generalization (Holzmann’s intention). But as a sympathetic reviewer trying to take the original parameters and descriptions at face value, it was enormously frustrating!

Progress in Reaching the Unreached?

The AD 2000 Movement added a second phrase to the Edinburgh 1980 watchword: “and the Gospel for every person.” Winter presumably would not have endorsed this complication to the original, narrower focus on a church for every people. Bush, however, expressed the sense of the majority when he wrote, “The expected result is the presentation of the gospel to every person in every nation and people group and the establishment of a church planting movement in every country and people group by the year 2000.”24 Similarly, in the goal of a century earlier—the completion of world evangelization by 1900—proclamation to all (whether or not conversion resulted) was the desire. In his time, Pierson surely was naive about how difficult it would be to physically reach all people and present the Gospel in a way and in a language they would understand. But AD 2000 advocates have argued that contemporary means of radio, cassette, TV, and video, with the tremendous strides made over the

Noteworthy

Personalia

Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, has appointed Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen of Iso Kirja College in Finland as Associate Professor of Systematic Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, the chair previously held by Dr. Miroslav Volf.

Calvin Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan, has appointed Roger S. Greenway, Professor of World Missiology, as Chief Operating Officer; the seminary has also appointed Ruth A. Tucker, a contributing editor to the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH, as Associate Professor of Domestic Missiology.

Brian Stanley, director of the Currents in World Christianity Project at the University of Cambridge, England, has been appointed Director of the Henry Martyn Centre, Westminster College, England, effective September 2001. Stanley is the successor to Canon Graham Kings, a contributing editor to the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH, who has been appointed Vicar of Islington (London) at St. Mary’s Church. Sebastian Kim, who is completing doctoral studies at the University of Cambridge, will serve as interim director of the Henry Martyn Centre during the academic year 2000–2001.

Nancy Heisey, secretary of Mennonite Central Committee’s Theological Education for Five Continents program, has been named president-elect of the Mennonite World Conference. The first-ever person to hold the newly created position, she will take office at MWC’s 2003 assembly.


Announcing

The Asociación Latinoamericana de Misionología, an association for Latin American missiologists, held its founding meeting during the first Simposio Misionológico Latinoamericana, May 22–26, 2000, in Cochabamba, Bolivia. “We see mission not as an obstacle, but rather as one of the most effective paths to Christian unity, searching together how to arrive at a common witness to the Gospel,” declared John F. Gorski, M.M., a member of the association’s four-member Executive Board. Thirty Roman Catholic missiologists from Latin America, including representatives from Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Paraguay, participated in the conference.

With “Christianity in China: Growing on Holy Ground” as its theme, the U.S. Catholic China Bureau, Seton Hall, New Jersey, will hold its eighteenth national conference November 10–12 in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Nicholas Staandaert, S.J., Catholic University, of Leuven, Belgium, will deliver the keynote lecture. For details, email chinabur@shu.edu.
last century in communications, Bible translation, and global mobility, make the modern version of the goal feasible and realistic.

Winter’s people-group emphasis, it seems to me, carries the greater weight, if for no other reason than that it unmistakably requires contextual incarnation on the part of the messenger. If every person is to have a bona fide opportunity to hear the Gospel in his or her own language and cultural idiom, Christian mission must first establish a beachhead via a well-trained, cross-cultural, incarnational mission team. Once a small believing, indigenous community is established, the opportunity for increasingly wider, effective evangelism will develop through the witness of local believers. Such breakthrough ministries are not often achieved in a few months or even a few years. Winter argues that it is only the positive response to the Gospel that assures the messenger that the message has indeed been heard. If that is true, serious progress in reducing the number of unreached peoples groups must first establish a beachhead via a well-trained, cross-cultural, incarnational mission team. As a result of ongoing research, the list finally settled out at just under 1,600 groups.29

Now, today, what can the AD 2000 Movement report? Luis Bush provides a comprehensive and admirably forthright report in the June 2000 issue of Mission Frontiers, pages 13–19. He states that there are a little more than 1,100 groups still lacking a minimal believing fellowship of 100 members; these figures indicate progress on the order of 500 groups newly reached in the last decade. As for the remainder, about half have a church planting team on site or in preparation, and a further 200 to 300 are on the “committed” lists of various agencies. Only 265 groups are left without any mission initiative on the horizon. A complete picture must also keep in view groups with populations numbering less than 10,000. Bush reports that some 7,400 of such smaller groups remain without a viable, indigenous church.

Conclusion

Space limitations prevent proper recognition of the tremendous movement of prayer that was stimulated and facilitated by the AD 2000 Movement. And the educational impact on the world Christian community is surely incalculable. Many hundreds of thousands have a greater awareness of the urgency and challenge of the Great Commission than they did ten years ago.

In terms of the watchword’s focus on a church for every people, relatively modest but real progress appears to have been made. A definitive assessment will require a more seasoned view twenty or more years from now. The confusion generated by ever-shifting numbers and missiological emphases makes it impossible to express a truly confident evaluation.

The AD 2000 Movement involved many more leaders, researchers, organizations, publishers, and major initiatives at the grassroots level than could be acknowledged in this brief article. One cannot review the literature without concluding that an absolutely enormous amount of effort, talent, prayer, and devoted service has been invested in the AD 2000 Movement. Nevertheless, there are major areas of disagreement over theory and biblical interpretation that could not be addressed here. In addition, the advances recorded over the last decade are admittedly limited. And there are younger leaders within the movement who are contemplating radical reconceptualizing of what is involved in fulfilling world evangelization as implied in the Great Commission. One is reminded of a remark of Bishop Stephen Neill: “We plan extremely well. But it may sometimes happen that our plans and God’s will are not the same.”

Notes

1. The 10/40 Window refers to a band of countries extending from the west coast of Africa to Japan, lying between 10° and 40° latitude above the equator, and considered by mission demographers to be the area of the greatest concentration of unevangelized peoples.


3. Tom Forrest, “The Strategy of Evangelization 2000,” New Evangelization 2000, no. 4, 1988. The hope was to “give Jesus the 2000th birthday gift most pleasing to him: the world for which he died . . . won for him!” Forrest’s article was reprinted in Towards AD 2000 and Beyond: A Reader, compiled by Luis Bush, Jay Gary, and Mike Roberts for the (Singapore 1989) Global Consultation on World Evangelization by AD 2000 and Beyond.


5. For example, see Joseph Hassell, From Pole to Pole: A Handbook of Christian Missions, for the Use of Ministers, Teachers, and Others (London: James Nisbet, 1866).


