Human Rights and Christian Mission

Four years ago the world celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Measured by the standards of that document, Christian mission has contributed considerably to the enhancement of human rights.

When William Carey arrived in India to preach the Gospel, he immediately joined in the struggle to end the practice of sati, widow burning. He started newspapers and printed books to stimulate and enlarge Indian vernacular writing and readership, thereby helping to ignite India’s literary renaissance.

In 1964, in the waning days of colonialism in Africa, anthropologist Paul Bohannan paid tribute to missionary schools: "Whatever any individual Westerner may think of the missionary edifice, every African knows that it is to missionaries that they owe the beginning of the African educational system" (Africa and Africans, p. 235). Later anthropologists have explored ways in which missionaries, if unwittingly, planted the seeds of national consciousness that challenged and ultimately doomed colonial domination, bringing into increasingly sharp relief colonialism’s intrinsic suppression of human rights.

As surgeon Paul H. Brand’s “My Pilgrimage in Mission” reminds us, Christian missionaries went to India and elsewhere to bind up wounds and minister comfort to the neediest of the needy. They founded teaching hospitals that trained thousands of indigenous physicians and nurses. Thus have missionary labors contributed to human well-being and enlarged awareness of human rights.

But this self-awareness must be tempered with humility, for as contributing editor Charles R. Taber reminds us in our lead article, the various inventories of human rights inevitably fall short of the ideal. The human rights project articulated in the United Nations’ Universal Declaration betrays its Western orientation: it is individualistic, legalistic, and defensive. An authentic and comprehensive understanding of human rights, Taber argues, must be grounded in the larger recognition of the inherent dignity that being made in the image of God gives to every person.

Taber’s analysis contains both challenge and reassurance. The recognition he calls for is imperfectly incarnated in even the most exemplary missionary practice. But as long as admittedly imperfect missionary life and service are fundamentally aligned with faith, hope, and love, the Gospel will produce the peaceable fruit of righteousness, quietly but inexorably transforming the human condition from bottom to top.

* * * * *

Associate Editor Robert T. Coote joined the Overseas Ministries Study Center staff in 1980 for a nine-month assignment as Assistant to the Director for Research and Planning. More than two decades later—with this issue—he completes a distinguished career as editor, communicator, designer, motivator, and mentor. Coote, 69, retired June 30, 2002, but he continues with IBMR as a Senior Contributing Editor. We offer Coote the final word: “These last twenty-two years have been without question the most fulfilling years of my life and I am very grateful for them.”

On Page
98 In the Image of God: The Gospel and Human Rights
   Charles R. Taber
104 Brazil: An “Evangelized” Giant Calling for Liberating Evangelism
   Sherron K. George
110 Research on Protestantism in Latin America: A Bibliographic Essay
   John H. Sinclair
112 Harold W. Turner Remembered
   John M. Hitchen
118 My Pilgrimage in Mission
   Paul W. Brand
121 Noteworthy
123 The Legacy of Robert Reid Kalley
   Joyce E. Winifred Every-Clayton
128 World Christianity by the Numbers: A Review of the World Christian Encyclopedia, Second Edition
   Gerald H. Anderson
132 Book Reviews
144 Book Notes

of Missionary Research
Human rights are very much on the agenda in the modern and postmodern West, and a great deal of rhetorical, political, diplomatic, and legislative effort has been spent in trying to make the concept and the practice of human rights universal. As part of the ongoing discussion, many Christians have argued that the concept of human rights derives chiefly or exclusively from, or is at least intrinsic to, the Gospel of Jesus Christ. But devotees of other religions or of none, as well as some Christians, have strenuously denied this argument, maintaining that human rights are universal and that all of the major religions advocate them. Furthermore, the concept is often not carefully defined: what are universal human rights, what do they comprise, to whom do they apply, how are they to be enforced? Most important, on what conceptual foundations do they rest? What gives them their imperative character? I deal here primarily with the origin of the concept of human rights, and with the concept’s legitimation.

In my opinion, the only understanding of human rights that is philosophically or theologically interesting is the most comprehensive and radical one; that is, whatever human rights might be, they belong to human beings qua human beings and are not subject to diminution or abrogation for any consideration whatsoever: age, sex, race, ethnicity, nationality, social class or caste, education, wealth or poverty, degree of health or disease, ability or disability. Rights belonging to a subset of humankind—for example, to adults—are of secondary importance.

No human society has ever truly practiced such a total concept of human rights, whether Western or non-Western, “Christian” or non-Christian. In their social systems, politics, economics, or religion, all societies without exception, in all times and places, have practiced various kinds of discrimination and assigned different degrees of rights (or lack of rights) to different kinds of people. Discrimination as practiced universally can be simply Us versus Them (insiders versus outsiders), friends/allies versus enemies, male versus female, and old versus young. Most societies add, whether de jure or de facto, a variety of other considerations, such as wealth and poverty, class or caste, race, ethnicity, and nationality.

It is my primary thesis that the currently promoted concept of human rights is (1) a modern Western development (2) derived from a narrowing and distortion of (3) a more fundamental concept of human dignity that is in turn (4) a unique contribution of Jesus of Nazareth to the human scene. The specifically unique contribution of Jesus was his categorical rejection of any and all of the limits human societies have placed on the dignity of the person, and of any and all bases for discrimination between human beings in dignity and therefore in rights.

A Concept of Recent Origin

The idea that some people have some rights is extremely ancient and widespread. But where did the idea of universal, panhuman, and nondiscriminatory rights arise in the first place? The historical record is clear: it arose fairly recently in the West. There is not a whisper of any such notion anywhere else in the world outside the West before the late colonial era, at which time the subject peoples in the colonies, tutored in the traditions of their exploiters, began to lay claim to the rights those traditions espoused. As An-Na’im acknowledges in a discussion of human rights from a Muslim point of view, “The full concept of human rights as rights to be accorded to every human being by virtue of being human is of very recent theoretical origin, and remains largely unrealized in practice.”

What influences did the West experience that the rest of the world did not experience in the same way or to the same degree for so many centuries? I can think of three possible candidates: the ancient Athenians, the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It might be objected that not only in the West but also in the East there were thriving churches, influenced by the Hebrew heritage and the Gospel—though perhaps less influenced by the Athenians—in which the notion of human rights did not arise with equal force. Later I point out some crucial differences in how these influences were exercised in the East and the West.

The ancient Greeks—especially the Athenians (particularly the Stoics, Plato, and Aristotle)—appealed to natural law and to the nature of humanity to ground ideas about a number of human rights. But when we look more closely, the democracy of Athens pertained only to a small minority of the population: free adult males. Women and children were explicitly excluded as being essentially chattel, and the majority of the population who were slaves was not even considered. Non-Greeks were “barbarians” and beneath contempt. Plato’s Republic advocates anything but a democracy: the state is ruled by philosopher-kings, and the rest of the population obeys—or else! Aristotle was slightly more liberal, but he insisted that a large number of slaves without rights was essential to afford the minority of free citizens the leisure to exercise their rights and responsibilities. We Westerners make much of the fact that our ideas of democracy come to us from the Athenians. This view, including the limitations mentioned, was quite congenial to the American Founding Fathers. The Athenian model, however, offers no support for rights that are truly universal and panhuman.

The Hebrew Scriptures provide the first and most fundamental truth to undergird the concept of human rights: that human beings, male and female, are created in the image and likeness of God and therefore have an inalienable dignity and uniqueness (Gen. 1:26–30; Ps. 8:4–8). Borowitz argues, “Judaism teaches that no one can ever take away from a human being an elemental value which God has bestowed upon everyone and which God never alienates.” But the Mosaic law goes on to make three distinctions: between the people of Israel and foreigners, between men and women, and between slaves and free persons. Though all had some rights and were thus better off than in many neighboring societies, they did not have equal rights. Modern Judaism, to the extent that it is faithful to its own Scriptures, perpetuates these distinctions.

Those who in the name of political correctness want to insist that all of the “major” religions (an interesting bit of discrimination

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in itself!) “at their best” teach that human beings are equal and deserving of human rights are contradicted by even a superficial look at the evidence. Not only the historical practice of these religions, but their very scriptures themselves, give the lie to this ill-judged effort to be nice. We have already seen the distinctions made by the Mosaic law and ancient Israelite custom. Hinduism, from the Vedas to the Mahabharata, is so intimately bound up with the caste system that even so great a spirit as Mohandas Gandhi could not separate the two. Gandhi tried to base his efforts to mitigate the evils of caste upon his own interpretation of the Hindu scripture, but according to the Japanese thinker Kagawa, Gandhi’s exegesis was quite subjective. Islam and the Qur’an are notable for their threefold division of humankind into Muslims, “people of the Book” (Jews and Christians), and kafirs, or infidels. Islam is also known for its double standard regarding the sexes; restrictions on the absolute power of husbands only underline the remaining discrimination. Islam also distinguishes sharply between slaves and free persons. Garaudy argues that Islam bases its notions of human rights, such as they are, on natural law, much as did the ancient Stoics. Buddhism perhaps comes closer than the others in mutating discriminations, but in its purest form, Theravada or Hinayana, it is highly elitist, distinguishing between spiritual athletes and ordinary people. The so-called primal or traditional religions, the religions without written scriptures, are almost universally sexist, and also usually make strong distinctions based on age.

As Küng and Moltmann recognize in the introduction to The Ethics of World Religions and Human Rights, “Curiously enough, many of the great world religions have their problems with the affirmation and realization of human rights which were first proclaimed by the American and French Revolutions and finally grounded in the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations in 1948.” Some thinkers in most religious traditions have sincerely espoused human rights, but they have done so under Western influence rather than out of the roots of their religions.

The Radical Approach of Jesus

Not so the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Building on, but radically extending, hints found in the Hebrew Law and Prophets, Jesus alone among all religious founders and leaders rejected all forms of discrimination and insisted that all human beings ought to be treated in exactly the same way. His own dealings with women, with children, with lepers and other ritually polluted people, and with foreigners radically undermined all the distinctions that human societies of his day unanimously institutionalized. He extended the category “neighbor” to all humankind and insisted that all human beings ought to be treated in exactly the same way. His own dealings with women, that the two Great Commandments applied to all; and he taught his disciples to love even their enemies. These surely were among the reasons why Jesus’ peers found him troublingly subversive and therefore condemned him.

The apostles, and especially Paul, picked up and taught the same thing (note that in Galatians 3:28 Paul, following Jesus, never actually practiced this teaching as radically as it might have. Tertullian insisted, “It is a fundamental human right, a privilege of nature, that all human beings shall worship according to their own convictions,”” the Cappadocian Fathers wrote about the poor as being entitled to assistance. Nevertheless, the power of prevalent custom in Jewish and Greco-Roman societies prevented the early church from practicing fully what its own teaching taught it to do.
As for later historical practice, the Christian church again has often not been careful to follow its own Lord in his rejection of all distinctions. At least two blatant discrepancies between the church and the church’s Lord concern the clergy-lay distinction and the double standard with respect to men and women. Some Christian communities do better than others, especially in their teaching, but few if any fully transcend the culturally and socially prescribed patterns of their societies in these regards.

History of the Discussion

The concept of human rights first began to be talked and written about in the early modern period, as debates took place between those like Machiavelli and Hobbes who argued for the absolute (for some, “divine”) right of rulers, and those like Locke and Rousseau who argued that individual persons had specific rights that rulers were bound to respect. The beginnings of a modern parliamentary system in England in the early eighteenth century, coupled with the rise in influence and power of the business class (as against the hereditary landed aristocracy), gave impetus to the notion of personal rights. (The Magna Carta of 1215 gave expression only to the rights of the barons vis-à-vis the Crown.)

The Founding Fathers of the American Republic based their arguments on the work of Locke; their original disagreements with the British crown, before independence was even dreamed of, were based on a claim to their “rights as Englishmen.” And these claims, sharply separated from any recognition of the Crown at the time of independence, were enshrined in the Declaration of Independence (1776) and the Constitution and Bill of Rights (1787). But even the expansive rhetoric of the American Declaration of Independence about “inalienable rights” given by the Creator to “all men”—“life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”—applied in fact, as debates at the later constitutional convention made clear, only to adult white males of property. The Bill of Rights, while spelling out more fully what specific rights were guaranteed by the Constitution, tacitly maintained without argument the restrictions regarding race, sex, and property. These were all purely negative rights, specifying what the federal government could not do to citizens. Positive rights, such as the right to vote, were understood to be under the jurisdiction of the states. It has taken the United States over two centuries to eliminate, at least in law via amendments to the Constitution, the various disqualifications based on property, race, and sex. And the long shadow of prior legal disqualifications continues to prevail de facto in many circles.

Very soon after the American Revolution the French Revolution in its turn unseated the absolute Bourbon monarchy and promulgated a ringing Déclaration des droits de l’homme et du citoyen (1789), inspired in part by the American experiment. Similar ideas were enacted into law piecemeal in Great Britain throughout the nineteenth century. The other major European countries remained relatively backward politically (Spain and Portugal) or constituted traditional monarchies (Austro-Hungary, Russia) or only in the latter nineteenth century came to national existence (Germany, Italy). In none of these did any notion of human rights take root at all until well into the twentieth century, and even then not without setbacks, as in the Communist, Fascist, and Nazi regimes.

Finally, after World War II, the United Nations produced a document entitled Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man (1948), which embodies a whole catalog of rights that had been discussed and formulated in the West, essentially during the previous two centuries. A spate of further elaborations and interpretive documents has followed. But all these recent documents spelling out universal rights have often been impotent in the face of strong resistance or even radical rejection. In some cases non-Western countries and Communist countries insisted that the whole notion is yet another form of Western imperialism.

In summary, the Hebrew heritage provides some of the needed components but is itself incomplete as regards truly universal human rights. The Athenians developed a beautiful concept of democracy and rights, though restricted to a small minority of the inhabitants. The religions of the world provide little support for the idea, and the history of nations is at best a mixed story. But somehow the idea of universal human rights, however imperfect and attenuated, continues to be raised, especially and specifically in the West. Can it be that the Gospel of Jesus Christ has had a unique impact on the West that will not be stilled despite all efforts to the contrary? I argue that this is indeed the case.

Impact of the Gospel

In what way did the Gospel have this significant effect in the West? In particular, how and why did the Gospel foster the concept of universal human rights in the West in ways different from its impact in the East? Obviously, since the church of the apostles itself did not practice human rights as radically as the Gospel mandated but was still powerfully shaped by the residual cultural conditioning of its social context, it would be dishonest to claim more than was the case. The Gospel had an impact but did not transform social ideas and social relations as fully as it might have. But as time wore on, the West experienced the collapse of the Roman Empire, whereas the church in the East continued for a millennium more to exist under the aegis of the empire. In the West, when the empire collapsed, the church remained the only viable and credible mega-institution. Political power and authority, economic transactions, and basic literacy went into severe decline, in the midst of which the church provided the sole stabilizing reality. The church thus became the matrix, the midwife, of what later emerged as Western civilization. And in this field of relative freedom from customary constraint, when it was in a real sense the initiator of whatever constraints came to exist, the church was able to plant some seeds, animated by the Gospel, which eventually came to flower in the concept of human rights. Meanwhile, the churches in the East, living with and under the empire, and becoming in many societies the religious arm of civil government, were much less free to chart a course at odds with state and society.

When ideas of democracy from ancient Athens once again became current in Western Europe during the Renaissance, those ideas activated the dormant gospel seeds and brought them to flower in the concept of human rights. The rising sense and even intoxication of human freedom and human capability, coupled with the increasing individualism of Western societies and a
growing sense of the relativity and mutability of human institutions, led by stages to the full-blown modern concept of individual human rights.

As the idea of human rights came to maturity in the West, however, it evidenced a diminution and distortion of its roots in the Gospel. It is a diminution because it tried to express human dignity in terms of a mere list of specific items—a list that has varied greatly from time to time.

The distortion happened in three ways. First, the concept, arising as it did in a climate of extreme individualism, came to apply largely to single persons apart from, and even in opposition to, all other persons. This limitation led directly to the currently prevalent experience of conflicts between the rights of different persons, as exemplified by the unresolvable tension (unresolvable, at least under the terms of the current debate) between the “right” of a woman to control her own body and the “right” of a fetus to be born. This extreme individualization of rights is a clear recipe for pitting every individual against every other individual, as can be seen both in postmodern philosophy and in overcrowded courts.