7. Streit, Catholic Missions in Figures and Symbols, Based on the Vatican
9. Ibid., p. 61.
10. Ibid., pp. 17, 70.
11. Ibid., p. 75.
17. George Eldon Ladd, The Blessed Hope (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956). In the penultimate chapter, Ladd writes, “The Church . . . has a task which is divinely given . . . : world-wide evangelization and the gathering of the saved into the body of Christ. . . . Christ is tarrying until the Church has completed its task. When Matthew 24:14 has been fulfilled, then Christ will come. There is no more notable ‘sign of the times’ than the fact that the greatest impetus in world-wide evangelization since apostolic times has taken place in the preceding century. The world is nearly evangelized; any generation which is really dedicated to the task can complete the mission. The Lord can come in our own generation, in our life-time—if we stir ourselves and finish our task” (p. 148). See also a second Ladd volume, The Gospel of the Kingdom (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959). A chapter from this volume is reprinted in Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader, ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1992), chap. A7.
21. Holzmann, in e-mail dated February 19, 1997, to Michael O’Rear (president of Global Mapping International), describes the mapping experiment. The criteria used included countries with half or more of their mass inside the 10/40 window and having less than 0.5 percent evangelical populations (1 out of 200). Exceptions were made for China and India, which were included despite having more than 0.5 percent evangelicals, because of their huge non-Christian populations. Holzmann stresses that the map was “intended as a useful generalization.”
22. The countries outside the window and considered to be among the least evangelized because of very small evangelical populations are Belgium, Poland, the former Yugoslavia, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, and Somalia. See map in Luis Bush, “Getting to the Core of the Core—the 10/40 Window,” AD 2000 and Beyond 1, no. 5 (November–December, 1990): 29. A clearer reproduction of the map will be found in Global Church Growth 29, no. 3 (July–September 1992): 5. Since there are said to be 55 least evangelized countries in the world, with 50 of these inside the window, there should be 5 outside the window. On the map, however, 6 countries are marked as least evangelized outside the window.
23. Johnstone, Operation World, 1993 edition, p. 27. “Between 800 million and 1,300 million people still need to be given their first opportunity to respond to the gospel.” Notice that Johnstone here includes the whole world, not just the 10/40 window.
25. Barrett and others have observed that much of the non-Christian world remains non-Christian not because it has not heard the message from dedicated and able messengers but simply because up until now the Gospel has been rejected, and the breakthrough is yet to come. (See, for example, Stan Guthrie, “Just Saying No,” Evangelical Missions Quarterly 34, no. 2 [April 1998]: 218–23.) In the providence of God, how many more years or decades or centuries remain to be invested? Simply setting a chronological goal is not enough.
26. The reduction to 12,000 sounded like progress, except for the fact that Winter had already gone on record as having agreed to the lower figure to accommodate the aim of the Lausanne task force to simplify the categories. See “The Finishable Task!” Mission Frontiers 11, no. 3 (March 1989): 11, in which Winter writes, “We are being asked . . . to set aside our [larger number] for a somewhat more optimistic estimate of 12,000 which, it is hoped, will create a simpler, clearer picture for the public.”
27. The figure of 2000 unreached peoples was first published in the Lausanne II workbook, 1989; the most comprehensive treatment is found in Barrett and Johnson, Our Globe and How to Reach It (Birmingham, Ala.: New Hope, 1990), p. 26. The 2,000 figure is also found in Frank Kaleb Jansen, Target Earth: The Necessity of Diversity in a Holistic Perspective on World Mission (Kailua-Kona, Hawaii: University of the Nations; Pasadena, Calif.: Global Mapping International, 1989), p. 141. Johnstone arrives at 1,000 groups with “little outreach” and 3,915 groups with “some outreach.” See Operation World, 1993 edition, p. 27.
28. Whether this was an actual reduction due to progress among the original 12,000 or simply a simplification of categories is not clear. Winter saw it as the latter. He writes that the ultimate challenge probably still ranges upwards of 11,000 culturally diverse groups, “even though all those groups can be listed under 6,000 accepted names for groups.” (“What Is an Unreached People Group?” Mission Frontiers 15, nos. 1–2 [January–February 1993]: 21.)
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Xhosa Missionaries to Malawi: Black Europeans or African Christians?

T. Jack Thompson

At the end of May 1876 Dr. James Stewart, principal of the Lovedale Institution in the Eastern Cape region of South Africa, called together his senior pupils and read to them a letter from the Scottish missionary Dr. Robert Laws. Laws had recently arrived on the shores of Lake Malawi in the pioneer party of the Livingstonia mission of the Free Church of Scotland, sent out to Central Africa in 1875 as a memorial to David Livingstone.

In the letter Laws described the conditions of the newly established mission and continued, “We have a splendid field here for native catechists or men from Lovedale. In a short time we shall be ready for them.”

Stewart had a particular interest in what Laws was writing, for, following Livingstone’s funeral in April 1874, it had been he who had first suggested to the Free Church of Scotland that they set up a mission in memory of Livingstone, and that they name it Livingstonia. He would gladly have accompanied the pioneer party in 1875, except that he felt his responsibilities at Lovedale precluded it. Nevertheless, he retained a lively interest in the undertaking. Thus, when Law’s letter arrived, he immediately called together the senior male pupils at Lovedale and asked for volunteers to join the mission in Central Africa.

The Victorian “African” Photograph

Of the fourteen who initially volunteered, four were chosen to become missionaries to Malawi. They were William Koyi, Shadrach Mngunana, Isaac Williams Wauchope, and Mapassa Ntintili. Within a few weeks of their volunteering, they were on their way to Malawi. To begin with, they traveled by train to Port Elizabeth. Here, in July 1876, before boarding ship for East Africa, they went to the photography studio of A. H. Board, where they had at least two photographs taken. In addition to the one reproduced here of the four Xhosa missionaries themselves, another was taken of the larger mission party, made up of the four Xhosa and six Europeans. The latter included James Stewart himself, who now felt able to leave Lovedale for a temporary period, while he checked on the progress of the Livingstonia mission, which he had helped to establish. No contemporary print of this second photograph appears to have survived, though a copy appears in R. H. W. Shepherd’s book Livingstonia, South Africa, 1824–1955. Both photographs are typical of their genre—the Victorian African studio photograph. One function of this genre was to try to recreate in the studio—sometimes even in the European studio—a feeling for and of Africa. This effort often included adding palm fronds, animal skins, rocks, and sometimes even painted scenery. One good example of this genre from the same period is a series of photos taken of Henry Morton Stanley and his young gun-bearer and personal servant Kalulu. In the twelve months after they returned, first to Britain, and then to the United States, after Stanley’s meeting with Livingstone at Ujiji in November 1871, Stanley had many studio photographs taken of himself and Kalulu. In these photographs Stanley appears dressed as an African explorer, complete with gun and tropical helmet, while Kalulu appears in a variety of poses, all aimed at emphasizing his otherness. Sometimes this effect is achieved by showing him only in his waistcloth, naked from the waist up. In another version he is carrying an African spear and shield.

An Implicit Paradox

However, in the accompanying photograph of the Xhosa missionaries to Malawi, there is a major paradox. In some ways it is typical of the African studio photograph: there is the tropical vegetation (just visible in the top right-hand corner), the leopard skin, the rustic fencing, and the grass beneath their feet. But in other ways the photograph is very untypical, for, far from showing the four Xhosa as exotic others, it presents them in a very European mode: dressed in extremely fashionable clothes and looking very much like stylish young European gentlemen of the mid-Victorian period.

On the simple factual level there is a straightforward explanation for their clothing. Immediately after their selection to go to Malawi, contributions toward an “outfit fund” for the new missionaries were sought from staff and pupils at Lovedale. As a result of the money raised, Koyi, Wauchope, Mngunana, and Ntintili were able to buy themselves new outfits for the exciting journey ahead. They appear in both photographs from Board’s

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James Stewart, where, on the same page, two contrasting images are titled "the natives as they are at home" and "the natives when civilized." The first image is an African village scene; the second is taken on the lawns of the Lovedale institution itself, with the impressive building in the background, and a group of female pupils in the foreground, dressed in fashionable European clothes. Such before-and-after photographs were not, of course, confined to African missions. They were also used in Native American contexts, and in the context of Christian orphanages.

In our present photograph the contrast is implied rather than explicit. What is also implied, of course, is the close connection between religious conversion and cultural transformation. To become Christian in the late nineteenth-century Cape meant not simply a conversion to a new religious faith but also adoption of many of the trappings of European civilization, not least the European sartorial fashions of the day.

**A Transformation Willingly Embraced**

This cultural transformation was undoubtedly something at which the Scottish missionaries were aiming, but it was also enthusiastically embraced by most of the Xhosa pupils themselves at Lovedale. This transformation may be seen in many of the photographs taken at Lovedale during this period, when both men and women were not simply dressed in European fashions but elegantly and fashionably dressed. It may be sensed also in the pages of the *Christian Express*, the newspaper produced monthly by Lovedale (though admittedly largely controlled by the missionaries themselves at this period). Here are reports of the Literary and Debating Society, the Independent Order of True Templars (the "native" version of the International Order of Good Templars, a leading temperance movement of the day), the Lovedale cricket team, and so on. That Leon de Kock has titled a recent book on education at Lovedale titled *A Transformation Willingly Embraced* is startling enough, what is even more startling is that the title is based on a phrase from a letter written, not by the Scottish missionaries, but by a group of leading Lovedale pupils themselves, including Isaac Wauchope, one of the four missionaries to go to Malawi, and including the signatures of several others who volunteered for Livingstonia in 1876.

Yet it would be wrong to accept this stereotype simply at its face value and to assume that the products of Lovedale in the 1870s abandoned their African culture in favor of a European version. Rather, in postcolonial terms our photograph represents the hybridity of educated Christian Xhosa identity in the 1870s. We must be careful not to imply that the European culture, seemingly adopted so enthusiastically, was simply a superficial surface gloss, covering the old African "heathen" reality. This was the argument of many of those racially motivated opponents of missionary education in Africa, especially opponents of the higher education that an institution such as Lovedale offered.

Rather, the reality was that the Xhosa converts of Lovedale had genuinely adopted certain aspects of the European tradition, while at the same time they retained many of the deeply held values of their own African culture. Though we do not have time to deal with them here, these values may be seen regularly contesting the dominant discourse of Scottish missionary assumptions. This tension can be seen in the black press of the period. One good example is the periodical *Imvo Zabantsundu*, edited by John Tengo Jabavu (himself a graduate of Lovedale). The fact that it was a bilingual production (Xhosa and English) itself illustrates the hybrid nature of the new black educated elite. Beyond that feature, however, *Imvo Zabantsundu* was often at the forefront of debate over what we may here call African issues. We can see similar African concerns and priorities in contemporary Xhosa literature—both oral and written—for example, in the poetry of people such as Isaac Wauchope after his return from Malawi, and the music of John Knox Bokwe, another of the fourteen original volunteers for Livingstonia in 1876.

The paradox and tension that are inherent in the photographs of the four Xhosa missionaries to Malawi may be seen also in their missionary careers in Malawi. Possibly the most academically able of the four was Shadrach Mgununana, who was sent to Malawi as a teacher. He began teaching in the school at Cape Maclear, at the south end of Lake Malawi, where the Livingstonia mission had established its base when it first arrived in 1875. Early missionary reports of his work were very encouraging. Within nine months, however, he was dead, a victim of fever and a blow to the European hope that black Africans would be better able to withstand the rigors of a Central African climate than would the Scots.

Isaac Williams Wauchope lasted an even shorter time, though his illness was not fatal. Before he even reached Lake Malawi, he suffered recurrent bouts of fever, which led to hallucinations and occasional violent outbursts. Stewart decided to send him back to South Africa. Though his missionary career in Malawi was over almost before it had begun, he recovered and went on to make important contributions in several fields, as Xhosa poet, local historian, Christian minister, temperance activist, and campaigner for African higher education.

Mapassu Ntintiti, a wagon maker by trade, spent almost four years in Malawi before returning to the Eastern Cape, where he became a teacher and an evangelist, eventually dying in 1897. During his time in Malawi he worked not only at the Free Church of Scotland Livingstonia mission at Cape Maclear but also at the Blantyre mission of the Church of Scotland, playing an important part in its survival at a critical time in its early history.

In Malawi, by far the best remembered of the four was William Koyi, the only one of the group to return for a second period of service after a leave in South Africa in 1880–81. During his first period of service, 1876–80, Koyi established a reputation as an indispensable part of the mission. He was particularly useful as an interpreter, especially when the mission made contact with the Ngoni people. The Ngoni had migrated from the KwaZulu region of South Africa in the 1820s, and their language was similar to Koyi’s own Xhosa tongue. Both before and after his return, Koyi worked as a pioneer missionary among the Ngoni, especially among the northern Ngoni of paramount chief M’mbelwa. Koyi died among the Ngoni in 1886, and his grave is still marked and revered today, more than 110 years later.

One of the first points to make about the hybridity of Xhosa Christian identity is that the Lovedale graduates were almost never called missionaries at the time. They were almost always referred to as evangelists or volunteers and were seen as fulfilling a role clearly inferior to that of the Scots. Yet the Scots missionaries expected them to behave like black Europeans rather than like African Christians. One small example of this assumption was an early criticism made by Stewart of Isaac Wauchope on the journey up to Lake Malawi. In his youthful enthusiasm (he and Mgununana were both in their mid-twenties when they set out for...
Malawi), Wauchope wanted to be of as much help as possible. The boat in which they were traveling up the Shire River frequently ran aground on rocks, and Wauchope was one of the first to jump into the water to push it off again. Rather than praising him for his enthusiasm and strenuous effort, Stewart criticized him for “working in the boats like a raw native.” Once the Xhosa missionaries were settled in Malawi, however, they began to complain that they were being forced to do too much manual work and were not given enough opportunity for evangelistic outreach. That there was substance in their complaints seems to be indicated by the fact that in July 1880 the Livingstonia committee in Glasgow ruled that “the evangelists should not work more than three days a week at manual exercise.”

In later years the Scottish missionary Angus Elmslie criticized both William Koyi and George Williams (a fifth, later Xhosa missionary) for getting too close to the Ngoni. He wrote, “There is a danger in knowing the people too well, and while Koyi is invaluable here, there is not that respect shown to him which should be, and which is a factor in raising the people from their low condition.”