Second, the present notion of rights is insisted on without any concurrent insistence on responsibilities and communal duties and obligations. This downgrading of communal relationships (which in fact is a second effect of the individualistic understanding of rights), and the corresponding downgrading of mutual obligations and duties to balance the rights, is one of the major areas in which non-Westerners criticize the Western concept of human rights. In societies that argue, not “I think, therefore I am,” but “I belong, therefore I am,” it is rightly felt that mutual obligations and duties must be emphasized equally with rights.

But the third distortion is far more serious in the end than the other two, in that it undermines the only authentic legitimation of human rights. For the concept of human rights, rooted though it is in the Gospel, came to its modern form at exactly the time when the sense of human accountability to God went into radical eclipse. The agnosticism and even atheism that characterize the modern Western ethos, along with the assertion of human autonomy, simply undercut the only foundation on which any serious concept of human rights could rest: the much more fundamental concept of human dignity, itself arising from the conviction that human beings were created in the image and likeness of God. As Ivan says in The Brothers Karamazov, “If there is no God, is not everything permissible?” The sad irony of the West is that it erected its high tower of human rights, adding to the list through the centuries, all the while enthusiastically sapping the only foundation on which it can rest securely. Without such a transcendent foundation the structure of human rights is a house built on sand. It is irrevocably precarious and irreparably fragile. What other foundation could sustain the concept? Humanity as its own ultimate point of reference does not do it, as can be seen in the current erosion of the rights of all kinds of persons who are not “fully human”: the unborn, the severely impaired, the dying, the incarcerated, even the unemployed. It is all too easy to call into question the rights of anyone who is not fully able, who is not fully productive, who is not fully in tune with society and its expectations.

A Fundamental Dilemma

But this analysis leads to a dilemma. If no system of human rights, no ethical system, is secure unless it is grounded in transcendence, how do we respond to the accusation that we are insisting on a particularistic foundation for a putatively universal claim? Borowitz makes the dilemma painfully clear: “Religions of revelation [i.e., Judaism, Islam, and Christianity] affirm the universal value of human beings on a quite particularistic ground. . . . When revelation is the basis of all truth, to suggest that we might reach ultimate truth by another means is to challenge the premise of all premises.”

In its effort to escape the specificity of Christian doctrine and Christian ethics, modernity has attempted to find some universal “rational” ground for its high-flown affirmations of human rights. But Borowitz admits that such an appeal is invalid: “What once passed for a broad universalism now seems quite particularistic.” It turns out, in other words, as non-Westerners and Western postmodernists love to point out, that the so-called universal rationality is in fact particularistically Western.

Efforts to find a secular ground for human rights, as for ethics in general, have for some anthropologists taken the form of a search for cultural universals, values that supposedly exist in all cultures. Such a search is extremely difficult in practice, both because of the enormous scope of the search required and because only a single objection from within a single culture is needed to refute a particular claim to universality. More significant, it is philosophically impossible to derive an “ought” from a mere “is.”

As a matter of fact, if one looks at the deeper levels of the various cultures, one can find reflexes of rules that parallel the second tablet of the Decalogue: Honor your father and your mother, do not commit murder, do not commit adultery, do not steal, do not bear false witness, do not covet. In each case, however, there are qualifications about when the rules apply and when they do not. Typically, they apply to our kind of people, not to strangers or enemies. In American society, for instance, it is deemed acceptable in law and by public opinion to kill in self-defense, to kill persons judged by due process to be guilty of capital crimes, and to kill in war. It is not hard to see the need for Decalogue-like rules: without them, societies would self-destruct. But the difference between such rules as qualified by their exceptions and their application in the ethic of Jesus is that in his case the rules permitted of no exceptions, since he valued all human beings equally.

Are we to conclude that there is no ground for asserting a doctrine of universal human rights? That would be the postmodernist answer. Should we make such an affirmation on the grounds of some supposed universal rationality, some universal sense of right and wrong that underlies the vast diversity of human cultural and moral systems? That remains the modern answer; it is a widespread, idealistic answer that is sincerely held by many people of goodwill. Such an approach lacks credibility, however, since the supposed universality is parochially Western.
Grounded in Transcendence, Incarnated in Love

Alternatively, one can make a claim for universal human rights on the transcendent ground that human beings—every human being, all human beings—are created in the image and likeness of God and therefore possess an inalienable and innate dignity that no one can rightly take away on any pretext whatever. In fact, as Kathleen MacArthur says, the creation of humans in God's image is “the religious basis for human rights. It is difficult to see how any other basis can possibly support or give meaning to the rights claimed on behalf of humanity.”

But is this position not merely another parochialism or particularism, as Borowitz suggests? Is a religious particularism better or more credible than a cultural one? In the course of history religion has been a notorious source of conflict, even violent and ferocious conflict. Can we seriously make universal claims in the name of a religion that occasioned the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century and today divides Northern Ireland?

Expressed in these terms, the answer must clearly be no. We cannot with integrity make such a claim in the name of Christianity, which is indeed a religion, a more or less coherent cluster of imperfect human responses to the divine initiative of self-disclosure. Christianity, though it is indeed a response to the ultimate revelation of God in Jesus Christ, is in itself no more infallible than any other religion. Only God, revealed in Jesus of Nazareth, the Eternal Word and brought to human awareness by the Holy Spirit, can make a claim to universal validity and authority; only God's name affirmed by God can legitimately demand universal conformity to God's will.

The problem lies in the crucial question, How can people discern the will of the transcendent God? How can people all over the world, in the diversity of their cultural and religious contexts, come to any kind of consensus on what God expects of us all?

At this point, if one is looking for an irresistible proof of the validity of one's vision of the divine will, one will look in vain. Nor should any coercive power be exercised to impose one specific vision. The only resource available to Christians to bring non-Christians to see human dignity as Jesus did is the intrinsic credibility and persuasiveness of the Gospel, since the truth of human dignity is a component of the Gospel and has no secure existence apart from the Gospel. This truth ought to be presented to the world, Western and non-Western, first of all, by the life of the church, inspired, empowered, and directed by the Holy Spirit; second, by its proclamation of the Gospel and its invitation to the world to submit to the rule of God; third, by its sacrificial service to the hurting and suffering people of the world, to the least and poorest; and fourth, by its prophetic confrontation and denunciation of all those principalities and powers that abuse human beings.

The life of believers, individually and collectively, is intended to incarnate the biblical reality of human dignity. The church is called to be an alternative society, living in a contrasting style in the midst of the world. Its members are, in God's design, not self-promoting, as the world is; they are not competitive, as the world is; they do not advance at the expense of others, as the world does; they do not take advantage of the weaknesses of others, as the world does. They love one another and do good to and for one another. Failing that, there is no compelling reason for the world to pay attention. Which is to say that the only means by which Christians can commend a truly godly vision of human rights is to incarnate them in their individual and collective lives, to announce God's actions and intentions that constitute the Gospel, and to act justly in the name of God.

Notes

5. Ethics, p. vii.
9. Ibid.
World Christian Trends, AD 30-AD 2200
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This valuable resource is a global overview of world Christianity that analyzes, interprets and evaluates the country-by-country data reported in the 2001 World Christian Encyclopedia. Special features include the first-ever statistical survey of evangelism/ization; statistical survey of persecution and Christian martyrs; and projections to AD 2200 about Christianity and world religions. Includes glossary, bibliography, color maps, and a CD-ROM for quick reference.

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Brazíl, the fifth largest country in the world, covering half of South America, is home to a very religious people. More than 90 percent of the 170 million Brazilians publicly identify themselves as Christians of one kind or another. The Roman Catholic Church arrived in Brazil in 1500 with Pedro Alvares Cabral, the Portuguese explorer. Protestantism entered Brazil to stay only in the middle of the nineteenth century, and Pentecostalism came in the twentieth century. The growth, contextual developments, mutual influences, and global impact of these three expressions of Christianity are highly significant. In the image supplied by Zwinglio Dias and Joyce Hill, the three streams merge into a “rich Christian brew that shapes religious life in Brazil.”

Brazil, according to British sociologist David Martin, “is simultaneously the world’s largest Catholic country, the scene of the largest spiritist movements—and the home of maybe half the evangelical [Protestant] believers in Latin America.” Brazilian Catholicism includes conservatives aligned closely with the Vatican, progressives in solidarity with popular movements, charismatics using mass media, and practitioners of folk religiosity centered on legendary figures such as Padre Cicero. Spiritist movements include Kardecist spiritism from France and numerous Afro-Brazilian religions such as Umbanda, Candomblé, and Macumba. Protestants come in even more varieties, with 75 percent belonging to Pentecostal groups, on which much research has been focused because of their explosive growth and pervasive presence.

This article, recalling the arrival of Catholicism five centuries ago and the later introduction of Protestantism and Pentecostalism, presents new developments and emphases over the last half of the twentieth century that have resulted in mutual exchanges between the three expressions of Christian faith, with implications for a new kind of representative world Christianity.

Catholic Culture and Hegemony

More than a millennium after the Gospel of Jesus Christ reached Asia, Europe, and Africa, the church arrived in what we call the Americas with cross and sword in hand. Luis N. Rivera’s Violent Evangelism describes the expropriation of land, holocaust of natives, and black slavery that were a part of the evangelization. In less than a century Spain and Portugal conquered, dominated, and Christianized the peoples of Latin America. This conquest marked “the genesis of modern Christianity as a world phenomenon.” It also inaugurated a new mission paradigm in which colonialism and mission were ambivalently interdependent.

Catholic symbols and influence, imported from the Iberian Peninsula, have become an integral part of Brazilian culture and public space. The doors of churches throughout the country are constantly open to receive the faithful; infant baptism is normative; the raised Host is part of the collective consciousness; crucifixes and genuflection abound; processions on Passion Friday and pilgrimages to shrines are covered by network news; and holy days and festivals are part of Brazilian folklore.

During the nineteenth century, independence from Portugal, abolition of slavery, separation of church and state, and the rooting of Protestant mission had little effect on the hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church. Throughout the twentieth century, however, Catholic Christendom’s power, influence, and privilege slowly ebbed, leading the Vatican to call for a “new evangelization.” The present crisis is more than a shortage of priests and reduced attendance at masses. (Although nearly 80 percent of Latin Americans have been baptized in the Roman Catholic Church, some observers claim that on a typical Sunday in Brazil more people attend Protestant than Catholic services.) Pablo Richard has gone so far as to declare the end of Catholic Christendom. René Padilla asserts, “This continent is no longer, if it ever was, a Roman Catholic continent.” And David Stoll asks, “Is Latin America turning Protestant?”

Protestants: Preaching the Word

Because Latin American governments would not permit Protestant evangelization and building of churches, the nineteenth century began with almost no Protestant presence. How, then, did Protestants gain a foothold in this Catholic continent? Kenneth Goodpasture states, “The Protestant pattern of growth was first a Bible, then a Protestant immigrant, then a church.” After earlier aborted mission projects of French and Dutch Protestants, in the opening decades of the nineteenth century Anglicans were allowed to erect a church building in Rio de Janeiro for Britons, and a community of almost 5,000 German Lutherans settled in southern Brazil. In 1859 Ashbel Green Simonton, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, arrived in Brazil as a Presbyterian missionary. He died at the age of 36, seven years later, but not before he had ordained José Manoel da Conceição, a former Roman Catholic priest, as the first Brazilian Presbyterian minister and had witnessed the establishment of the first presbytery and seminary of the Brazilian Presbyterian Church. By the end of the century, Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians had followed suit.

Nevertheless, Latin America continued to be identified as a Catholic continent. This perception prevailed at the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, where it was agreed not to include Latin America on the agenda. It was argued that Latin America was already evangelized and therefore not to be seen as a mission field. In reaction, a group of Protestant mission leaders organized the 1916 Congress on Christian Work, held in Panama, which highlighted the need for evangelization. Noting new religious freedoms that were developing in several countries, the congress helped legitimize Protestant mission endeavors in Latin America.

The floodgates opened, and missionaries streamed into Latin America. Initially, however, growth was slow. In 1930 Protestants amounted to less than 2 percent of the population of Latin America, and foreign missionaries exerted control over many of the national churches that had been founded. However, the...
systematic expansion of Protestantism “sharply accelerated in the 1930s and reached hurricane force in the 1960s.”

National Protestant churches increasingly claimed their cultural identity and asserted their autonomy. In contrast to the Roman Catholic emphasis on sacramental rituals, Latin Protestants emphasized the centrality of the Bible, evangelistic preaching, and planting new churches. Many Protestant churches in Brazil feel no need to have an evangelism committee because members of the congregation actively practice evangelism with relatives, neighbors, friends, and strangers. Congregations believe that their churches exist for mission. Many congregations can point to three or more churches that have been established under their responsibility. At one point, according to Roberto Inacio, director of an Assemblies of God Bible institute, forty new churches were opening in Rio de Janeiro every week. As a result of Protestant, and especially Pentecostal growth, nearly 20 percent of the population of Brazil is Protestant, giving Brazil one of the three largest Protestant communities in the world.

Such dynamic growth is producing what Martin calls “the Latin Americanization of Protestantism.” It is yielding, among other things, fresh biblical interpretations, profound spiritual renewal, invigorating worship practices, and prophetic stances on issues of social justice. Christians in other regions of the world could well pay attention.

**Pentecostal Explosion**

Paul Freston has delineated three waves of Pentecostalism in Brazil. In 1911 two Swedish immigrants to the United States traveled to northern Brazil to work with a Baptist congregation in Belém. Emphasizing the baptism of the Spirit, they sparked the founding of the largest Pentecostal movement in Brazil, the Assemblies of God, which today numbers more than fourteen million adult members. Concurrently, the (Pentecostal) Christian Congregation of Brazil was founded in São Paulo and Paraná among Italian immigrants and now counts more than a million and a half adult members. The fledgling movement quickly accommodated itself to Brazilian culture and leadership. José Míquez Bonino contends that the outside missionary “triggers” awakened a kind of “religious experience already latent in Latin American popular sectors.”

The second wave was composed of indigenous Pentecostal movements and churches and coincided with urbanization in the 1950s. One example is the Brazil for Christ Church, founded in 1956 by Manoel de Mello and reporting a million adult members by 1995. De Mello claimed there are in Brazil “three places where the people could unburden themselves freely, without fear of reprisals: at the soccer stadiums, in carnival, and in the Pentecostal churches.”

In the 1970s the third wave started around the most densely populated urban areas, which were suffering from increasing violence and economic inequalities. In 1977 Edir Macedo founded the Universal Church of the Reign of God in Rio de Janeiro, one of the most noteworthy churches of the third wave. Writing in the mid-1990s, Freston described it as “the fastest-growing, most politically powerful, and most controversial Protestant church in the country.” It presently has two million adult members in every part of Brazil and has spread to seventy countries, including the United States.

Pointing to the overwhelming importance of the Pentecostal event recorded in Acts 2, Pentecostal churches stress the role of the Holy Spirit in conversion, healing, exorcism, evangelism, and all of daily life. Indeed, the Pentecostal Christianity that has exploded among the poor and disenfranchised, not only in Latin America but in Asia and Africa as well, is fast becoming the new representative face of world Christianity.

Despite the mutual antagonism that often has marked relations between Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Pentecostal communities, the sense of relationality that characterizes Latin culture has resulted in considerable religious cross-fertilization. Leonardo Silveira Compos, for example, points to “Pentecostalized Protestantism” and “Protestantized Pentecostalism.”

**Roman Catholic Base Ecclesial Communities**

The Second General Assembly of Latin American Bishops (CELAM II), held in Medellin, Colombia, in 1968, advocated the “preferential option for the poor” and favorably recognized the Base Ecclesial Communities (BECs)—small groups for grassroots, or “popular,” Bible study, prayer, consciousness-raising, and political mobilization. During the 1970s and 1980s thousands of BECs sprang up throughout Brazil, largely among the rural poor. Advocates characterized the BEC movement as a “new way of being church.” Local BECs joined ranks with Bible study groups and activists involved in pastoral outreach to become what Manuel Vásquez calls the popular church. In 1998 Vásquez reported that there were approximately 100,000 communities.