The Scots vs. the Xhosa Ideal

Elmslie’s ideal for the Xhosa missionaries was perhaps what appears on the surface of the photograph taken by A. H. Board in July 1876: a group of four black Europeans, indistinguishable, except by skin color, from their Scottish colleagues.

The last known photograph of William Koyi taken in Malawi is a more accurate reflection, both of the cultural reality and of the missiological importance of the Xhosa missionaries. It shows a group of Ngoni warriors, led by Chiputula Nhlane, making what is probably their first visit to the newly opened mission station of Bandawe on the shores of Lake Malawi. Seated among them are Robert Laws and William Koyi. The famous Scottish missionary appears nervous and ill at ease—perhaps because of his awareness of the Ngoni reputation as fearsome warriors. Koyi, dressed in a loosely fitting jacket, seems to merge with the Ngoni. Only a knowledge of Koyi’s features, or a close examination of the photograph, would serve to distinguish him from his fellow Africans. It is not simply that his elegant new clothes, bought just before Board’s portrait in July 1876, have grown old and shabby; it is rather that Koyi has begun to find his vocation: identification with the Ngoni among whom he lived and worked. It was in this identification that the real missionary significance of the Xhosa missionaries lay, rather than in the gentrified poses of Board’s studio photograph.

Yet Board’s photograph is not totally misleading either. In its way, it shows a group of young men caught between two worlds and struggling to find an identity that would retain the best of both. In that sense, at least, this photograph of the Xhosa missionaries to Malawi, taken almost 125 years ago, remains relevant as we enter a new century of African Christianity.

Notes

1. Christian Express, June 1, 1876, p. 1.
4. A contemporary print from the original negative still exists as number 1047 in the Lovedale Papers held at the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes Univ., Grahamstown, South Africa.
5. This much smaller book, published in 1855, should not be confused with Shepherd’s centenary history Lovedale: South Africa, 1841–1941 (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, n.d. [1941]), which contains a good copy of the photograph of the four Xhosa missionaries.
8. Many of these photographs may be found in the Lovedale Papers of the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes Univ., Grahamstown. Several of them have been published in such books as Shepherd’s Lovedale and Stewart’s Lovedale, South Africa: Illustrated by Fifty Views from Photographs.
10. Ibid., pp. 97–99.
11. Inmo Zabantsundu (Black opinion; or, The views of the black people) was founded by John Tengo Jabavu in 1884. Jabavu had previously been editor of Isigidi sina Xosa, a Lovedale publication, but he wanted more editorial freedom than the mission periodical allowed.
12. Among the most famous of Wauchope’s poems was “Yilwani ngosiba” (Fight with the pen), which uses African idiom to urge the Xhosa to fight for their rights by education rather than in battle. Similar views are expressed in his poem “Imbumba yama Nyama” (an idiomatic Xhosa phrase very difficult to translate literally, but which here might be rendered “complete unity”). Wauchope was a leading founder of one of the earliest black political organizations in the Cape, also called Imbumba yama Nyama, founded in 1882.
13. Dr. Black to Dr. Smith, March 3, 1877, Livingstonia Papers, National Library of Scotland.
14. For details of Wauchope’s later career, see T. Jack Thompson, Touching the Heart: Xhosa Missionaries to Malawi, 1876–88 (Pretoria: Univ. of South Africa Press, 2000), chap. 8, “Redeeming Failure: A Postscript on Isaac Wauchope.”
15. An obituary appeared in the Livingstonia mission periodical Aurora 2 (1898).
16. In June 1996 a memorial service was held at the grave, at which M‘mbelwa IV, paramount chief of the northern Ngoni, was present.
17. James Stewart to Alexander Duff, December 4, 1876, ms. 7876, Livingstonia Papers, National Library of Scotland.

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My Pilgrimage in Mission

Peter P. J. Beyerhaus

My passion for foreign missions appeared early in my childhood. Perhaps it was rooted in my genealogy. Although no overseas missionary appears in my ancestry, in 1890 my Swedish grandmother, Karolina Akesson, joined the Evangelical Alliance Mission on a tour through Scandinavia and down to Germany. Franson had asked her to participate in his musical team for a rally among the laboring class in an East Berlin district. The sponsor of that rally was the royal building architect Eduard Beyerhaus, who used to spend his spare time as a lay preacher. The young Karolina caught his eye and in a year’s time they were a wedded couple. Their spiritual vision was taken up by my father, Siegfried Beyerhaus, who in his rural parsonage became the spokesperson for missionary support in the entire church district. Together with his wife, Fridel, he organized annual mission festivals in our large garden and invited missionaries of the Lutheran Berlin Mission to speak to his parishioners. My juvenile mind was fascinated by the adventures they reported among Chinese robbers and African witchdoctors. For a school essay, written when I was thirteen, I chose the theme “Why I Want to Become a Missionary.” But through the Second World War and its aftermath, Germany was separated from its mission fields, and during my theological studies in German universities (1947–51) I did not encounter any missiological teaching. Thus there was little to keep up my missionary interest.

This situation changed decisively when I went to Sweden for a semester of study at the University of Uppsala. There I had my first encounter with the world-famous Swedish professor of missiology Bengt Sundkler. He conducted a highly stimulating course on ecumenical mission theology. I caught fire immediately. After finishing my basic theological education in Germany, I returned to Uppsala to engage in advanced studies for a doctorate in missiology under Sundkler’s tutorship.

Uppsala was destined to shape my life in more ways than one. First, my degree work kindled my desire to become a missionary, and I took the concrete step of registering as a candidate in the service of the Lutheran Berlin Mission. Second, I was motivated additionally by my engagement to a Swedish fellow student, Ingegärda Kalén, who independently of myself had felt a call for mission work in Africa. We found it appropriate to go to a field where German and Scandinavian Lutheran missions were involved in a close cooperation. This was the case in the South African province of Natal, where Lutheran bodies from Sweden, Norway, Germany, and the United States jointly sponsored a theological seminary seated originally in Oscarsberg and, since 1962 in Mapumulo, Zululand.

During the dissertation phase of my doctoral studies, I was invited by Dr. Walter Freytag (1899–1959) to serve as his assistant at the headquarters of the German Missionary Council in Hamburg. Freytag and Sundkler shared the *heilsgeschichtlich* (salvation-history) concept that was typical, especially since the 1930s, for evangelical mission theology on the European continent. This theological approach drew its exegetical support from the writings of the Swiss New Testament scholar Oscar Cullmann (1902–99). My own studies in Berlin and Heidelberg had been shaped by the same school of thought, and it became basic to my missiological orientation. According to the salvation-history perspective, world mission and evangelism is the chief commission of the church between Christ’s Ascension and the Parousia. In addition to Freytag, a leading advocate of this concept was Karl Hartenstein (1895–1952). Freytag and Hartenstein fought for its recognition by the ecumenical movement in their contributions to several World Council of Churches missionary conferences, especially from Madras (1938) to Willingen (1952). Freytag wanted me to substantiate this tradition by writing my doctoral thesis on the topic “The Kingdom of God in the History of the Protestant Missionary Movement.” I did not dare adopt such an immense topic, however, but preferred a more down-to-earth theme suggested by the Lutheran missiologist Heinrich Meyer: “The Autonomy of the Younger Churches as a Missionary Problem.” The proposal was influenced by the traumatic end of Western missions to China, when after Mao’s victory in 1951, the indigenous churches were forced to organize themselves into the “Patriotic Three-Self Movement” and sever all ties with Western “imperialistic” missions. In 1964 my dissertation was published in English with Henry Lefeber under the title *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission* (London: World Dominion Press, 1964).