It is not altogether clear whether they will continue to thrive and contribute to renewal within the Roman Catholic community. Padilla writes, “The greatest crisis of Catholicism in our continent today is the crisis posed by the alternative between accepting the BECs as the means through which God wants to renew the church or expelling them as counterproductive to its ecclesiastical project.” Contradictory positions in relation to liberation theology, the distance between educated theologians (often trained in foreign countries) and the poor masses, a lack of institutional definition and structural support for BECs, and many conservative appointments in Brazil by the Vatican have contributed to a crisis of participation and mobilization of the
impacting Catholicism internally through the Catholic charismatic renewal. Phillip Berryman estimates that no more than 10 percent of parishes in Latin America utilize the base-community model, while more than 180 of Brazil’s 230 dioceses have charismatic renewal teams involving between 3.5 and 5 million Catholics in this “Church within the Church.”

Evangelism and Social Awareness

During the 1960s Protestant student and ecumenical movements articulated commitment to social responsibility, condemned proselytizing of practicing Catholics, and spoke out against political repression. Most Protestant churches, however, acquiesced to the harsh measures of military regimes, which resulted in polarization between conservative churches and ecumenical bodies.

In 1969, thinking to counteract what they considered to be inappropriate social involvement on the part of the ecumenical movement, evangelical agencies from the United States sponsored the First Latin American Conference on Evangelism (Conferencia Latino Americana de Evangelismo—CLADE I). As David Stoll commented, “CLADE I was not a complete success for its North American organizers.” Latin Americans “discovered that they were all tired of North Americans telling them how to think,” so they issued “a call for evangelicals to meet their social responsibilities, by contextualizing their faith in the Latin American context of oppression.”

In 1970 Latin American evangelical theologians founded the Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL). Committed to being both biblical and distinctively Latin American, they declared their intention “to pursue social issues without abandoning evangelism, deal with oppressive structures without endorsing violence, and bring left- and right-wing Protestants back together again.”

Protestants support a holistic mission that avoids polarizing of social action and evangelization.

While embracing much from liberation theology and historical Protestantism, they were critical of both and opted for a paradigm of contextualization.

The late Orlando Costas, a founding member of FTL, criticized conservative theologies produced in the North (especially the church growth movement). Viewing the United States as a new Macedonian mission field to be evangelized by Third World Christians, Costas promoted a theology of contextual evangelization. FTL leaders René Padilla and Samuel Escobar were instrumental in the inclusion of social responsibility and contextualization issues in the program of the 1974 Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization.

FTL convoked CLADE II (1979), III (1992), and IV (2000). More than 1,300 Christians from Protestant and Pentecostal churches in every Latin American country attended CLADE IV, held September 3–8, 2000, at the South American Biblical Seminar near Quito, Ecuador. The emphasis was on theological reflection and holistic mission of evangelization and social action, especially with the unreached and the disenfranchised. José Miguez-Bonino (who claims to have been tagged over the years “a conservative, a revolutionary, a Barthian, a liberal, a catholic, a moderate, and a liberationist” but prefers to call himself an evangélico) and David Ramírez, a Church of God (Pentecostal) theologian, were two of the plenary speakers. Ramírez said, “If the Word represents the historic evangelical churches and the Spirit the Pentecostal / charismatic churches, then this is the hour to join them to permit the power generated in the encounter of the Word and Spirit to bring life to the church.”

FTL demonstrates that even though Protestantism in Latin America is diverse and divided into many groups, it supports a holistic mission that avoids polarization between evangelization and social action. Taking the message of the reign of God seriously demands sharing of an evangelistic faith, while taking the context of poverty and injustice seriously demands social action. This is the message of Latin American Christians to the global church, a message, incidentally, that is echoed by African Christians, who insist on the holism of mission and life.

Response to Personal and Social Evil

Stoll suggests that after years of otherworldly escapist spirituality and a “mythical accommodation to the status quo” that alienated them from political involvement, today’s Pentecostals could well provide the basis for social reform. Stoll notes that Catholic liberation theology originated with “religious professionals with professional interests.” Liberation theologians sometimes succumbed to “the risk of failing to speak to the actual needs of the poor, as opposed to idealized versions of those needs.”

In order to understand the growth and enormous appeal of Pentecostalism, it is necessary to examine more closely the precarious life conditions of the urban poor. On one hand, development, modernization, privatization, and neoliberal capitalism have placed Brazil on the cutting edge of telecommunications and digital technology. On the other hand, as Vásquez observes, “Poor people have had to contend with worsening life conditions and the deepening of social inequalities.” Modernity’s rational understanding of history and human agency provides a framework for liberation and Reformed theology, but it has little to offer the powerless.

In a research project in Brazil focused on the question, What is the response, or responses, of Pentecostalism to the suffering of the poor? Richard Shaull and Waldo Cesar discovered “a new interpretive paradigm of Christianity and its emergence among the poor of the Third World.” After conducting a lengthy series of interviews, they became convinced that Pentecostalism provides specific blessings and daily solutions to concrete problems related to health, food, money, and family relationships. Salvation is a miraculous solution. It is “in the experience of merging in one gesture the transcendent with the immanent” that “perhaps the greatest miracle of the Pentecostal proposal of faith is engraved: survival in the midst of the marginality of life.” The gifts of the Spirit provide a democratic leveling, a sense of dignity, and empowerment. Personal evangelism propels Pentecostals into the world, where they occupy a new public political space as they engage those suffering social and economic problems.

The Pentecostal worldview is more closely related to that of the biblical writers (and to almost all of the world’s cultures) than
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it is to the worldview of Western culture. Shaull summarizes: Pentecostals “see the world and human life infested with demons. At the same time, they firmly believe that their lives and their world are in the hands of God, who acts to overcome these demonic forces. . . . With all the threats of demonic forces around them, they experience something even greater: the presence and power of the Spirit.”32 Pentecostal Christians live every moment of their daily lives in the realm of the Spirit, in constant dependence on God to “give us this day our daily bread” and to “deliver us from evil.” In their worship they experience the powerful reality of God’s presence; it fills them with joy and hope.

New Global Mission Base and Theology

Latin American Protestant and Pentecostal enthusiasm is crossing new frontiers. In 1987 the first Ibero-American Missionary Congress (COMIBAM I) was held in São Paulo, Brazil. This watershed gathering of 3,000 Christians from Latin America and other Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking countries (1,000 from Brazil) perhaps surpassed Edinburgh 1910 in energy. When Luis Bush declared in the opening plenary address, “Today Latin America will leave the ranks of the mission field, to become a ‘salt shaker’ of missionaries,” a new reality was recognized. Latin America has become part of the global non-Western mission-sending base.

At the Frontier 2000 Mission Conference of the Presbyterian Church (USA) in San Diego in September 2000, Oswaldo Prado, a prominent Brazilian pastor and missiologist, delivered a plenary address, “Is the Third World First?” In his introduction he quoted Samuel Escobar from the recent CLADE IV in Ecuador: “The Holy Spirit has raised up in Latin America a new missionary awakening. Missionary practice of the past has been augmented by a growing readiness of Latin American Christians to assume the responsibility of the Church, in obedience to the Word of God. In recent years, the number of opportunities for the training and sending of missionaries to other continents and contexts has increased.” Prado then affirmed: “This statement sums up, in a few brief words, that which we are experiencing on our Latin American continent, especially since the decade of the 1980s: A missionary awakening never before seen in the history of the Reformed Church in Latin America, resulting in hundreds and hundreds of young people and couples offering themselves for the mission fields of those peoples unreached by the Gospel.”

Prado reported that more than 2,000 Brazilian missionaries have been sent to other countries and that the Independent Presbyterian Church of Brazil has established three centers for missionary training. In addition, he noted that two centers for scholarly mission studies are being inaugurated, where students will engage in reflection, preparation, and research for mission. Prado declared that what was once a missionary-receiving church has been replaced by a continent of Latin missionaries “sent to the mission fields, not only in Brazil, but to other cultures around the world.”

The transformation of base and direction in global mission today is also bringing about a transformation of mission theology. The final chapter of José Miguez Bonino’s Faces of Latin American Protestantism is entitled “In Search of Unity: Mission as the Material Principle of a Latin American Protestant Theology.” By “material principle” Miguez means “a theological orientation which . . . will give coherence and consistency to the understand-

If “mission-evangelization” is “the principle which defines Latin American Protestantism,” today’s task is to articulate a “new mission theology” elaborated from a Trinitarian perspective, reflecting the fact that the self-giving and other-receiving God acts relationally “in the totality of creation” through the sending of the Son and the Spirit. God includes humankind as coactors and partners in the “missionary dialogue” of the Trinity, in which “the evangelizing mission is not an external act carried out by the church but is ‘the visible face’ of the mission of the triune God.”

This “material principle” can be taken one step further to expand the dialogue beyond Protestants and Pentecostals to include also Roman Catholics, who are doing much creative missiology in Latin America.36 In New Evangelization: Perspective of the Oppressed, Leonardo Boff insists on moving from a theology of “colonial evangelization” to one of “liberative evangelization” in which God “always arrives before the missionary.” The radical relationality of the Trinity is paradigmatic of the way cultures should relate to one another in mission as the Gospel is assimilated and the church is evangelized through interaction with Christians from other cultures.37

Examples of how the latter happens include the dialectical mutual listening, learning, and evangelization that is taking place in Latin America. Boff contends, “The Roman Catholic Church has much to learn from the Protestant churches where love of the word of God is concerned. It has much to learn from the Orthodox churches where attention to the liturgy and the symbolic life of faith is concerned. From the Pentecostal churches it can learn inculturation in popular culture, and creativity in the organization of its various services and ministries.”

In a similar vein Reformed theologian Richard Shaull writes, “If the movement of the Spirit in our time calls for a new theological paradigm, then the development of it becomes the responsibility and calling of all of us. No religious community, Pentecostal, traditional Protestant, or Roman Catholic, can claim ownership of it. . . . Each of these communities will be able to make its own unique contribution, but only as it learns from and is changed by the others. I would wager that those of us who are not Pentecostal will be prepared to make our contribution to this end as we are transformed through our interaction with them.”

The movement of the Spirit through a liberating contextual evangelization among Pentecostals, Protestants, and Roman Catholics in Brazil is similar to what is happening in other countries of Latin America, and in Africa and Asia as well. Because of the impressive growth resulting from this evangelization, the demographic center of the church has shifted to the Southern Hemisphere. Together with this shift, a new “representative” global Christianity is being defined and articulated by non-Western Christians, most of whom are poor and Pentecostal. This different perspective will surely bring many unexpected consequences for those of the old representative Western Christianity, including upside-down scriptural interpretations, radical unlearning, self-emptying, disturbing challenges, surprising partnerships, mission-in-reverse, renewal, new evangelization, continuing conversion, mutual transformation, and hope. It is the beginning of a new era of global Christianity, the post-Western post-Christendom era, where the universal Gospel of the kingdom of God finds expression in each particular context as God’s redemptive mission goes forth.
Notes

3. A decade ago Martin saw Catholic base communities and Umbanda as the only serious rivals of Pentecostalism. He suggested that Pentecostalism is “a form of base community plus the therapeutic recourse to the Spirit found in Umbanda” (ibid., p. 60).
5. Adrian Hastings has written, “The Christianity of South America was, primarily, a precise transportation of the Catholicism of the Iberian Peninsula.” *A World History of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), p. 328.
12. The *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 2d ed., gives figures of 64.5 million for the United States, 30.4 million for Germany, and 30.2 million for Brazil.
14. Membership statistics in this section are taken from *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 2d ed.
25. Ibid.
32. Ibid., p. 162.
33. Oswaldo Prado, “Is The Third World First?” (unpublished paper presented in San Diego, California, September 16, 2000). The following quotations are from this paper.
35. Ibid., pp. 132–41.
37. Leonardo Boff, *New Evangelization: Good News to the Poor* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991), p. 37. It is interesting that the subtitle in Portuguese, *Perspectiva dos oprimidos*, literally means “Perspective of the oppressed.” For Boff, the oppressed are the subjects of their own liberation, and their perspective provides a key for the transformation of oppressors.
38. Ibid., p. 47.
39. Shaull and Cesar, *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches*, p. 120.
A generation ago John A. Mackay observed, “There was a time . . . when two illusions were current regarding the religious situation in Latin America. One illusion was that this region was the most solidly Roman Catholic of all the great areas of the world. The other illusion was that Latin America is an area where Protestant Christianity has little significance. Recent dramatic events have brought both these illusions to an end.”

Especially over the latter part of the twentieth century there has been an increasing awareness in the world Christian community of a vibrant and growing Protestant presence in the midst of Latin American society. Protestantism has achieved a new level of maturity in its understanding of the complex social and political realities of the continent and its place in that society. The following review of research on Protestantism in Latin America comes from an immense body of literature and is necessarily highly selective. Whereas in the early years of the twentieth century serious research often fell to expatriate missionaries and scholars, in the last half-century much valuable research has come from scholars born, raised, and educated in Latin America. Considerable research has been done by recognized academics; other studies, often of equal value, have been produced by lay scholars. The most insightful research will always come from those whose personal destiny is caught viscerally in the subject of their endeavors.

Not until the early twentieth century was Latin America defined as a cultural and political entity rather than as merely geographic areas identified as South America, Central America, and the Caribbean. For many years it seemed that Latin America was not considered of great importance by world historians. Arnold Toynbee visited the region only once, making a brief stop in Puerto Rico. Though he wrote little about Latin America, he at least foresaw a time of increased importance: “There are things happening in Latin America today, things, that, in my judgment, could have the same historical significance as the Renaissance of the fifteenth century.”

Protestant Christianity in Latin America often was thought to lie outside the purview of Christian history; it was seen merely as an extension of Protestantism from North America, Britain, and Europe. This echoed the way that Roman Catholicism in Latin America was understood as a projection of Iberian Catholicism. Latin America as a world region and in particular the uniqueness of Latin American Protestantism were slow to be recognized.

Research from the Early Years

Since Protestantism arrived late in Latin America, much significant research did not begin until the mid-twentieth century when the burgeoning growth of evangelical Christianity caught the attention of the Christian world. Nevertheless, an early effort to place Latin American Protestantism in its proper context can be dated to 1900 and 1901, when Hubert W. Brown gave lectures at Princeton, Auburn, and Western seminaries that were published as Latin America: The Pagans, the Papists, the Patriots, the Protestants, and the Present Problem. Two indigenous interpreters of Latin American Protestantism in the first half of the twentieth century stand out: Erasmo Braga and Alberto Rembao. Braga, a Brazilian Presbyterian, wrote Pan Americanismo: Aspecto religioso (1916), which opened the religious dialogue between the Americas. Rembao, a Mexican Congregationalist, followed a generation later with Discorso a la nación evangélica; this work recognized the emergence on Latin soil of an authentic new religious community called los evangélicos. Within this period appeared a cadre of outstanding writers such as Sante Uberto Barbiere (Argentina), Gonzalo Báez-Camargo (Mexico), and Santiago Canclini (Uruguay). There were also expatriate missionary authors: John A. Mackay, W. Stanley Rycroft, Reginald Wheeler, Webster Browning, and Kenneth Grubb.

The classic work of this era is without doubt Mackay’s volume The Other Spanish Christ (1932). Of this monumental work José Ortega y Gassett wrote, “This is a profound and well documented study of the spiritual history of Indo America . . . With a perception, so special of the Anglo Saxon race, Mackay establishes landmarks and traces relationships which other writers hardly recognize.” Following in Mackay’s footsteps was his disciple W. Stanley Rycroft, who wrote two definitive volumes, Sobre este fundamento (1944) and Religión y fe en la América Latina (1958). These volumes summarize Latin American religious history, the principal ideological currents of the time, and the achievements of Protestant work in Latin America.

The research done by Gonzalo Báez-Camargo on early Protestants in Latin America, beginning with those summoned to present an overview of developments in the early to late nineteenth century. Kenneth Grubb, for many years associated with World Dominion Press, contributed several volumes in the 1920s and 1930s on mission work among indigenous South American groups. George Howard, a Uruguayan Methodist, surveyed religious liberty for Protestants in Religious Liberty in Latin America? This book was widely distributed among the members of the United States Congress because of its implications for the rights of United States citizens living in Latin America. James Goff documented religious persecution in Colombia in a doctoral thesis published by a Roman Catholic documentation service in Mexico. Roman Catholic scholars also moved to take seriously the presence of Protestantism in Latin America, as reflected in the research done by Camilo Crivelli, Angelo Rossi, and Prudencia Damboriena.