The famous formula “self-government, self-support, and self-propagation” had been the avowed goal of Protestant missions ever since the ministry of the two mission-board secretaries Henry Venn (1796–1877) and Rufus Anderson (1796–1880), who had articulated it in the middle of the nineteenth century. The scope of my thesis was to demonstrate the practical relevance of the “three-self” principles for missionary policy, especially after the termination of the paternalistic era. In addition, I felt it important to expose the ecclesiological error contained in a formula that stressed the human agency, the “self.” “Christonomy” rather than “autonomy” should be the goal of joint action by national and expatriate fellow workers in fulfilling what Stephen Neill called the “unfinished task,” the evangelization of the non-Christian world.

Immediately after defending my thesis, my wife and I, together with our first-born child, Karolina, were sent out in January 1957 to South Africa. Bishop Stephen Neill preached the valedictory sermon in the Berlin Church of the Epiphany at the...
feast of Epiphany 1957. In the first years, my ministry in the provinces of Transvaal and Natal was devoted in fairly equal division to three tasks: evangelism as career missionary, teaching at the seminary and also for in-service training of church workers, and synodical commission work. Now the theme of my thesis was transformed into a strategy of helping to lead indigenous congregations into the responsibility of fully organized regional churches, still aided by mission agencies and united under the constitution of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa.

Confronting Unforeseen Problems

In our attempts to lead the African church into full responsibility, we faced a number of obstacles. According to universal opinion, South Africa’s overarching problem during this era was the ideological system of apartheid, the color bar between the black, brown, and white populations. Racial tensions grew to the breaking point in April 1961, when the non-violent popular denominations in the black townships of Langa and Sharpeville were brutally crushed by gunfire. Among our students we sensed the bitterness and resistance of the suppressed ethnic majority. This expressed itself in many heated class debates, and social-political ethics became dominant in all theological disciplines.

Yet in the Bantu “homelands” where the majority of our congregations lived, we did not experience the color bar as the most burning ecclesiastical issue. We were worried, rather, by the low ebb in the spiritual life both among church members and even many of the national fellow workers—elders, evangelists, and pastors. The vitality that had marked the first generation of converts was no longer evident. Spiritual awakening, beginning in our own midst as missionaries and breaking out in the lives of our African fellows, congregations, and students, became the central concern of our prayer meetings and retreats. As a tool for this purpose we established a fraternity among Lutheran missionaries and pastors that received its impulses from seminomastic evangelical communities in Europe, such as Taizé. The same concern was behind my introduction of “Devotional Theology” in our seminary syllabus. This approach to pastoral training had been pioneered by Dietrich Bonhoeffer in the 1930s. Former students have expressed their gratitude for the enrichment they gained from that class. My experience in South Africa served to broaden my own outlook for an ecumenical vision that combined faithfulness to my confessional heritage with a concern for a reunification of the body of Christ according to his intercession in chapter 17 of the Gospel of John.

In 1964 the University of Tübingen asked me to succeed Gerhard Rosenkranz (1896–1983), an authority on East Asian religions, in the chair of missiology and ecumenical theology. I accepted on the condition that my call be postponed for a year until I had concluded my various responsibilities in South Africa.

The beginning of my teaching in Tübingen in the first half of 1966 coincided with several important gatherings, widely different in character, which proved to be crucial for the further course of world mission and evangelism: the World Congress on Evangelism with Billy Graham in Berlin, the mass rally of the emerging confessing movement “No Other Gospel” in Dortmund, the Wheaton Congress of North American evangelical mission organizations, and the ecumenical conference on Church and Society in Geneva. Though I was not a participant in any of these meetings, their theological and missiological consequences interested me immensely and forced me to dedicate much thought to contemporary issues and to define my own stance.

The late 1960s were marked by the growing influence within the European ecumenical community of a view of history, with apparent Marxist leanings, that emphasized engagement in socioeconomic and political problems. In rapid succession we were confronted by modern theologies of secularization, of hope, revolution, and of liberation. These perspectives penetrated the new concept of mission developed by the World Council of Churches between its Third Assembly at New Delhi 1961 and the Tenth Commission on World Mission and Evangelism Conference at Melbourne in 1980, reaching its climax at the Fourth WCC Assembly at Uppsala 1968 with its notorious clash between “ecumenicals” and “evangelicals.”

Entering the Missiological Debate

I recognized this drastic change in ecumenical mission thought and practice when I studied the materials written in preparation for the Uppsala assembly. My apprehensions were confirmed by some outstanding evangelical spokesmen, especially Donald McGavran, father of the church growth movement, and John R.
W. Stott, champion of evangelical concerns at the heated plenary debate at Uppsala, later to become the chief theologian of the Lausanne movement. Another international author who early articulated the issues at stake between the “verticalists” and the “horizontalists” was Lesslie Newbigin. In December 1965, on my extended return journey from South Africa to Germany, I had visited Newbigin in his episcopal residence in Madras. According to McGavran’s evaluation, Uppsala indeed had “betrayed the two billions” of Latin Americans, Africans, and Asians that had never had an opportunity to respond to the Gospel. Stimulated by the concerns of these several leaders, I resolved to enter the missiological encounter. I did so by writing a booklet that by its translation into several European and Asian languages received international attention: Missions—Which Way? Humanization or Redemption? (1970).

An even stronger impact was achieved by a manifesto issued on March 4, 1970, by a group of confession-minded German theologians, called the Frankfurt Declaration on the Fundamental Crisis in Missions. This document, which I drafted and which was published in Christianity Today, did much to catalyze the polarization between the rival schools in the international missionary community. Now I began to receive numerous invitations to lecture, preach, attend congresses, and conduct courses on all six continents. Perhaps my most dramatic (or traumatic!) experience was when, on the proposal of the general secretary of the Indonesian Council of Churches, Dr. Sohito Nababan, I was invited by the Department (formerly Commission) of World Mission and Evangelism to serve as consultant at the Eighth World Missionary Conference, at Bangkok in 1972/73, which took up the theme “Salvation Today.” I was dismayed to discover that the “findings” had been programmed in advance and that the concurrence of participants was achieved by means of the psychological tool of group dynamics. Appeals to the conference made by Arthur Glasser and myself to lend an ear to the psychological tool of group dynamics. Appeals to the conference made by Arthur Glasser and myself to lend an ear to the

Two 1989 world conferences, San Antonio and Manila, reflected the polarization in mission thinking.

soteriological concerns raised by the Frankfurt Declaration were simply dismissed from the chair. I left Thailand under the abiding impression that the WCC’s new concept of world mission—which according to the closing speech of DWME director Emilio Castro now had replaced the “missionary era”—had gone far beyond a mere imbalance between evangelistic and social responsibilities. Rather it seemed to reflect an ideologically utopian, or syncretistic, view of One World that in the minds of its proponents was equivalent to the biblical expectation of the Kingdom of God. I continued to lecture and write about the evangelical-consiliar controversy until 1989, when it manifested itself once more in the juxtaposition of two world conferences held that year, San Antonio (WCC) and Manila (Lausanne movement). I attended both and witnessed the contrasting replies to the burning question as to whether Jesus Christ really is the only way to salvation.

By that time much of my contribution to missiological thought had been achieved through my involvement in the Lausanne movement. At the First International Congress on World Evangelization, in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1974, I presented a plenary paper on the topic “World Evangelization and the Kingdom of God.” At the Second Lausanne Consultation in Manila (1989), I conducted a seminar entitled “Eschatology and World Evangelization.” As a member of the Lausanne Working Group on Theology, I had attended most of its consultations, including the one in Hong Kong (1988) on conversion.

By that time it had become evident that probably the most important issue of our age is the proper relationship between the Gospel and non-Christian religions. This issue, which constitutes a challenge not only to missiology but to all theological disciplines, has constantly engaged me in my own teaching and research. In South Africa I encountered it in the context of tribal religions and nativistic movements. In Tübingen I entered into the tradition of “Evangelische Religionskunde” (interpretation of religions in the light of the Gospel), which had been so aptly handled by my predecessor Gerhard Rosenkranz, and which from the late 1920s until the early 1950s had brought together an alliance of outstanding dogmatists like Karl Heim, Emil Brunner, and Paul Althaus as well as of missiologists such as Karl Hartenstein, Hendrik Kraemer, Georg Vicedom, and Walter Freytag. Their approach does not fit into the commonly cited theologies of religions—the exclusivist, inclusivist, and pluralistic. It could rather be called dialectic. Adherents of non-Christian religions are viewed diacritically as sinners who are simultaneously in search for God and in flight from God, and in fact, in a satanically inspired rebellion against God. The evangelical view of non-Christian religions takes into account three constituent elements in them: the divine, because of general revelation; the human, because of human beings as (distorted) image of God; and the demonic. I have described this as the “tripolar view of religions.” Pleading the primacy of atonement in the church’s mission to the Gentiles, putting this theme into an eschatological framework, and pointing out its antagonistic dimension constitutes the three main concerns that in recent years have dominated my pilgrimage in mission.

There is still a fourth one, however, which supersedes them all: the doxological motive for mission. Now that I am retired from regular teaching and have more time to contemplate the deepest foundations of mission, it appears increasingly evident to me that the ultimate goal in the eternal plan of creation and redemption is nothing else than the glorification of the triune God. This focus, indeed, ought to be the preoccupation of all missionary endeavor. Only in realizing this doxological Trinitarian perspective can we hope to overcome our anthropocentric shortcomings both as ecumenicals and as evangelicals, so often conceiving missions basically as meeting human needs, whether spiritual or physical. It is thrilling to discover how organically this classical Trinitarian view, safeguarded so faithfully by our Orthodox brethren, matches with the salvation-history concept espoused by Bible-centered evangelicals. I hope and pray that I may conclude my pilgrimage in mission by having come more closely to such a truly ecumenical synthesis.
Book Reviews

Religious Freedom and Evangelization in Latin America


Throughout the twentieth century religious freedom and evangelization in Latin America have been the subject of serious contention. They have put to the test the commitment of Christian churches to true ecumenism, as well as the willingness of bishops to implement the aggiornamento formulated in Vatican II documents, in those places where the Roman Catholic Church was established.

The question of religious freedom has a political facet as well as a missiological one. As part of the series Religion and Human Rights sponsored by the Law and Religion Program at Emory University, this book majors in the political dimension. However, missiologists will be greatly helped by the vast amount of up-to-date historical, sociological, and statistical information it provides.

The first three chapters offer a historical overview of issues at stake among Roman Catholics (Edward Cleary), mainline Protestants (John H. Sinclair) and evangelicals (Pedro C. Moreno); Moreno's chapter I found weak in its treatment of Pentecostalism. Many will find disturbing the market analysis of Christian mission offered by Anthony Gill in his chapter "The Economics of Evangelization." Describing the Roman Catholic Church as the monopoly and Protestant churches as the competition, Gill concludes, "Once a religion establishes a monopoly . . . the economic necessity of operating a hegemonic social institution prompts a church to pay more attention to enhancing its revenue base than to actively providing sufficient quantities of spirituality, [and] religious participation lags in society until a new producer can crack the market and fill the void" (pp. 83-84). The crudity of the analysis reminds one of the simplistic Marxist approaches to religion that were popular in the 1970s. However, an alert missiologist can translate Gill's analysis into a missiological approach.

In the second part of the book the current situation is examined in individual chapters for eleven countries. This reviewer found especially valuable the chapters on Cuba by Margaret E. Crahan, Argentina by José Míguez Bonino, Colombia by Elizabeth Brusco, and Peru by Jeffrey Klaiber. Princeton University scholar Paul E. Sigmund has put together a very helpful book about a burning issue. —Samuel Escobar

Pentecostals After a Century:
Global Perspectives on a Movement in Transition.


This collection of essays and responses emerged from a consultation with Walter J. Hollenweger, a longtime scholar of Pentecostalism, at Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, England, in June 1996. Allan H. Anderson, who planned the conference, serves as coordinator of the Research Unit for New Religions and Churches in the Centre for Missiology and World Christianity at the University of Birmingham. Scholars from five continents participated and focused their attention on issues facing Pentecostals largely outside of Europe and America, such as the meaning of Spirit baptism, political oppression, indigenization, and contextualization. Pentecostals of African descent living in the United Kingdom and the Caribbean, as well as Pentecostals in Chile, Korea, and southern Africa, receive considerable attention.

Most of the writers assume that Pentecostalism originally appealed to the poor and marginalized. Thus, for some, the Azusa Street revival (1906–9) in Los Angeles, California, with its interracial and intercultural dimensions and led by the African-American William J. Seymour, marked the beginning of the global movement. Seen in this light, Pentecostalism primarily represents a grassroots movement among the poor around the world and is not a white middle-class phenomenon. This view partly explains the distinctly anti-North American posture of certain chapters and the negative assessment of the achievements of white missionaries.