Another source of information about the early years of Protestantism in Latin America is the preparatory studies and the proceedings of the major Protestant conferences held in Latin America between 1916 and 1961. This literature includes research on the growth in numbers and in vision of the Protestant denominations in Latin America. A series of twenty-six study
papers on the role of Protestantism in Latin American culture were presented at the annual study conferences, 1957 through 1967, of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America. These conferences included addresses by leaders of nondenominational mission boards, such as Kenneth Strachan of the Latin America Mission, as well as denominational board executives.


**Widening Academic Perspectives**

By the 1960s interest in Protestantism in Latin America as a subject of serious research had extended beyond students of religion and history. For example, a body of literature began to be produced by sociologists of religion. Among these were the North American Emilio Willemos (writing on Protestantism in Brazil and Chile) and the Swiss scholar Christian Lalivé D’Epinal (on Pentecostals in Chile). Following soon after, Cornelia L. Flora, a sociology doctoral researcher, studied the mass mobilization of Pentecostals in Colombia to affirm lower-class solidarity. Gonzalo Castillo Cardenas, a sociologist of religion and member of a new generation of Protestant researchers, documented the struggle of indigenous peoples for a place in modern society in *The Life and Thought of Quintin Lane*.

A critical study of the older Protestant churches in Peru and Chile by Juan B. A. Kessler stands as one of the first works that penetrated below the level of triumphal mission board reporting. The doctoral dissertations of Paul E. Pierson and Robert L. McIntire on the inner struggles of Presbyterianism in Brazil were significant contributions. Wilton Nelson’s study of Protestantism in Costa Rica is in need of revision and updating. Daniel P. Monti’s analysis of the impact of immigrant Protestantism in the Rio de la Plata region during the nineteenth century details the arrival of the Waldensians, the German Lutheran and Congregationalist, the Swiss and Dutch Reformed, and other immigrant churches. This volume was followed by an in-depth study by three sociologists, Waldo Villalpando, Christian Lalivé D’Epinal, and Dwain Epps, who researched the interplay of the historical, sociological, and theological impact of the Rio Platense Protestant community. The Mennonite immigrant communities in Paraguay were documented by J. W. Fretz. Wilkens Winn recounted the Central American Mission’s pioneer missionary work in Honduras and Guatemala.

The first bibliography on Protestantism in Latin America, *Protestantism in Latin America: A Bibliographical Guide*, was the work of the present author when he served as secretary for Latin America for the Presbyterian Church (USA). The compilation of this volume in 1967 (also a revision and amplification in 1976 that included 3,115 listings) was made possible through the efforts of more than forty Protestant mission historians in every country in Latin America.

In 1973 the Asociación Interconfesional de Estudios Teológicos at the Instituto Superior Evangélico de Estudios Teológicos (Buenos Aires) initiated a more comprehensive bibliography on religious materials published in Latin America (and in relation to Latin America). Entitled *Bibliografía teológica comentada*, it was a multiyear project (from 1973 to 1990).

The Mennonite missions and national churches in Latin America published an excellent listing of historical materials in "Mennonites in Latin America." As far as the author can ascertain, no similar comprehensive listing of other denominational materials has appeared.

**Missionaries and Church Leaders**

The pioneers of evangelical Christianity in Latin America were mainly the colporteurs of the Bible societies from North America and Great Britain. The work of James Thomson, the tireless Scottish Baptist layman who began work in South America in 1816, was researched by Donald Mitchell, a missionary from New Zealand serving in Peru. He drew heavily from the travel letters of James Thomson, published in London in 1827.

Arnoldo Cancilini authored one of the several books about Commander Allen Gardiner, an early Protestant missionary martyr. Francisco Penzotti, an intrepid Argentine colporteur, wrote his autobiography, which spanning sixty years of journeys around South America.

The story of Robert R. Kalley, M.D., an independent missionary with a Congregationalist outlook who pioneered Protestant work in the Madeira Islands and Brazil, was written by Michael Testa in 1963. The lives and work of Bishop Sterling of the Falkland Islands and Edward F. Every of the SPCK, British Anglicans serving in southern South America in the 1880s and 1890s, reflect the deep commitment of British evangelicals to extend their ministries out beyond the expatriate communities.

The work of the Methodist lay educator William Morris is detailed in the story of the founding of industrial arts schools in

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**The evangelical pioneers were mostly the colporteurs of the Bible societies.**

Argentina. The contribution of another pioneer missionary, David Trumbull, in Chile, is told by Irven Paul in *A Yankee Reformer in Chile.*

The early missionary efforts in Colombia of Henry Pratt and other Presbyterians were researched and presented by Wilmar A. Quiring in "The Establishment of Evangelical Christianity in Colombia, 1825–1900." A fascinating unedited autobiography of Alexander Allan, a New Zealand Presbyterian missionary in Colombia, is to be found in the Day Missions Library of Yale University Divinity School.

Robert L. Wharton, founder of the influential Presbyterian school La Progresiva in Cardenas, Cuba, is the subject of a biography by Rafael Cepeda. The biographies of two outstanding Mexican Protestant lay leaders, Moisés Saenz and Ignacio Gutiérrez Gómez, are among the many biographies that enrich the history of Protestantism in Mexico. A biography of Frederick
J. Huegel, pioneer Disciples of Christ evangelist, was written by his son. Three disciples of Gonzalo Baez-Camargo edited a volume of essays on the contributions of this distinguished Christian educator and journalist. A biography of Mexican Congregationalist Alberto Rembao, erudite editor of La Nueva Democracia, the leading Protestant journal for intellectuals between 1920 and 1963, is still to be written. El Centro Alberto Rembao has recently been established in his home city, Guadalajara, to encourage study of this great journalist’s writings.

We know of the work of Frederick Crowe, the pioneer Bible colporteur to Guatemala (his first visit took place in 1835), through his autobiography. The official documentation related to his residence in and subsequent expulsion from Guatemala has been compiled by David Escobar.

**Protestantism in Particular Countries**

The research that has been produced on Protestantism in Brazil is vast. Emile G. Léonard wrote a social and ecclesiastical history of Brazilian Protestantism in French in 1953, which was translated and published in Brazil in 1963. A cadre of trained social scientists and mission historians has written on many aspects of evangelical Christianity in that country.

Research on Mexican Protestantism was ably carried out by Jean-Pierre Bastian, a Swiss sociologist who spent years teaching at the Comunidad Teológica de México. He has published several books on Mexican Protestant history. Churches in the Dominican Republic were researched by William L. Wipfli in 1964, with special attention to the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Episcopal churches. Marcos Antonio Ramos has provided in recent years a survey of the Protestant movement in Cuba. Guatemalan Protestants depend on an eighty-five-year-old but valuable unpublished manuscript by Edward M. Haymaker, who garnered historical material from the early years not found elsewhere. A centennial history of the Presbyterian work in Guatemala was prepared in 1983 by José G. Carrera and the late David Scotchmer. An example of the numerous sociological studies on Protestants in Guatemala is God and Production in a Guatemalan Town.

Ecuador has long had the smallest percentage of Protestants of any Latin American nation. The basic research in that evangelical community was carried out by Washington Padilla J. in the...
1970s but was cut short by his untimely death. Simon Espinosa finished the research in 1989. Juan B. A. Kessler has given us a good survey in Historia de la Evangelización en el Perú.

A recent doctoral dissertation by Donna Laubach Moros, a Presbyterian mission worker in Spain, gives us the first major work on English on Protestantism in Venezuela. This study is complemented by Domingo Irwin’s studies on the early missionary work of the Evangelical Missionary Alliance in western Venezuela. Irwin is a professor of history at the Universidad Andrés Bello in Caracas.

General Histories

Two researchers have given us an overview of two hundred years of Protestantism in Latin America: Jean-Pierre Bastian and Hans-Jürgen Prien. Their works should be read together to get a complete picture. Bastian writes as a sociologist of religion, and Prien as a church historian. Bastian’s Una breve historia del protestantismo en América Latina interprets the implantation of Protestantism within the framework of forces of social, economic, political, and ideological change. La historia del cristianismo en América Latina by Prien was published in 1978 in German and in Spanish in 1985. The work has special significance for Lutheran Protestants, since the author carefully details the penetration of Lutheranism through immigrant communities in Latin America.

These two histories are supplemented by the sections on Protestantism in a multi-volume series published by the Commission on the Study of the Christian Church in Latin America (CEHILA). The CEHILA project was launched in 1973 when a group of Roman Catholic and Protestant historians met in Quito, Ecuador, under the guidance of Enrique Dussel of Argentina. The twenty-year writing project took its perspective from liberation theology. The basic question the historians asked was, How has the church in Latin America been an instrument of liberation and of oppression? Writing from such a point of view is difficult, since much church history is written from a triumphal stance, largely for the consumption of supporting constituencies. Each of these volumes has a section written by a Protestant historian on Protestantism in the author’s country. The contributions vary in perspective and quality, yet the collection as a whole is valuable as a complement to the above-mentioned histories.

There have been very few attempts to research the historical conceptual tools are still foundational for this now distinct field of academic study.

1966–1972. Turner moved to the University of Leicester, England, to develop a new department around his own phenomenological approach to studying religion. In 1967 he published the first of what became six annotated volumes, Bibliography of New Religious Movements in Primal Societies, documenting primary source materials on six continents. Two years of teaching at Emory University’s School of Theology in Atlanta, 1971–72, gave opportunity to visit and document NRM of Native Americans.

1973–1981. Back in Britain, Andrew Walls invited Turner to join him at the University of Aberdeen. Turner traveled extensively—back to New Zealand researching Maori religious movements in 1976; around Melanesia in 1977, assisting missionaries and national scholars in understanding Cargo Cults; and forging important links with Africaner Christian scholars such as David Bosch in South Africa in 1978.


1981–1989. Turner moved in 1981 to the Selley Oaks consortium of church-related colleges associated with the University of Birmingham to set up the Centre for New Religious Movements as a permanent home for his priceless NRM resources. Ongoing instructional programs were incorporated into both the Selley Oaks consortium and the university.

Redeploying his gifts of friendship and collegiality in Birmingham, Turner discovered another internationally renowned cross-cultural septuagenarian, who also refused to sit back in retirement, Lesslie Newbigin. Both were concerned that Christian theological and philosophical insights fundamental to the Western heritage were being ignored. Little wonder that Turner features as a primary reader and source of material in a crucial chapter of Newbigin’s seminal Gospel in a Pluralist Society.

1989–2002. Back in New Zealand, Turner was soon burdened by the state of the church and the superficiality of its influence in New Zealand society. Again, he gathered key people around him to form the Gospel and Cultures Trust, later DeepSight Trust, with a mission to address worldview assumptions of New Zealand.

In his final decade Turner published three books through DeepSight Trust. Each sums up a key strand of his life’s work. The Roots of Science: An Investigative Journey Through the World’s Religions (1998) shows how modern science could only develop in Western societies, because their Judeo-Christian worldview alone provides the essential philosophical foundations for the flourishing of scientific inquiry. Frames of Mind: A Public Philosophy of Religion and Cultures (2001) sums up Turner’s understanding of culture, religion, and their essential interrelationships, and explores Christian and specifically Trinitarian philosophical options. The Laughter of Providence: Stories from a Life on the Margins (2001) is the closest Turner came to autobiography. He repeatedly spoke up for misrepresented religious groups, a role he never sought, but felt obliged to fill, despite the misunderstanding it cost from orthodox church people. These stories illustrate his commitment to upholding the truth with personal integrity.

Turner knew and served One who is Truth, so he could not accept either shoddy thinking or misrepresentation. Hence, also, his rigorous standards for writing and bibliographic referencing, and his acceptance of other people as they are, for what they are, without prejudging them. This made him, not some distant guru, but a lively mentor, friend, and counselor to many of us.

—John M. Hitchen

context in which Protestant missionary expansion was carried out in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Recently an excellent doctoral dissertation was written by Arturo Piedra Solano, from Costa Rica, at the University of Edinburgh. Based on research in the archives of missionary societies, Piedra gives us the full story behind the decision to exclude most missionary work in Latin America from the agenda of the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh.

The Protestant section of CEHILA sponsored several study conferences in the early 1990s that focused on the distinct role of Protestantism in Latin American culture. Two volumes of essays emerged from those conferences, Protestantismo y cultura en América Latina and Protestantismo y política en América Latina y el Caribe.

An anthology of documents on the early years of Christianity in the New World, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, was prepared in 1989 by the late H. McKennie Goodpasture. Published by Orbis Books, the anthology includes original material about the missions in the West Indies, Central America, Mexico, southwestern United States, Peru, and Brazil; the beginnings of Protestantism; the emergence of Roman Catholic lay movements; the model of “a new Christendom”; and the impact of the Second Vatican Council on Latin American life.

Pentecostalism and Future Challenges

New chapters in Protestant research have been written in the past twenty years by Latin American Pentecostal researchers such as Juan Sepulveda of the Iglesia Misión Pentecostal (Chile) and Manual Gaxiola of the Iglesia Apostólica de México; both hold doctoral degrees from the University of Birmingham. Two Internet services now link Pentecostal researchers: SIPALC (Information Service on Pentecostal Studies) in Lima, Peru, directed by Bernardo Campos, and CEEP (Center for Pentecostal Studies) in Concepción, Chile, directed by Luis Orellana. Bibliographies of Pentecostal studies are available on these electronic services. In March 2002 the Cátedra Pentecostal Latinoamericana Itinerante was initiated, meeting for the first time at the Universidad Bíblica Latinoamericana in San José, Costa Rica. This innovative project will annually bring together researchers on Pentecostalism in Latin America, and its location will move from country to country.

For the English-speaking world there are available several volumes on Pentecostalism in Latin America, written by both secular and church historians. Three that warrant mentioning here are Power, Politics, and Pentecostals in Latin America, edited by Edward L. Cleary and Hannah W. Stewart-Cambino; Fire from Heaven, by Harvey Cox; and In the Power of the Spirit: The Pentecostal Challenge to Historic Churches in Latin America, edited by Benjamin F. Gutiérrez and Dennis A. Smith.

Most textbooks tell the story of Christianity as a record of events that happened in Europe in past centuries; Christian history in the non-Western world seems tacked on as an afterthought. A consultation in April 2001, The History of the World Christian Movement, highlighted the vastly expanded scope of Christianity and outlined the issues to be faced by mission historians wishing to recast the historiography of non-Western Christianity. The consultation projected publication of a series of books over a five-year period to fill the gap in the education of most Christians concerning the global spread of Christianity. The first volume, authored by Dale Irwin and Scott Sunquist, appeared recently. Late American mission research is now challenged to position its work within the context of global Christianity.

In recent years the Pew Foundation has funded a series of studies on religious liberty and evangelization in several world areas under the direction of the Center for Religion and Law at Emory University. One of these volumes, Religious Freedom and Evangelization in Latin America: The Challenge of Religious Pluralism, delves into specific areas of tension faced by Roman Catholicism, nondenominationalism, and historic Protestantism. Special attention is given to Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, and Chile.

Unfortunately, to date only one attempt has been made to write an ecumenical history of Latin America. An authentic cultural history of missions in the twentieth century needs to be well researched, well presented, and sensitively interpreted. To undergrid such research there is urgent need for the preservation of mission archival material within and outside of Latin America. In November 2001 the Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College sponsored a consultation on non-denominational mission archives. This area, so vital to mission research, has been neglected for years. These archival materials are especially important for research related to evangelical Christianity in Latin America because of the important contributions of nondenominational missions.

It is to be expected that many young mission researchers will emerge from the growing Protestant community in Latin America. There are now graduate academic programs that can provide their training. Much of the basic research, however, will continue to be done by lay historians as they record, evaluate, and organize the fast-moving events in Latin America. The field of oral history is a promising new area of research for which minimal training is required and yet which produces significant results.

Protestant mission historians have responsibility for recording and interpreting significant and still unfolding chapters of Christian history in Latin America. To the present, little has been done to organize the research potential of the evangelical seminaries of Latin America. However, programs that encourage mission research related to specific areas are slowly emerging.

Notes

2. The author understands “research” as careful and systematic inquiry into or examination of a field of knowledge in order to establish facts and principles. The present article includes important sources throughout the twentieth century but concentrates on research in the last half of the century, with only limited reference to very recent works (especially in regard to Brazil). The citations include some unpublished dissertations, but with a few exceptions articles that are available in a broad spectrum of mission journals are not cited; nor does the article include material on Puerto Rico or the Hispanic community in mainland United States.
3. Quoted by John A. Mackay in an address to the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1963.
4. Hubert W. Brown, Latin America: The Pagans, the Papists, the Patriots, the Protestants, and the Present Problem (New York: Revell, 1901).
6. Alberto Rembao, Discurso a la nación evangélica (Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1949).
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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8. José Ortega y Gasset, in El Heraldo de Antioquia (Medellín, Colombia), January 22, 1936.


11. See the series, Obras inéditas o muy raras para la historia del Protestantismo en la América Latina, edited by Gonzalo Báez-Camargo. This series includes his Presbyteranos enjuiciados por la Inquisición en Iberoamérica (Mexico City: CUPSA, 1960).


17. An example of these conference reports is found in the six volumes related to the Congress on Christian Work in Latin America (New York: CCLA, 1917).

18. These study papers were published by the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America (now the Latin American and Caribbean Committee of the National Council of Churches of Christ, U.S.A.).


30. Juan B. A. Kessler, A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile (Göes, Netherlands: Oosterbaan and Le Cointre, 1967). See Karl Appi, Historia de las iglesias en Chile (Santiago: Platero, 1996) for a recent review of all the Protestant churches in Chile.


38. Bibliografía teológica comentada (Buenos Aires: ISEDET, 1973–90). This bibliography includes publications of the entire Iberian world.


43. Francisco Penzotti, Spiritual Victories in South America (New York: American Bible Society, 1916). See also Claudio Celada, Un apóstol contemporáneo (Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1945).

44. Michæl P. Testa, O apóstolo da Madeira (Lisbon: Igreja Evangélica Presbiteriana do Portugal, 1945).

45. Frederick C. MacDonald, Bishop Sterling of the Falklands (London: Seeley, 1939).

46. Edward F. Every, Twenty-five Years in South America (London: SPCK, 1929).


59. Extended bibliographic material on Brazil appears in *Protestantism in Latin America: A Bibliographical Guide* (see note 37). Since it appeared, much new research has emerged that has yet to be made available to the academic community outside of Brazil.


63. Edward M. Haymaker, “Footnotes on the Beginnings of the Evangelical Movement in Guatemala” (1917). Copies of this unpublished MS are to be found in the library of CELADEC in Guatemala City and the Day Missions Library, Yale University Divinity School. See also Virginia Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1998).


76. For more information, see: www.elistas.net/lista/catedraperla/alta.


81. For the papers and proceedings of this consultation, go to www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/Consult consultar.html. Contact Robert Shuster, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois 60187, or robert.d.shuster@wheaton.edu.


83. An example of directed research is the John A. Mackay Research Project, sponsored by the Universidad Bíblica Latinoamericana, Apartado 901, 1000 San José, Costa Rica. The project began in 2001.

July 2002
The earliest preparation for my pilgrimage in mission began when I was a child, living with my parents who were missionaries. I was born in 1914 in the mountains of South India, and my first home was a little wooden bungalow built by my father, who had been a carpenter before he became a missionary, and who taught carpentry to the uneducated men of the hill tribes. He used timber sawn from the forests of our Kolli Malai (Mountains of Death).

My sister and I shared our parents’ love for the mountain people whom they had come to serve, and our playmates were the boys and girls of the villages. Mother and Dad and Connie and I were the only people who spoke English in the whole mountain range where we lived. Our parents used to invite us children to share in their prayers, so we knew their hopes and their tears, their prayers and their tears in the early years when they were experiencing opposition from the local Hindu priests.

We also shared with them the sense of wonder and excitement when the chief enemy of the Gospel, the priest in the nearest village, became a Christian on his deathbed and asked us to adopt his motherless baby daughter and bring her up as a Christian. He confessed that though he had tried to serve the people of his village and to prevent them from becoming Christians, now when he himself was fatally ill, all the village people ran away, fearing to catch his infection, and only the Christian missionaries came to his house to help him. The little baby became my sister, and the villagers started coming to the church that my father had built and became followers of the Jesus Christ that their priest had warned them against.

My childhood in the mountains of India continued without break until I was nine years old, because World War I put a stop to most international travel. In 1923, we journeyed by ship to England, and we all moved in with my grandmother and her two daughters in London. After that first furlough in England my parents went back to India, leaving my sister and me in my grandmother’s home.

I never saw my father again. In those days it was common for missionaries to serve five-year terms. We were excitedly looking forward to our parents’ return when the telegram came, telling of my father’s death from an attack of malaria that turned into blackwater fever. I was just fifteen years old and longing to have long talks with my dad about my future. Mother stayed in India a few more months and then came home in deep depression, blaming herself for not taking better care of her husband.

My father’s death was a real crisis in my own spiritual life and could easily have led to the abandonment of my faith. My father was still a young man when he died, and I knew that he was the minister of God to those hill people. My grandmother and all my friends in the church tried to comfort my sister and me. They kept quoting Romans 8:28, “All things work together for good to those that love God.” They explained that since my father loved God and served him, his death at this time must have been a good thing. I knew what caused malaria and blackwater fever. It came from the bite of a mosquito that carried the germ of malaria from one patient to a fresh victim. If the Bible was true then it must be that God planned to have my father die. He directed the mosquito that had just bitten a malaria patient and instructed it to bite my father.

At this critical stage of my pilgrimage I have to pay tribute to that great Bible scholar, F. F. Bruce. He taught me that there were errors in the King James translation of Romans chapter 8 and particularly in verse 28. The critical verb in Romans 8:28 is “works for good.” The translation in the Bible we used seemed to indicate that the subject is “all things.” In other words, “If you love God, all things will work for good.” Not so in the original Greek. The subject of the verb “works for good” comes in the previous verse and is the Spirit of God. Thus, a correct translation would be, “In everything that happens, God works for good with those who love him.”

Bruce further explained that the word translated “works for good” in the Greek is synergē, which really means “cooperates for good.” It is not true to say that nothing bad will happen to people who love God. Jesus said that God makes his sun to rise on the evil and on the good and when the tower of Siloam fell and killed a number of people, God did not select the good people to be spared and the bad people to be killed. The realization of the truth F. F. Bruce explained was like sunrise to my soul. It was not that God had directed the mosquito to bite my father. The word “in” became my favorite word. In everything God is working with me and with others who love him to bring good out of difficult and bad situations.

After about a year my dear mother came out of her depressed state and felt that God was calling her back to India. This was about the time when I was completing my high school and wondering what was to come next. I remember sitting by the little stove in Mother’s room while she told me that my father had always wished that he had a medical qualification. He had done a lot of medical work on the basis of a short medical course at a missionary school, but it gave him no license or authority to practice medicine except in rural areas like the Kolli Hills where there were no doctors.

Mother told me that we had no money to put me through medical college but that she had talked with my Uncle Dick, who was a wealthy farmer, and he had said that he would pay the expenses of medical college. I do not know who was more surprised when I firmly replied, “No, Mother. I do not want to be a doctor. I would like to be a builder. All those houses and schools and the chapel up in the Kolli Hills were built by Father. He had been trained as a builder before he went to India, and I want to be able to do the kind of things that he used to do. I used to watch when Father would open big abscesses in India, and I saw the pus and the blood come out. I used to feel sick. I do not want to spend

Born in India of missionary parents in 1914, Paul W. Brand returned to India in 1946 as a medical missionary. Trained in orthopedic surgery, he revolutionized medical conceptions of leprosy and its treatment. Awarded the decoration of Commander of the British Empire in recognition of his work, Brand was in wide practice medicine except up in rural areas like the Kolli Hills where there were no doctors.

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my life dealing with pus and blood. I would much rather learn carpentry and bricklaying.”

Mother did not continue trying to persuade me, although she was obviously disappointed and so was my Uncle Dick, but we found a Christian builder who was willing to take me on as an apprentice and agreed to put me through all the various building trades. I learned the basic principles of architecture. I became a pretty good carpenter and a stonemason, and finally after four years I felt that I could put up a house by myself, or I could teach people, as my father did. I was ready to apply to a missionary society.

A Turnabout During Missionary Training

I went to a missionary training colony in south London, which was basically a Bible school but which also taught us students how to take care of ourselves in primitive situations. We learned household skills. We learned how to repair our own shoes. We had the experience of being sent out in groups as itinerant preachers. Each group had a two-wheeled cart that contained our clothes, food, and implements, and a tent. We were harnessed to the cart by long ropes and we marched, covering about six hundred miles over a period of perhaps six weeks, stopping each night at a small town or village and preaching and witnessing all evening, then camping for the night before marching on the next day. It was a wonderful practical experience, teaching us mutual dependence and dependence on the Lord.

Another requirement of the missionary training colony was that we spend some time in a local hospital where we learned principles of wound care and a few basics of medicine. One day when I was in the emergency room a young woman was carried in on a stretcher who seemed to me to be dead. She had had a massive internal hemorrhage, and the hospital staff quickly cross-matched her blood with a few bottles from the blood bank. It seemed to me to be wasting good blood to put it into a person who was already dead. I could not feel a pulse, I could not feel the beat of her heart, and she was not breathing. However, they went ahead and put a bottle of blood on a high pole so that it would have a good fast flow down into one of her veins. They told me to keep an eye on the bottle and to inform them when it was nearly empty. They came back with a second bottle when the first was finished, and again it continued to flow. Suddenly, I began to feel a little thready pulse at her wrist, and there seemed to be a flush in her previously dead white cheeks and lips. Then her eyes opened and she looked straight at me and said, “I’m thirsty.” While I ran to get her a drink of water, I felt an extraordinary sense that I had been a witness to life coming out of death, and more than that, I felt a conviction in my own heart that it was God’s will that I should learn how to do this kind of thing; that he wanted me to be a doctor.

This conviction stayed with me until I could not hold it in any longer. I told my family, and they went back to Uncle Dick who raised eyebrows and saying, “This young man says that God is leading him. I wonder if it is God who keeps changing his mind, or whether it is just Paul.”

I could not convince them that I was not just yielding to the whim of the moment as I changed direction in my life, but I knew for certain that God had been speaking to me. Somehow, five years earlier, he had made me feel that I should not do medicine, and now he was telling me that I must do medicine!

And so it was that I joined University College Hospital, studied there for five years, and then began my post-graduate surgical experience. It was there, in my first year, that I met Margaret Berry, who later became my wife, and it was there that we experienced the Blitz, the wartime bombing of London.

Margaret and I were married soon after we graduated from medicine. We both continued to gain experience, Margaret in medicine and I in surgery. Our first child, Christopher, was born in the middle of a tremendous air raid, and then later Margaret became pregnant again. We really were so occupied with our commencing family and with our work in our profession that we had almost forgotten that our purpose in going to medical school was to become missionaries.

Meanwhile in India, a Christian medical center had been founded by Dr. Ida Scudder from America. She was herself the daughter of missionaries and had been led in a wonderful way to become a doctor with the intention of providing medical help especially for the women of India, who at that time had no medical help. This was so because all doctors were male and both Hindu and Muslim women were kept in strict isolation from men and were not allowed to be examined by a male physician.

Dr. Scudder’s work had grown until she was able to turn her hospital into a training center where women were trained to take care of the sick, even though they were not fully qualified doctors. Gradually the training center became so good that Dr. Scudder was encouraged to apply to the University of Madras for recognition of her Vellore hospital as a full medical college, granting degrees in medicine. This required increasing the number and qualifications of staff and providing advanced laboratory equipment. Finally, all was ready for the University Senate to send an inspection team to Vellore to determine if all requirements had been met. Just at that time a senior surgeon at Vellore fell sick with tuberculosis and had to be sent home to England, leaving the hospital one staff member short of the number required for proper recognition as a medical college.

Soon after I had gotten my own higher qualification in surgery, I received a telegram from India from Dr. Robert Cochrane, the director of what was to be the new Christian Medical College at Vellore, telling me of the urgent need for me to come to India to take the place of the missing surgeon. We agreed that I should take the next boat out to India and that Margaret would follow after a few months when the new baby was strong enough to stand the journey.

God’s Extraordinary Guidance

In the adventure of my life there have been several times when either Margaret or I have been conscious of the direct guidance of God. Most of the time we did not hear any “voices” telling us what to do. I do want to be a witness, however, to some occasions in which it seemed that God needed to give either Margaret or me clear and unexpected directions. For example, there was one matter that had to be cleared up before I could be at peace in my new situation. I had left a wife and two little children in England,
and we both knew that they would be coming to join me within a few months or that I would have to return and abandon our missionary enterprise.

However, big changes were taking place in the political situation in India and neither of us had been fully aware of the reality and significance of that situation. India had been part of the British Empire, and Britain had promised to withdraw, leaving India as part of the Commonwealth under the leadership of its own democratically elected prime minister and parliament.

As the time for Margaret’s coming to India began to draw nearer, the newspapers in England were filled with stories of rioting and massacres and anticipations of chaos and anarchy when the British withdrew. There were even speculations that once the British army left, the remaining white people would be massacred. Margaret was reading these newspapers and so were her parents. However, the turmoil was all in the northern parts of India, while I, in the peaceful south, heard very little about it because our newspapers, under government control, downplayed the problems of the coming partition of India and Pakistan and also the problems that might follow.

Thus, poor Margaret was receiving from me cheerful, optimistic letters telling her what a wonderful medical college this was and not even mentioning the kind of problems that she was reading about in the English newspapers. At the same time she was bombarded by her parents and many other people, telling her that she should not consider going out to India with babies at this time. She herself did not know what to think or what to say and could not understand why my letters ignored the problem.

When it came time to book passage on a ship, she made a tentative booking and was given until the 10th of June to confirm or cancel it, after which she would lose the deposit if she canceled. Finally, Margaret poured out her heart in a letter to me. She asked whether she should come and quoted the views of her family. Her letter was a rude awakening, and I kicked myself for not having been aware of the picture of India that she had been exposed to.

Margaret felt disappointed yet greatly relieved that she could cancel and let go of her fears with a clear conscience. She told me her dear godly Aunt Hope what my telegram said. Hope at once knelt down beside the telephone, saying, “We must pray; we must pray,” and started to pour out her heart to know God’s will. As Margaret closed her eyes, she saw a clear vision of a figure in shining white, pointing to a sunset in the East. Margaret had never had a vision before and has not had one since that time. She knew at once that this was a messenger from God. Margaret responded by saying, “Lord, if you are telling me to go to India, I am willing to go, but you must take away this fear that haunts me.” Even as she spoke those words she suddenly felt as though a warm blanket enveloped her and every trace of fear disapp
the leprosarium, demonstrating the various patterns of skin damage. Showing me that leprosy often appeared in well-defined patches of pale skin, he took a pin and demonstrated that the patient could not feel the prick of the pin in the leprosy-affected patches.

Finally, I asked him the question that was burning in my mind, “Why do fingers drop off the hand in leprosy? Why do these terrible ulcers appear on hands or feet? Why do leprosy patients have ‘non-healing’ flesh?” Bob replied that he had told me everything that he knew about skin. He said, “Go back and look at your college library. You will not find a single article written by an orthopedic surgeon about the deformities of leprosy.” Then he added, “One thing I can tell you; fingers do not ‘drop off.’ You will never see a finger lying on the floor. These patients get a wound on their fingers and the bone becomes infected and comes out through the wound. The soft tissues of the finger just shrink back until the finger is the length of the bone that remains.”

A young man came up to us and showed us hands that were fully clawed. I took hold of his fingers and found that the joints had not become stiff. I could pull the fingers out straight, and then when I let go they just snapped back into full flexion. I knew that this meant that he had paralysis of the muscles inside his hand—the intrinsic muscles. I pulled his fingers open and put my hand into his hand and said to him, “Squeeze my hand. Squeeze as hard as you can.”