This thesis, however, downplays the emphasis on premillennial eschatology and speaking in tongues that also prevailed at Azusa, the importance of other contemporary Pentecostal revivals, and the mounting evidence that most early Pentecostals came from the working classes in North America. While the international significance of the Azusa Street revival, the ongoing challenge of racial reconciliation, and the differences between Euramerican "classical Pentecostals" and others must not be underestimated, the hypothesis that Azusa produced a homogenous movement that within a short time was subverted by white racism falls short of sufficient historical data. Given the popular nature of early Pentecostalism, it had almost as many "founders" as centers of revival. Notwithstanding, Pentecostals After a Century provides valuable information and analysis to students of modern Pentecostalism.

—Gary B. McGee

Gary B. McGee, a contributing editor, is Professor of Church History and Pentecostal Studies at Assemblies of God Theological Seminary in Springfield, Missouri. A historian of Pentecostalism, he wrote the two-volume This Gospel Shall Be Preached, a history of Assemblies of God foreign mission, and coedited the Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.

October 2000

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Dictionary of Third World Theologies.


The publication of this Dictionary provides an excellent tool for the study of ecumenical theology in the Third World today. The editors decided to use the expression “Third World” because “it still encapsulates a particular way of existence and experience.” The dictionary has achieved the stated goal of bringing “to the fore key theological concerns and issues that affect the Third World.”

This book is full of practical wisdom that is clearly grounded in solid theological reflection. In calling the church to a new conversion experience, Guder maps out the way for all of us — pastors, lay leaders, and theologians — to discover our new identity as a missionary people called to minister to a post-Christian culture.

— Richard J. Mouw

"A powerful, provocative book... Guder has pushed the boundaries of ecclesiology with this book, if not reset them completely. His interpretation and critique of the cultural captivity of the North American church is as perceptive as it is challenging, and his argument that the church’s saving benefits are ordered toward witness and service could truly transform the church’s life."

— Stephen Bevans, SVD

This provocative book will spark discussion and debate about the past, present, and future witness of the church. Not all readers will be persuaded by Guder’s arguments, but all will find fresh insights into the mission of God’s people.

— John M. Mulder

An article “Aboriginal Theology” is the first of 154 entries written by 107 theologians who are deeply involved in the everyday life of the Third World. Each article is cross-referenced with related entries and is accompanied by a brief bibliography. The “List of Contributors” (pp. 241-48) demonstrates the biographical richness of Third World theology. One cannot miss the theological significance of the great variety of “mother tongues” and “mother cultures” represented by these entries, all written in English. Some of the entries are Burakumin Liberation Theology, Chipko Movement, Dalit Theology, Han/Han-puri, Mestaje Consciousness, Minjung Theology, Mujerista Theology, and Pachamama. A list of “Selected English-Language Journals on Issues in Third World Theologies” (pp. 249-61) contains ninety-three current journals.

The Dictionary groups a number of entries under major subjects, such as Bible and Christologies. Under Bible are eight entries: Introduction, Africa, African American, Asia, Caribbean, Hispanic, Latin America, and Third World Women. Under “Third World Theologies in the Third World,” Asian American, Black Liberation Theology in Britain, and Native American are noteworthy.

The horizon of ecumenical theology is widened, the language of theology becomes concrete, and the ecumenicity of Christian theology is authenticated by these concise yet substantial entries, which are focused on living human experience in the Third World.

I welcome this addition to my own study library and commend it to all those who want to understand the scope of Christian theology in the world today.

— Kosuke Koyama

Kosuke Koyama, now retired in Minneapolis, Minnesota, is Professor Emeritus of Ecumenical Studies, Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Henry Martyn (1781-1812), Scholar and Missionary to India and Persia: A Biography.


Missionary biographies are notoriously difficult to write. The problems increase when the author is related to the subject, when the missionary has become well known for holiness or pioneering work, when several preceding studies exist, or when the choice between a popular or scholarly style is blurred. When the subject is the Cambridge scholar, pioneer Protestant missionary to Muslims, brilliant

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH
linguist, and Bible translator Henry Martyn, who died tragically at the age of thirty-one after having translated the New Testament into Hindustani and Persian, all the above considerations are compounded.

Martyn is certainly worthy of a modern, critical, scholarly biography that uses primary, as well as secondary, sources and presents the political and religious contexts of his life in England, India, and Persia seriously. On these criteria this book is disappointing.

This is a popular, somewhat pious biography by a classics scholar, formerly of Melbourne University, who is a direct relative. The remarkable story is retold using previous studies and without consulting the original letters in the archives of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, in spite of being the sixteenth book in the academic series Studies in the History of Missions.

This moving narrative, however, is momentous and helpfully reproduces various descriptions of Martyn by his colleagues and friends. Sadly, there are also misprints, anachronisms, bibliographic gaps, and serious factual errors. On p. 29 the context demands the word “uncertain” (rather than “certain”); endnote 41 should refer to p. 59, not p. 54; on p. 41 the modern word “fundamentalist” is anachronistic; the rhetoric of words such as “heathen” and “native” needs elucidating when based on sources, and they certainly need avoiding when in authorial narrative; the bibliography should mention Allan K. Davidson’s dissertation and book on Claudius Buchanan and others, plus Clinton Bennett’s chapter on Martyn in Mission Legacies (ed. Gerald H. Anderson et al.); the endnote definition of “Sufism” is misleading; Abdul Masih is confused with a later convert in Persia; William Carey would not be pleased to discover himself described as a Baptist priest; Isaac Milner should not have a final τ; and William Tyndale should have a final e.

For those who desire a short scholarly introduction, Kenneth Cragg’s chapter on Martyn in his Troubled by Truth is the most perceptive. A major, weighty study of Martyn still awaits a graduate student with linguistic skills, historical training, and theological acumen.

—Graham Kings

Graham Kings, a contributing editor, is Vicar of St. Mary’s Islington, London. Previously he was the founding director of the Henry Martyn Centre, Cambridge, and a Church Mission Society missionary at Kabare, Kenya (1985–91).

John Paul II and Interreligious Dialogue


This book, edited by Byron Sherwin, Distinguished Service Professor of Jewish Philosophy and Mysticism, at Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies, Chicago, and Harold Kasimow, the George Drake

Professor of Religious Studies at Grinnell College in Iowa, left this reviewer puzzled. The preface (p. xv) makes it quite clear that the book is only going to deal with the teaching of John Paul II on Judaism, Islam,
and Buddhism. While there are logical and theological reasons to link Judaism and Islam in a study, one wonders why Buddhism was included and why Hinduism, Taoism, and so forth, were excluded.

The book consists roughly of two parts. Part 1, “In His Own Words,” comprises four chapters containing statements made by the pope, most of which duplicate material found in Francesco Gola’s Interreligious Dialogue: The Official Teaching of the Catholic Church (1963–1995) (Boston: Pauline Books & Media, 1997). The first chapter contains some of John Paul II’s statements on interreligious dialogue, while chapters 2–4 contain his statements on Buddhism, Judaism, and Islam respectively. Even the most cursory reading shows an imbalance. Although the chapters on Judaism and on Islam present six lengthy statements of the pope on each religion, only three are presented on Buddhism, one of which is from the pope’s Crossing the Threshold of Hope, which contained some very controversial statements on Buddhism that were at least insensitively formulated.