The next moment changed the direction of my life. I had expected no more than a little twitch or a weak attempt to squeeze, because I knew he was partly paralyzed. Instead, he crushed my hand and I felt agonizing pain. He had long fingernails and they stuck right into my flesh. I shouted at him to let go. I was angry. I was trying to be helpful and he seemed to want to break my hand. Then I looked up at his face and saw a sweet, gentle, puzzled smile. It was as though he were saying, “What a strange white man Dr. Cochrane has brought. He tells me to squeeze as hard as I can, and then when I do, he gets angry.”

Only then it came to me. This man did not know that he was hurting me. Leprosy had removed the normal sense of touch. He

I had expected no more than a weak squeeze. Instead I felt agonizing pain. Instead I crushed my hand.

Noteworthy

Africa Inland Mission appointed Allan Arensen as international director effective January 1, 2002. He will be based in Bristol, England. Arensen, who replaces Fred Beam, has been Associate International Director of AIM since 1997, based in Entebbe, Uganda.

Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas, appointed Titus L. Presler as dean and president. Presler, author of Horizons of Mission (2001), replaces Durstan McDonald, who retired in May 2002. Presler, a former missionary to Zimbabwe, has been rector of St. Peter’s Episcopal Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts, since 1991. During the past twelve years, he has taught mission studies and preaching at Harvard Divinity School and Episcopal Divinity School (EDS), Cambridge, and at General Theological Seminary, New York. Presler helped to shape and launch the Anglican, Global, and Ecumenical Studies program at EDS.

Columbia International University, Columbia, South Carolina, appointed Kenneth B. Mulholland, dean of Columbia Biblical Seminary and School of Missions from 1988 to 2001, to the Elmer V. Thompson Chair of Missionary Church Planting. On March 7, 2002, the chair was named in honor of Thompson, who taught at Cuba Bible Institute and was a co-founder, in 1928, of Worldteam.

Died. Paolo Giglio, 59, founding executive secretary of the International Association of Catholic Missiologists, March 31, 2002. Until his death Giglio held the chair of Pastoral Mission Theology at the Pontifical Urban University, Rome, where he also served as Dean of the Faculty until 1998. He coordinated the Great Jubilee Year 2000 International Missiological Congress in October of 2000 in Rome.


Announcing

Under the theme “Missio Dei: God’s Mission Today,” missiologists will gather August 18–21, 2002, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the 1952 Willingen missionary conference. It was at that conference—the only International Missionary Council conference to be held in Germany—that the concept missio Dei was launched. Konrad Raiser, World Council of Churches general secretary, and Paulo Suess, International Association for Mission Studies president, will be among the featured speakers. Contact: Wilhelm Richebächer (Evangelical Church of Kurhessen-Waldeck, Kassel, Germany) at afkd.mission@ekkw.de. For more information see www.missionfestival.de.
Caring for Lepers

Back at Vellore I still had to continue with my teaching and care of the patients, but by now we were getting much more help. New staff members were coming from many countries, so I could find time for research. I finally obtained permission to admit leprosy patients, but only one at a time and only in a private ward where they would not be seen by the other patients.

I started to operate on patients who had clawed fingers and proved that by transferring good strong muscles to do the work of paralyzed muscles we were able to restore a normal range of grasp. This allowed the patient to use the whole surface of his hand in a grasp without putting all the stress on the fingertips. On the same patients we were able to demonstrate that surgical wounds will heal, provided that the hand or foot is encased in a plaster cast to prevent misuse of the limb while it is healing.

By now, we were tremendously excited about the possibility of full rehabilitation for deformed leprosy patients, but we needed far more beds than the hospital could provide. At this time, an elderly American lady with severe arthritis came to me for treatment. "Mother Eaton," as she was called, had been a missionary until she grew too old and too crippled by arthritis to continue active work. She had chosen to retire in India. She was having a lot of pain and found difficulty sleeping. As I tried to find medication to relieve her pain, I said to her, "You know, I have patients who cannot feel pain, and really wish that they had some pain." Mother Eaton looked surprised and asked me to explain. I told her about my leprosy patients and about the facts that we were discovering about them and how their deformities were very much due to their inability to feel pain. I told her how we needed to have some place where we could admit many patients and try out various operations and teach them how to use their repaired hands.

God had known from the beginning what he wanted me to do, long before I knew anything about leprosy.

Returning to her medical needs, I said, "Tonight I'll give you medicine that really should give you a night's sleep." She said, "Thank you so much. I really need sleep."

The next morning as I began to do my ward rounds, the nursing sister told me, "You know, Mother Eaton did not sleep last night. She did not sleep at all." I thought to myself, "I'm going to get in trouble when we meet this morning," because I had promised her a good night's sleep! But no! I was welcomed at her bedside. She said, "Oh, I'm so glad you've come. I could not sleep last night, but it was not just because of pain; it was because God was talking with me and we were talking about your leprosy patients. The Lord said to me, 'Dr. Brand needs a place for his patients to be treated and have operations and learn how to work with their hands.'" She went on, "Then the Lord asked me, 'Mother Eaton, you really do not have very long to live and remember you have all that money saved up for your retirement. What are you going to say to me when you come to Heaven and I ask you what you have done with your money?'

Then Mother Eaton pulled out from her bedside table a sheet of paper on which she had drawn the outline of a little village. She said, "The Lord told me that with that little bit of money that I have, we could build a lot of huts. We do not need big buildings because these patients are going back to village life. So let's put up just mud walls and thatched roofs, and we can have a village in no time with a little operating room in the middle." She had it all worked out and she was ready to write a check.

We called it the New Life Village, Nava Jeeva Niliyiam. As each new hut was finished, it was occupied. We could keep about twenty-four patients at a time. We taught them carpentry and other manual trades after they had had their operations. I found myself being a surgeon during the day and a carpenter in the evenings. I would go to the carpentry shed and sit on a high stool watching these young men handle tools. I tried to teach them how to use the tools so that they would not damage their own hands.

I suddenly recognized one day—as I sat on my stool telling the boys what to do and demonstrating carpenter skills—this is exactly how it had been twenty years earlier, when I knew the Lord wanted me to learn building trades and carpentry. I remembered Ted Hoy, my carpentry instructor in London, sitting on a high stool just like mine, when I was learning carpentry just as my boys were doing now. There in my thatched shed, I humbly thanked God that he had known from the beginning what he wanted me to do, long before I knew anything about leprosy and long before I had known I was going to be a doctor. In those days I had not been "changing my mind" as my family had thought, but my Lord, who knew about the future of my pilgrimage, was preparing me for each aspect of it in turn. He knew that once I went into medicine and began to work on orthopedic surgery, I was not going to go back and learn carpentry. So we had to get that out of the way first, before it became clear to me that God wanted me to go into medicine. What a wonderful Lord we have!
The Legacy of Robert Reid Kalley

Joyce E. Winifred Every-Clayton

Although he has been called the dancing doctor from Kilmarnock, the wolf from Scotland, and apostle to three continents, Robert Kalley remains largely an unknown figure. This Scottish Presbyterian medical doctor and adventurer, who learned Portuguese during a period of medical work on the island of Madeira, off the coast of Morocco, founded the first evangelical churches in Brazil and was the first Protestant to evangelize Brazilians in Portuguese.

Formative Years

Robert Reid Kalley (1809-88) was born in Glasgow, Scotland, and was baptized in a Presbyterian church. After basic schooling he entered Glasgow University, studying Latin during the academic year 1823-24, but obstetrics, chemistry, surgery, and medicine in 1828-29. His family had had other plans than medicine for him: "My grandfather was patron of the parish in which his estate lay, and the stipend of the minister was considerable. . . . But, becoming an infidel on going to college, I could not bear the thought of being obliged to preach that which I considered a medicine in 1828-29. His family had had other plans than medicine for him: "My grandfather was patron of the parish in which his estate lay, and the stipend of the minister was considerable. . . . But, becoming an infidel on going to college, I could not bear the thought of being obliged to preach that which I considered a portion of the Scriptures, and offer a running comment on it—all seem very attentive and universally respectful. Frequently persons . . . get a copy of the Scriptures to read while waiting—and are often induced to buy. Many are taken by the sick to distant parts of the island. . . . Many buy to please me, as I generally see those who purchase Bibles. All whom I prescribe for receive advice and medicine gratis. Today some of the richest in the island and some of the poorest were together hearing of the love of God manifested in the gift of His Son. . . . I do not see the rich to the exclusion of the poor, nor the poor to the exclusion of the rich, but the more dangerous cases first, whoever they may be." 15

So that the people could read the Bibles, Kalley set up schools and "almost two and a half thousand attended these schools between 1839 and 1845. . . . Well over a thousand. . . . learned to read the Scriptures intelligently, and to study for themselves." 16 Gradually public preaching and Psalm-singing began, and conversions were frequent. Throughout, Kalley remained "uncon-
connected with any church and unemployed by any party,” for he never ceased to be “grieved by the evils of sectarianism.”

But he began to contemplate ordination, compelled by the low spiritual state of the expatriates in Madeira, which he judged to be due largely to the influence of the Oxford Movement. In 1839 he wrote, “It will be my duty to lift up a standard for the Supper—which with my present views I would not feel authorized in doing as a layman.”

As to who should ordain him, “I consider that of little moment, if they hold the great essential truths, and will allow me freedom to be guided by my own views on God’s Word in minor matters.” His “convictions did not allow him to accept episcopal ordination,” and although “the views I entertain are those of . . . the Church of Scotland,” “Presbyterian forms required some three or four years of Theological study, and this was out of the question, for . . . Madeira was . . . stretching forth her hands’ for the Gospel and Dr Kalley could not withdraw for such a length of time.”

So he contacted Congregationalists in London, and John Arundel, a Congregational minister (as well as LMS secretary), informed him that “several individual ministers of the Society would have no objection whatever, in their individual capacity, to unite in your ordination.” Kalley traveled to London and was ordained July 18, 1837 by John Moir, John Arundel, Thomas Palmer Bull, Jacob Bennett, Algernon Wells, and William Stern Palmer, all well-known Congregational leaders, except for Moir, a Presbyterian. Immediately afterward, Kalley visited the Kilsyth revival before returning to Madeira—and persecution by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Kalley was not anti-Catholic. In his schools “the teachers were Romanists, and the only books were a small Romish primer, and a New Testament translated by a Romish priest.” Even the municipal council of Funchal recognized that “R. R. Kalley . . . has continuously occupied himself with the highest of high philanthropy: . . . without taking part in any polemics.”

Notwithstanding, soon “the cries of ‘Calvinistas’ and ‘Kalistas’ were very loud. . . . Large companies of men marched through the city declaring that all Protestants, foreign and native, should be destroyed.” The persecutions are detailed in Blackburn and Norton: Kalley was forbidden to practice medicine, local believers were imprisoned, and Kalley suffered the same fate in 1843. Prison visitors included the “Duchess of Manchester, . . . an M.P., . . . [and] Captain Alan Gardiner . . . on his way to South America. . . . [Gardiner] lamented that Her Majesty’s government should allow a British subject to languish in a foreign jail on trumped-up charges.”

Kalley was freed in January 1844, after six months of incarceration, but continuing pressure, due perhaps to the organization of a Presbyterian church in Funchal in May 1845, led to a deepening crisis. Eventually, in August 1846, Kalley was forced to flee. One observer recalled that he was “disguised in female attire, put into the hammock, and covered over . . . with a linen sheet. . . . We proceeded on our long circuitous journey, passing . . . little groups of curious people, talking over the affairs of the day and gazing on the dense column of smoke rising from Dr Kalley’s burning library,” etc., the papers from which were falling around us. . . . At length we reached the pier.”

The ship took 200 Madeirans to Trinidad: “The sound of hymns is very sweet. . . . They never speak against their persecutors—they only mention them with pity.” Kalley’s compensation money from the Portuguese government enabled the penniless refugees to set up home in the West Indies.

So ended what Andrew Bonar described as “the greatest happening in modern missions.” But it made Kalley more cautious—“missionary work in Popish lands should be carried on as far as possible in secret”—though still independent: “[This] can hardly be done in connection with a society.”

Pastoring in Illinois

After the Madeira experience, Kalley began a period of peripatetic ministry, first in Ireland, then in Malta, and, finally, in Palestine (1851–52). There he set for himself a different course than the usual tourist route. “I took with me a large quantity of medicines, and stayed several days in one place, some weeks in another, to get to know the people, and to help the sick. So . . . I had opportunities . . . to get information about the land and its people. An earlier knowledge of Arabic helped.”

In Safed “he organized a small congregation of Jews and Muslims converted to Christianity” and baptized his very sick wife, “sprinkling water on her in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.” Margaret died six months later and was buried in Beirut, the funeral service being “conducted both in English and Arabic . . . as he [Kalley] wanted Arab mourners to hear of the Christian hope, the resurrection.”

In Palestine Kalley became acquainted with Sarah Poulton Wilson, who was a linguist, musician, painter, poetess, and Sunday school teacher. They married on December 14, 1852, in a Congregational church in Torquay, England. The bride’s father, William Wilson, was a wealthy industrialist, and her mother, also Sarah, was sister of the famous Victorian liberal politician Samuel Morley, “a thorough Congregationalist.” Congregational history abounds in references to the family—with profits from hosieries factories, newspapers, and banks, they built churches and supported missions, temperance societies, and schools. Thomas Bilney’s sermons on money in 1865 were dedicated to Samuel Morley: “It is not wrong to be rich,” Bilney insisted. Kalley’s second marriage thus brought him into the center of English Congregationalism.

The couple decided to go to North America, arriving in Boston on April 1, 1853. They soon met with eighteen Congregational ministers (including Henry Ward Beecher, brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe), and Kalley preached in Congregational churches. He attended the “May meetings” of Congregational ministers held in Boston, general missionary conferences, and various churches of other denominations. He even went to hear a rabbi preach in the synagogue on the Feast of Tabernacles! Sarah Kalley, meanwhile, as she reported, read “‘Uncle Tom’...
until my blood boiled, and I could scarcely breathe the wretched American air of slavery so oppressive and so wrong. A free country! Never was there a blacker scandal to the blessed name of liberty!”

Difficult economic conditions in the West Indies made it impossible for the Madeiran refugees to remain there, so Kalley worked to obtain permission and patronage for them to enter North America. The majority settled in Springfield, Illinois, and he traveled from Boston to be with them, staying in a log cabin belonging to Abraham Lincoln.

On the day the first refugees arrived, November 17, 1853, Kalley held services with them and continued to minister to the group, using as his base the Portuguese Presbyterian Church in Springfield, founded by two Madeirans who had received ministerial training in Scotland. One of them, Antônio de Mattos, was ordained and financed by the Church of Scotland.

Invited by the Madeirans to be their pastor, Kalley declined, but he and his wife worked hard with the group. In January 1854 Sarah Kalley began a class for young men: “The study was Matthew’s call, Roman citizenship and its privileges, and Paul’s use of them, Roman supremacy as affecting Pilate and the High priests.” Her unusual choice of subject does not seem to have deterred others, and “each Monday, Wednesday and Friday I had a class of men, about 40 years of age, to teach to write. They are all true Christian men and some of them have suffered much for Christ’s sake. . . . ” After the writing lesson others come in and Dr Kalley gives them what may be called a conversational theological lecture which they prize much.

The Tuesday meetings were “chiefly for answering questions about different parts of the Scriptures which they find difficult. . . . I have a class of girls on one afternoon, and hope to have a class of women on another. On the Sabbath after the morning and the afternoon services I have a large class of young men, some over 30 years of age, for Bible lessons in English.”

That Sarah Kalley should have enjoyed such liberty to teach is of itself fascinating. Dr Kalley’s teaching style too has a contemporary ring: “The Dr passed in review what the doctrinal class had studied in the past 10 weeks, and he asked his hearers what profit they had obtained from this course of study of the Scriptures. And what was the prospect for the next 10 weeks of study?” One of these study blocks covered the “concert of grace”; Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King; baptism as a seal of the Christian; the moral beauties of Christ; sin against God, the Son, the Holy Spirit and one’s own soul; and certainty of salvation.

As to baptism, Kalley did “not regard dipping to be the form of baptism ordained in Scripture.” Rather, he “followed the Presbyterian mode of pouring a little plain clean water on the head of the recipient adult that could give a public confession of his faith, and was accepted as a truly converted individual: in Madeira he baptized a few children, or rather infants, after the usual general custom at that time.”

However, at the church business meeting of April 20, 1854, Kalley “demonstrate[d] that Papist baptism is not Christian, therefore, on conversion, Romanists must be re-baptized as if they were gentiles.” This change of policy against infant baptism was to have far-reaching effects in Brazil, where most evangelical churches still rebaptize those who have always wished to work for my Savior.”

Kalley’s decision to invite Madeirans to help him multiplied his effectiveness.

Church Planting in Brazil

Kalley’s missionary vision became his own call to be an independent missionary in Brazil! After visiting England and seeing to the printing of a tract for Jews, Shalem-al-Israel, he and his wife sailed from Southampton on April 8, 1855, arriving in Rio de Janeiro on May 10. They eventually settled in the nearby mountain resort of Petrópolis, with Emperor Dom Pedro II as neighbor. In August they began a Sunday school class in their home with only five children and the Book of Jonah! But evangelical work in Brazil, in Portuguese, had begun.

Until Kalley’s arrival evangelical witness was limited to work among expatriate Protestants, since government policy forbade proselytism and church building. So Kalley centered on personal evangelism: he distributed tracts, and a “black servant . . . was very much interested as he listened.” He “played bagatelle with two Jews with whom he had scarcely a chance of speaking on religion. Showed them and others some interesting specimens in the microscope.” He gave medical assistance during the 1855 cholera epidemic in Rio, even producing an appropriate gospel tract. Other activities included the formation of a temperance society56 and the completion of his translation of Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress, for years the only Protestant devotional book in Portuguese. “There are to be 2 chapters of it each Sabbath issue [of the newspaper, Correio Mercantil]: we hesitated about . . . publication on the Lord’s Day but . . . decided that it was justifiable.”57 Kalley made good use of the press over the years, publishing a variety of doctrinal and apologetic texts.

His decision to invite Madeirans to help him multiplied Kalley’s effectiveness; Francisco da Gama, Francisco de Souza Jardim, and Manuel Fernandes became the intrepid evangelists of the court cities of Petrópolis and Rio de Janeiro. These men were Third World missionaries to the Third World, for “they had lost their all in Madeira, then suffered hard labor on the plantations of the West Indies.” But, as Gama wrote to Kalley, “I was pleased to hear your voice calling me to such a precious task. I have always wished to work for my Savior.”

The persecution began in Petrópolis, in August of 1856, sparked off by Bible distribution and the conversion of two Brazilian upper-class ladies. Neither the friendship of Kalley and the emperor nor the negotiations of foreign politicians and dignitaries were to any avail. Even so, the work grew, and Kalley baptized the first member of the Igreja Evangélica Fluminense, in Rio on July 11, 1858. Colportage further afield led to the founding of a second church, October 19, 1873, in Recife, Pernambuco, over
Jerusalem in the local theater, celebrated the first Protestant
1,300 miles away in northeast Brazil! The notes of Kalley’s visit
furious mob as he left the ceremony!
Brazil, Kalley called his churches simply “evangelical” or “houses
being adopted, days before Kalley retired to Scotland in 1876.66
lifelong convictions. The Fluminense church’s confession of faith,
for example, was hammered out by Kalley and the local elders in
the Fluminense church; she also organized the colportage work,
church as “consisting of nearly 200 members almost all of
 poor .... Some were Mahommedans, some slaves and many did
Kalley asked Spurgeon for help—“Do you think that you
could find and sustain men to take possession of the land for the
Lord Christ?” His successor in the Fluminense church was
Brazilian, João Manuel Gonçalves dos Santos, a son of the church,
who himself had been trained by Spurgeon.

The mention of slaves in the above letter is important. Thirty
years before the 1888 abolition of slavery in Brazil, Kalley was
teaching the Bible to blacks and slaves. His tract for them, The
African Friend, was “in simple language, in the hope that I may
encourage slaves to learn to read and come to Jesus.” In November
1862 the Fluminense church received as member “Leopoldina
... she is still a slave ... she was baptized and sat at the Lord’s
Table.” It is impossible to imagine the degree of personal liberty
that such participation represented. In contrast, church member
and slave owner Bernardino de Oliveira Rameiro heard Kalley
ask in a church business meeting, “Would you like to be treated
as a slave by another man? ... Those who do this are enemies of
Christ and cannot be members of the church of Jesus, of that Jesus
who ... gave us freedom.”70 Bernardino was disciplined.

Kalley constantly experienced difficulties, including struggling
to have Brazilian law changed so that Protestants could be
officially married and decently buried, disagreeing with coworker
and other missionaries, and coping with a split in the young
Fluminense church provoked by followers of J. N. Darby.

And there are questions to be raised about Kalley today. Was
he correct not to insist that the Fluminense church help him
financially? Was that church’s confession of faith an adequate
ecclesiastical tool or a mere evangelical tract? Was Kalley’s total
lack of communication with English Congregationalism while in
Brazil due to overwork or to his repudiation of the ever-increasing
distance of that group from its evangelical roots?

Kalley was a missionary pioneer and statesman whose contribution—alongside that of his wife—to missionary endeavor
must not be overlooked.

Notes
1. William. B. Forsyth, The Wolf from Scotland (Darlington, England:
2. Robert Reid Kalley, “Biographical Notes,” Igreja Evangélica
   Fluminense Archives, Rio de Janeiro, unsorted; hereafter IEF
   Archives.
4. Ibid.
   1895 (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), and D. Boorman, “The Origins
   of the London Missionary Society” (E.F.C.C. Studies Paper, Ware,
   England, April 1982). On Ward, who evidently was the local contact
   for the LMS, see Henry Escott, A History of Scottish Congregationalism
8. Lovett, History, entry for May 7, 1866, and p. 653. Six out of every
   seven LMS workers sent to India before 1859 were Congregational.
9. Richard Carwardine, Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism
   in Britain and America, 1790–1865 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood
10. Kalley completed medical studies in 1838, becoming a “Doctor in
   Medicine” “No.11390. (1823 AD) Robertus Kalley, fil.n.2ndus Roberti
   Merc Cathcart. Otherwise Robert Reid Kalley, M.D. 1838,” in
   The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1729–1858,
   transcribed by W. Innes Addison.
11. Kalley knew Madeira from a voyage in 1831.
12. “It is impossible to help the poor … without speaking their language.
   And, should I go to China, perhaps this language will be very useful,
   for . . . there are many Portuguese speakers in Macao.” Robert Reid
13. “We are selling fifty Testaments per month.” Robert Reid Kalley,
   “Report,” June 2, 1842, British and Foreign Bible Society Archives;
   hereafter BFBS Archives.
14. “About the translation of righteousness . . . the term which seems to
   me more equivalent in Portuguese [is] ‘rectidão’. . . . I have gone over
every passage in which dikaiosune occurs and . . . in none is rectidão less . . . proper than justiça." Robert Reid Kalley, "Report," January 7, 1841, BFBS Archives.


17. Robert Reid Kalley, "Notes [written in Madeira]," 1843, IEF Archives.

18. Madeira was a popular health resort of the period. Kalley writes, "Only Longford is free from the Oxford Movement heresy." "Letter [from Madeira]," December 17, 1838, IEF Archives.


20. Ibid.


25. Kalley called on the way to pick up his diploma from the Escola Médica Cirúrgica de Lisboa.


30. Blackburn, Exiles of Madeira, pp. 92-93.


32. Ibid., p. 62.

33. "Value[d] at $10,000, (it) was reduced to ashes." Blackburn, Exiles of Madeira, p. 113.

34. Norton, Persecutions at Madeira, pp. 75-76.

35. Blackburn, Exiles of Madeira, p. 118.

36. Forsyth, Wolf from Scotland, p. 27.


40. M. Porto Filho, "A epopeia da Ilha da Madeira" (Rio de Janeiro, 1987), p. 121. Little did Kalley know that he would later have converted Muslims in his church in Rio!


42. Forsyth, Wolf from Scotland, p. 88.

43. John Waddington, Congregational History, Continuation to 1850 (London: Longmans, Green, 1878), 2:599.

44. In 1866 Samuel Morley became the owner of the liberal newspaper The Daily News.


46. Ibid., p. 228.

47. The American Congregational Union was formed in 1853.


50. The complicated denominational situation in the Springfield region at that time and the precise details of Kalley's involvement are outside the scope of this article.


52. A. Mattos, "You believe in general atonement... I believe in particular atonement. ... No man has a right to invite all sinners to come to Jesus." "Letter [to Kalley]," February 4, 1854, IEF Archives.


55. Ibid.


57. J. G. Rocha, "Notes [on Kalley]," referring to February 1, 1854, IEF Archives.


60. This is a collection of Bible texts in English, ending with a brief prayer. It is a testimony to Kalley's lifelong love of the Jewish people.

61. Robert Reid Kalley, "Diary," August 8 and September 29, 1855, IEF Archives.


64. Ibid., p. 125.

65. Robert Reid Kalley, "Diary," October, 1873, IEF Archives.

66. Kalley died in Scotland in 1888, and his wife in 1907.


69. F. Gama, "Letter [to Kalley]," November 5, 1862, IEF Archives.


Bibliography

Works by Robert Reid Kalley

Apart from correspondence with, for example, the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) held in Anderson Library of the University Library, Cambridge, England, and unsorted papers in the Archives of the Igreja Evangélica Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro, I have not found written material by Kalley in English. Material in Portuguese includes exposições de factos relativos à ação contra os Protestantes na Ilha da Madeira (Lisbon: Typographia Luso-Britannica de W. T. Wood, 1875). Kalley's many excellent lessons for the adult Bible school classes of the Brazil churches have never been published.

Works About Robert Reid Kalley

World Christianity by the Numbers: A Review of the World Christian Encyclopedia, Second Edition

Gerald H. Anderson

When David Barrett’s World Christian Encyclopedia (WCE1) first appeared in 1982, it was a stunning achievement, providing comprehensive information about the whole church in the whole world in one volume for the first time. For two decades it was the standard reference for researchers who were seeking reliable data about the status of Christianity throughout the world.

About the time WCE1 appeared, Barrett relocated his World Evangelization Research Center (WERC) from Nairobi, Kenya, where he had served as an Anglican missionary, to Richmond, Virginia. Now a second edition has appeared (WCE2) in two volumes, by Barrett along with Todd M. Johnson, director of WERC, and George T. Kurian, founder and president of the Society of Encyclopedists. The sheer size and weight of these two massive volumes is awesome; the content is breathtaking in its scope and detail.

Volume 1, The World by Countries: Religionists, Churches, Ministries, presents detailed information on Christianity in each of the world’s 238 countries. Organized Christianity is sorted into six major ecclesiastico-cultural megablocs (from largest to smallest: Roman Catholics, Independents, Protestants, Orthodoxy, Anglicans, Marginal Christians), divided into 300 major traditions, with nearly 34,000 distinct denominations (more than half again as many as reported in WCE1), including more than 3.4 million worship centers, local churches, or congregations (WCE2, 1:16 summary).

There is a vast amount of data here. Especially useful are the 238 individual country profiles, which compose the greater part of volume 1. Each country profile includes basic secular data on the country and a table of religious adherents in the country, along with sections on human life and liberty, non-Christian religions, Christianity, church and state, broadcasting and media, interdenominational organizations, future trends and prospects, and a bibliography. A second table for each country presents a list of organized churches and denominations with membership statistics. At the back of the volume is a mini-atlas with a series of colored maps on the human environment, Christianity, and ministries in the global context. WCE2 mentions a companion CD-ROM titled World Christian Database as forthcoming.

Volume 2, The World by Segments: Religions, Peoples, Languages, Cities, Topics, presents much new material that was not in the first edition. This includes segments for what are called Reliometrics (profiles of the 270 largest of the 10,000 distinct religions worldwide), Ethnosphere (cultures of the world, with 12,600 people profiles), Linguametrics (demographics, ministries, and scriptures via 13,500 language profiles), Metroscan (7,000 city profiles), and Provincescan (major civil divisions in 238 countries, with 3,030 profiles). It also includes sections similar to what appeared in the first edition: a survey dictionary of Christianity in the global context; a world bibliography of Christianity and religions with 1,380 titles; a topical directory of Christianity, religions, and worldwide ministries; and extensive indexes of topics, abbreviations, acronyms, initials, and photographs. One valuable feature in the first edition that is not included in the second is the Who’s Who in the Christian World, which had brief biographical notes on nearly 500 contemporary Christian leaders, many with their photo. It is now included, and expanded, in the volume World Christian Trends (see below).

The challenge of coping with the sheer mass of information presented in WCE2 is compounded by a certain difficulty in navigating through it, especially in comprehending and interpreting some of the terminology and concepts. The authors have introduced some radically new and revised classifications in the statistical table of religious adherents in each country profile, as compared to the first edition. For instance, they have introduced a new category in the set of religious megablocs: Independents. This new megabloc takes account of the contemporary phenomenon of postdenominationalism (p. 10). The majority of new denominational bodies listed in WCE2 (not found in WCE1) are found in the Independent category. In addition, the new category absorbs the WCE1 category “Non-White . . . Indigenous” and picks up a great many other denominations that formerly, in WCE1, were labeled Protestant or Anglican. For instance, in the

Even in the U.S. Protestant heartland, Independents outnumber Protestants—at least as defined here.
United States, the Conservative Baptist Association of America, the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, and the Presbyterian Church in America were all labeled Protestant in WCE1, but now, curiously, they are in the Independent category. The Reformed Episcopal Church was labeled Anglican in WCE1; now it is in the Independent list. The result is that Independents now outnumber Protestants in the world, and even in a traditionally Protestant heartland such as the United States, Independents outnumber Protestants—at least as they are defined and rearranged here.

The authors devote a whole section in the *World Christian Trends (WCT)* volume (pp. 291–309) to the rise of Independency, signaling the great importance they attach to the new category. They provide tables on pages 293 and 303 that define the boundaries that set the Independent denominations apart. But even when using the authors’ own definitions, it is hard to figure out how some denominations (such as those mentioned above) fit in the Independent category.

Cutting across the six megablocs in WCE2, the authors have also introduced three trans-megabloc renewal groupings: Evangelicals, Pentecostals/Charismatics, and Great Commission Christians (no explanation why only “Great Commission Christians” is always in bold-face type). There is extensive description and discussion about Pentecostals/Charismatics (1:19–21). But who are Evangelicals and Great Commission Christians? According to the Glossary (1:25f.), Evangelicals (capital “E”) are “A subdivision mainly of Protestants consisting of all affiliated church members calling themselves Evangelicals, or all persons belonging to Evangelical congregations, churches or denominations; characterized by commitment to personal religion.” Great Commission Christians are “Believers in Jesus Christ who are aware of the implications of Christ’s Great Commission, who have accepted its personal challenge . . . are attempting to obey [it], and who are seeking to influence the body of Christ to implement it.” To further complicate the picture, “evangelicals” (small “e”) are defined as “synonymous with Great Commission Christians,” and those labeled “nominal Christians” in the first edition are now called “unaffiliated Christians.” These are inadequate and confusing definitions and distinctions, and therefore the enumeration of them is suspect.

Other questionable categories included in the enumeration are “Latent Christians” (defined as “both Church members and unaffiliated, who do not involve themselves in Christ’s mission on Earth”), “Non-baptized believers in Christ” (“Members of non-Christian religions who become converted to faith in Christ as Lord but choose not to join denominations but to remain in their religions as witnesses there to Christ”), and “Crypto-Christians” (“Secret believers, hidden Christians, usually known to churches but not to state or secular or non-Christian religious society”). If Crypto-Christians are secret and hidden, how do the authors know so much about them?

Another problem is that the text in some of the country profiles (e.g., the United States) is largely carried over from the first edition (even some typos are repeated!), with some updated numbers. This creates confusion because the text, especially “Notes on Religions,” should have been not only updated but also revised to reflect the newly defined statistical categories.