The second part of the book contains responses from the three religious traditions: four Buddhist responses, two Jewish, two Muslim, and finally a Roman Catholic “Assessment” by Bishop Michel L. Fitzgerald of the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue. In this section the articles are of very uneven quality. Byron L. Sherwin writes one of the clearest and most honest assessments of Jewish-Catholic (and perhaps, mutatis mutandis, Christian-Jewish) relations I have read.

While clearly committed to the dialogue, Sherwin outlines the difficulties that exist and that must be faced in the years to come. Sherwin’s chapter is a must for anyone who wishes realistically to engage in Catholic-Jewish dialogue.

Likewise Ibrahim Abu-Rabi has produced a brilliant article on the attitude of Catholicism toward Islam and vice versa. An expert in contemporary Islam and Islamic intellectualism, Abu-Rabi situates John Paul II’s thought on Islam as both a theological system and a sociohistorical phenomenon and compares his ideas with those of modern Muslim intellectuals on Christianity. Abu-Rabi’s article is as informative as it is pertinent to the question of Catholic-Muslim relations. While Abu-Rabi’s understanding of Muslim thought is well known, his critical but sympathetic understanding of Roman Catholic theology in general and John Paul II’s thought in particular is very good.

Unfortunately the same cannot be said about Wayne Teasdale’s interview of the Dalai Lama. The interview seems to this reviewer to be a query of the Dalai Lama on topics in which the interviewer is interested, such as John Paul II’s controversial statements on Buddhism in Crossing the Threshold of Hope and some of Cardinal Ratzinger’s rather unfortunate statements on Buddhism. It might have been better had the Dalai Lama been allowed to speak about John Paul II and Buddhism as the Dalai Lama experiences it.

In the end, this book is an example of the whole being much less than the sum of its parts. While some of the articles are brilliant and significant, the overall structure and purpose of the book are strange and unbalanced.

—John B. Carman
Harvard Divinity School

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THE CHURCH MISSION SOCIETY AND WORLD CHRISTIANITY, 1799–1999
Edited by Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley

Elias D. Mallon, S.A., Director of the Graymoor Ecumenical and Interreligious Institute, has been engaged in interreligious dialogue on the local and national level for over ten years. Educated in the United States and Germany, he also worked at the Ecumenical Institute of the World Council of Churches in Switzerland. He is the author of Neighbors: Muslims in North America and several articles on interreligious topics.


Alan Le Grys is principal of the South East Institute for Theological Education in London, England. His goal in writing Preaching to the Nations is to make recent biblical scholarship accessible to a wider audience. I learned much from the book, especially regarding the Jewishness of Jesus. In this sense the work is helpful and worth reading. The book’s understanding of the origins of Christian mission, however, will disturb many readers. Le Grys contends that Jesus did not mean to teach a universal mission. The Great Commission of Matthew 28:18-20 should be discounted because it is a postresurrection account. As such, it is “unreliable” (p. 160).

Passages in the Old Testament, especially Isaiah, that speak about God’s desire to save all people are “not missionary texts, but messages of hope to a dispirited nation” (p. 11). God does want all to be saved, but the source of that revelation is the apostle Paul; in effect, Paul is the author of the Great Commission. Paul’s need to justify outreach to the Gentiles caused him to discover an innovative reading of the Old Testament. Those who followed Paul (most notably the writers of the Gospels) simply recast their accounts of Jesus’ ministry in Paul’s bright light. Luke-Acts is dismissed by the author because, according to him, Luke’s account is hotly disputed.

Read Preaching to the Nations for a better understanding of who Jesus was from a human perspective, but do not expect a better understanding of the origins of Christian mission.

---Robert Scudieri

Robert Scudieri has been Area Secretary for North America for the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod since 1991. He is also chairman of the Lutheran Society for Missiology, located in St. Louis, Missouri.

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A. G. Hogg was a self-effacing Scottish missionary teacher who made major contributions to the development of a serious and grounded theology of mission, but who is almost forgotten today. With his close friend D. S. Cairns, he was a creative participant in the discussions around the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh 1910, and toward the end of his time in India he was one of the foremost challengers to Hendrik Kraemer at the meeting of the International Missionary Council in Tambaram in 1938. In between, he raised disturbing theological questions about the adequacy of the “fulfillment theology” of J. N. Farquhar and many others, encouraged the reconceptualization of Christian theology in the light of the encounter with Hinduism, and challenged generations of Hindu students (most notably the philosopher who later became president of India, S. Radhakrishnan) to a radical rethinking of their faith. At least two of his books are of continuing relevance today—Karma and Redemption (1909, reprinted 1970) and The Christian Message to the Hindu (1947).

In opposition to the “fulfillment theorists” Hogg argued that Christianity could not properly be seen as the answer to the Hindu question, or as the goal of Hindu striving. A promise and fulfillment motif just does not conform to reality, for Christianity arouses and claims to satisfy distinctive longings. To take both faiths
seriously involves a recognition of their distinctiveness, and of their incommensurability. Fulfillment theology, despite its avowed modest intentions, in fact asserts the superiority of Christianity and the incompleteness of Hindu faith. In *Karma and Redemption* Hogg believes that he has uncovered a fundamental contrast between Hinduism and Christianity: Hinduism affirms an almost mechanically he has uncovered a fundamental contrast not only the individual but also the broader

community and environment, and in which the cycle can be broken by forgiveness and by grace. In the discussions around Tambaram 1938 Hogg, taking issue with Kraemer, insisted that “it is radically wrong to approach men of other faiths under a conviction—no matter how sincerely humble that conviction may be—that he and his fellow believers alone are witnesses to a divine revelation, while other religions are merely the products of a human ‘religious consciousness.’” Hogg could still affirm the uniqueness of the incarnation while rejecting as simplistic and misleading Kraemer’s sharp distinction between Christianity and “the religions.”

Eric Sharpe’s book is both a labor of love and an important contribution to the history of the theology of mission. It is not an easy read, but it ought to be in every library concerned with mission studies, for it fills in a very scholarly and impressive way a major gap in the literature.

—Duncan B. Forrester

Duncan Forrester is Professor of Christian Ethics and Practical Theology at New College, University of Edinburgh. From 1962 to 1970 he was an educational missionary sent by the Church of Scotland to Madras Christian College, and he has published extensively on Christian missions and society in India.

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A Symbol of Asian Solidarity: A History of the Asian Alliance of YMCAs.


Professor David has produced a somewhat encyclopedic but very useful survey of the work of the Asian Alliance of YMCAs. Former head of the History Department at Bombay University, he has published widely on the history of Asia, of Christianity in Asia, and of the YMCA in India. For the author the key to understanding contemporary Asia, and the Christian movement there, is the former and continuing impact of Western imperialism.

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—Frederick S. Downs

Now retired in the United States, Frederick S. Downs served for thirty-eight years in India as a historian of Christianity on the faculties of Eastern Theological College, Jorhat, Northeast India, and the United Theological College, Bangalore.
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