I confess that I gave up trying to understand Global Diagram 4 (1:9), titled “Four megatypologies of renewal for enumerating empirical global Christianity, A.D. 33–A.D. 2025,” with its so-called aggregate categories, schemes, slices, building blocks, and vertical segments as depicted on the charts, globes, and diagrams. And the “Great Commission Instrument Panel,” which includes a chart on “Cost effectiveness” based on “Cost per baptism,” inserted into every country profile, will test the patience and credulity of many researchers.

In a work of such magnitude, it is unavoidable that some errors of fact should creep in. For instance, in Table 13-3 (2:682), which lists 130 of the world’s largest theological libraries, the Scarritt-Bennett Center in Nashville, Tennessee, is listed as the fourteenth largest in the world with 548,575 volumes, more than the libraries of Andover-Harvard, Princeton Seminary, or Yale Divinity School, and more than the religious holdings of the U.S. Library of Congress. In fact, Scarritt-Bennett Center has a tiny library of only 45,000 volumes.

How is one to account for gross discrepancies between information reported in WCE2 and other reliable sources? For instance, in the profile on Kazakhstan, WCE2 says that 8.6 percent of the population is Orthodox, whereas the 2001 *World Almanac* and the Vatican News Service both say 44 percent is Orthodox. WCE2 says there are 510,000 Roman Catholics in Kazakhstan, but the Vatican claims only 300,000. Peter Brierley, executive director of the Christian Research Association in London, maintains there are only 48,000 churches in Britain, whereas WCE2 says there are 66,000 (1.6:838, col. 82). Brierley also says that the figure of 12 million adults in the Church of England reported in WCE2 (1:145, col. 6, “Church of England”) is about eight times the number on the electoral roll of that church.

Such glitches should not detract from the enormous achievement and contribution of the authors to the field of empirical research about churches and religions in the modern world. There is nothing comparable, and WCE2 will serve as the new standard reference text on worldwide Christianity. A suggestion to readers: In his article “The Statistical State of the Missionary Enterprise” in *Missiology* (January 2002), Michael Jaffarian, editorial associate of WCE2, gives a very helpful summary and introduction to understanding and using WCE2. Read it first!

*World Christian Trends (WCT)*, designed to accompany WCE2, should be viewed as the third volume in the set. It contains much valuable material that is of particular interest and importance to the missiological community. The subtitle *Interpreting the Annual Megacensus* is taken from the fact that every year some ten million Christians compile reports giving measurements on a wide variety of subjects regarding global Christianity. The authors, having access to “much of this material” (1:vii), have attempted here to organize, analyze, summarize, and synthesize the data provided. In a sleeve inside the back cover of the volume is enclosed a CD-ROM, which is described as the Portable Data Format of WCT. This is the first in a series of such products that will comprise the World Christian Database in electronic format that was promised in WCE2.

Many of the tables and diagrams from WCE2 are reprinted in WCT, which is convenient. Some categories are further refined and expanded. For instance, there is what is called a megatypology of Evangelical Georenewal, which includes 69 varieties of Evangelicalism (p. 279). In addition to Evangelicals and evangelicals...
(recall the definitions and distinctions in WCE2), there are statistics on Evangelical evangelicals, evangelical Evangelicals, Non-Evangelical evangelicals and Non-evangelical Evangelicals (Global Diagram 11, p. 27). There is also a megatypology of Pentecostal/Charismatic Georenewal, which includes 95 generic categories of Pentecostals/Charismatics/Neocharismatics (pp. 283ff.). Here we learn about First Wavers, Second Wavers, Third Wavers, Peripheral quasi-Pentecostals, Prepentecostals, and Postpentecostals. This preoccupation with Pentecostalism and conservative Protestantism has led some scholars, such as Jan Jongeneel in Utrecht, to ask if there is an implicit or hidden ecclesiology and agenda at work in WCE2.

Anyone who likes lists (as this reviewer does) will be fascinated by such features as the chronology of world evangelization from Creation to New Creation (called Cosmochrono-ology), beginning with God’s Eternal Pre-Existence (and the “successive bounce!” p. 101); the Who’s Who in world evangelization, A.D. 30-2000 (does not include Neill, Newbigin, Freytag, Gensichen, Sundkler, or Max Warren); the alphabetical listing of 2,550 known Christian martyrs (out of 70 million total), A.D. 30-2000; a bibliographic listing of 600 major classics or books impinging on missiometrics and thus defining the science of global mission, A.D. 66-2001 (includes books by Moltmann, Pannenberg, and Küng, but nothing by Newbigin!); 1,500 global plans to evangelize the world, A.D. 30-2000; and many others.

David Barrett concludes his overview essay “Geostatus: The changing face of Christianity across 21 centuries” with a scathing assessment of what he calls “the A.D. 2000 debacle” of the 250 global plans that promised to fulfill and complete Christ’s Great Commission for world evangelization during the decade of the 1990s leading up to the year 2000. Christian leaders, he says, “proved unable to deal with or make any measurable dent in a situation of this magnitude.” It was “an appalling catastrophe,” “a cruel sham,” “a spectacular failure,” a decade “catastrophically squandered,” and he calls for “the replacement of leadership” (p. xiv). The judgment is too harsh and unhelpful. What does the author suggest should have been done that was missed? Was it wrong to try? Was nothing worthwhile accomplished?

The heart of the volume’s data and trends is found in sections titled “Geotrends,” “Countrytrends,” “Geostrategies,” “Macroevangelistics,” and “Futurescan.” The bottom line of the authors’ projections is that in 2100 there will be 3.8 billion Christians (36.8 percent of the population), and in 2200 there will be nearly 4.4 billion Christians (38.8 percent of the population) (p. 73). This is significant growth and increase from mid-2002, with 2.05 billion Christians (33.1 percent of population) (p. 384). Conclusion: There remains a huge unfinished task of world evangelization. Nevertheless, this reviewer opts for the outlook of Adoniram Judson: “The future is as bright as the promises of God.”

Finally, it would be a great treat to spend a day with David Barrett and Todd Johnson, to express appreciation for their work, and to get answers to some of our questions.

What the WCE2 Numbers Show

As a percentage of the global population, Christianity declined in the twentieth century, from 34.5% of the world in 1900 to 33.0% in 2000 (p. 19).

In the average year of the 1990s, the number of Christians in the world increased by 25.2 million; 22.7 million came by natural increase and 2.5 million by conversion. . . . The 2.5 million figure is a net increase. If the question is “How many people convert to Christianity every year, from other religions or no religion?” the answer (for the year 2000) is about 19.0 million. There were also 16.5 million defections from Christianity that year (p. 19).

There are more Christians living in cities than in rural areas; 62.7% of the world’s Christians lived in cities in 2000 and 37.3% in rural areas (p. 20).

No other religion on earth is spread as widely as Christianity . . . . Only Christianity has adherents among every one of the world’s 238 countries. There are at least some Christians in about 11,500 of the world’s 12,600 ethnolinguistic peoples, and Christians speak about 12,500 of the world’s 13,500 distinct languages (p. 22).

Postdenominational churches [Independents] are the only Christian megabloc growing at a rate faster than the global population rate, and the only megabloc growing faster than Islam (p. 23).

Trusted Christian pastors, treasurers, and other workers steal more than US$16.7 billion of church and mission funds in an average year around the world. This is a larger figure than the total amount given by all Christians, globally, for foreign missions, which is closer to US$15 billion (p. 24).

In 2000, 419,000 Christian workers were serving God outside of their home countries. This figure includes missionaries of all traditions—Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, Anglican, independent, and marginal Christian. It does not include those who serve cross-culturally within their own countries (p. 27).

“How many missionaries did a given country send per million affiliated Christians in that country?” By that measurement, Ireland is the greatest missionary-sending country in the world’s 238 countries. There are at least some Christians received 33,200

Finally, when we researchers call people Christians, that is a comment on their basic [self-declared] religious adherence, affiliation, or beliefs, not on their obedience to the way of Jesus. We cannot count the number of hypocrites (p. 24).

—Michael Jaffarian
Editorial Associate, WCE2

FAVORITE MISSIONS VIDEOS

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

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

#4009 (In Spanish, #8087) . . . $19.99

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

#4066 . . . $19.99

Stephen Neill
In four lectures given in March, 1984 at the Overseas Ministries Study Center, Stephen Neill speaks on “How My Mind Has Changed about Missions.” Bishop Neill was one of the great missionary statesman of the twentieth century. He served as a missionary in India for twenty years, an Associate General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, and Professor of Missions at the University of Hamburg, Germany. 266 minutes on two tapes

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

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

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#IBM R0401
The Influence of Faith: Religious Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy.


Proceedings of academic conferences, this one sponsored by the Ethics and Public Policy Center, based in Washington, D.C., are seldom so pertinent or instructive as this volume. Although the essays were written prior to the terrorist attacks of September 11, Habib Malik anticipates the present crisis in his extended and somewhat polemical analysis, “Political Islam and the Roots of Violence.” Also of particular interest is Samuel Huntington’s reflection on religious persecution and the “desecularization” of world politics, as well as Mark R. Amstutz and Andrew Natsios on the influence of religious organizations, including missionary enterprises, in U.S. foreign policy. Huntington, whose “clash of civilizations” argument has been much debated, contends that religious persecution naturally increases in tandem with the increase of religion as a factor in the identity and legitimacy of states. In addition to Islamic countries, he cites Israel, India, and China as instances in which religion is seen as an increasing threat to—or source of—state legitimacy, leading to state control or repression of religious groups. Huntington entertains four possible ways in which the persecution of religion might be reduced. First, there is the still recent elevation of religious persecution as a priority concern in U.S. foreign policy, which he welcomes but from which he does not expect any dramatic increase in religious freedom. Second, states can attempt to reduce the influence of religion, but such attempts are likely to be futile and to entail further religious persecution. Third is the more or less universal triumph of Christian evangelization (Christianity in almost all its forms being favorable to democracy and religious freedom), but that scenario, he thinks, is improbable without “a global war of religions.” Fourth is interreligious dialogue and the encouragement of more tolerant religious traditions, notably in Islam. That, he writes, “would at best be a long, slow process, but it may be the only practical one” (p. 63).

In both their analytical and descriptive force, these nine essays make an important contribution to understanding “the influence of faith” in the shaping of U.S. foreign policy.

—Richard John Neuhaus

Richard John Neuhaus is Founder and Director, Institute on Religion and Public Life, New York, and Editor in Chief, First Things.


Mission in the Third Millennium.


These two timely works, the former the product of an international panel of Reformed scholars and the latter a compilation of global trends as seen by representatives of Roman Catholic religious congregations, present powerful statements of missiological issues at the opening of the third millennium. The Reformed symposium had its genesis in the Campbell Seminar at Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia, where eight international church leaders convened for eight weeks of intense interaction during September, October, and November 2000. The Catholic report originated in a regular meeting of the Documentation and Research Center (SEDOS) held at Rome in April 2000. At many points the two reports complement or reinforce one another, especially their common appeal to a missio Dei rather than a church-centric orientation, and their common anxiety about the negative impact of globalization.

The centerpiece of the Reformed report is a hard-hitting “consensus paper” drafted by Douglas John Hall. Under the rubric “despair/hope” Hall sets forth issues confronting Christian mission today. This list is supplemented by eight context statements by participants (three from the United States and one each from Canada, Cuba, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and Hungary) and eight more detailed expositions of the theme by the same participants.

The central thesis is that Christendom as a historical phenomenon is dead; that mission in a pluralistic, postimperial age must be profoundly reconsidered; and that “christianization” of the world (“winning the world for Christ”) can no longer serve as the goal of mission. Instead, “Christians must now be prepared to listen, to wait and to serve.... Through the pursuit of justice, peace and the well-being of creation [Christians] will win the gospel of Jesus Christ a hearing in ways seldom achieved by sheer ‘proclamation’” (p. 15). The spiritual condition of humankind in diverse contexts is described as despair, the negation of hope. The nature of Christian mission is to confess “hope in action,” not merely transcendently but in and for this world. The Christian movement is “one of the vehicles of God’s transforming work in the world” (p. 16), but it needs to act in solidarity with other agents of God’s mission. Affluent Western nations must develop a critical awareness that will liberate them from imperialist pretensions, while Christians in the South are “challenged to resist the ‘christianizing’ tendencies of triumphalistic forms of the faith” (p. 21). Brueggemann’s own essay contains a devastating critique of the “negative, destructive impact of U.S. hegemony” (p. 154) upon the less-developed world and an appeal to Christians to “refuse participation in the extremities of imperialism” (p. 157). Not all readers will identify themselves with...
this analysis or with the new definition of mission.

The Catholic 2000 SEDOS mission congress, by contrast, sought to explore mission challenges of the new millennium in more conventional ways. Building on findings of the 1981 SEDOS seminar, which defined future directions of mission under the headings proclamation, dialogue, inculturation, and liberation, the 2000 seminar reaffirmed and updated these emphases while adding fresh nuances and contextual applications. Six speakers presented regional perspectives from Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America, and North America.

Michael Amaladoss of India, speaking from a missio Dei perspective and strongly advocating dialogue, views other religions as collaborators: “The religions then are our allies in our pursuit of the kingdom of God” (p. 33). German theologian Peter Huenemann, documenting a steep decline in western European ordinations, baptisms, weddings, and attendance at mass, comments that “the European church as institution is in a state of dissolution” (p. 58). He declares its institutional structure to be obsolete and calls for “a new vision of the church as the community of the faithful constituted... by the Word of God and the dynamism of the Holy Spirit” (p. 74). Religious congregations in Latin America are described as embracing incarnation—sharing the hopes, sorrows, and anxieties of the urban poor—as the new postconciliar mission paradigm and as acknowledging the world as the place where the kingdom of God must be established; they themselves are in the world as servants of God’s kingdom (p. 93). Robert Schreiter’s own contribution focuses on the “downside” of globalization, namely, 80 percent of the world’s population do not benefit from globalization but actually have their condition worsened by it (p. 125). He advocates a “spirituality of reconciliation” (p. 142) for the rebuilding of broken societies. A common feature is the quest for noninstitutional, nonhierarchical solutions.

Readers of these two forward-looking symposia will find much to stimulate their thinking, along with a good deal that may also call forth their reservations.

—James A. Scherer

James A. Scherer is Professor Emeritus, Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago. He was a missionary in China and Japan and has served in various editorial capacities with the American Society of Missiology.

Under the Influence: How Christianity Transformed Civilization.


This book is written by a Lutheran clergyman who spent most of his professional life as a professor of sociology at Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois. His book is characterized by clarity and easy reading and will, therefore, attract not only theologians but also a whole range of laypeople inside and outside the academy.

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and transformed. In successive chapters, the following transformations of paganism into Christianity are analyzed historically: sanctification of human life, elevation of sexual morality, freedom and dignity for women, charity and compassion, hospitals and health care, education, labor and economic freedom, science, liberty and justice for all, the abolition of slavery, art and architecture, music, literature, and, finally, holidays, words, symbols, and expressions. The author makes it very clear that nearly everything in Western civilization is connected with, and rooted in, Christianity.

The first question is whether the author has forgotten some areas and/or insufficiently dealt with others. The book deals mainly with Western civilization and thus pays very little attention to other civilizations and to the enormous impact of Christian missionaries on these civilizations (for instance, the names of the great foreign missionaries Francis Xavier and William Carey are lacking). Furthermore, the political arena is marginally explored: democracy, parliament, and the like are hardly addressed as areas of considerable economic freedom, science, liberty and justice for all. Finally, the author’s willingness to treat this problem seriously is rooted in a strong belief in Jesus Christ as Victor. For instance, his condemnation of male and female homosexuality lacks nuance. The ecumenical movement, as represented for example by the World Council of Churches, which tries to provide such nuances, is bypassed. Another indication of conservatism may be the author’s dealing sympathetically with Dietrich Bonhoeffer but ignoring Karl Barth, who took the measure of Hitler’s national socialism before anybody else. Radical feminism is negatively referred to in passing, but Christian feminism is not mentioned.

These questions do not keep me from wholeheartedly recommending this book (with fifteen summary charts, many illustrations, and an index). It’s an excellent tool with which to reflect upon the rich history of Christianity’s impact on Western civilization and to rethink its contemporary mission. The author does not link his study with the contemporary “Gospel and Culture” projects fathered by Lesslie Newbigin, but it no doubt can contribute to their success. The main significance of this book, however, is that it offers inspiration to all Christians, ministers and laypeople, who in one way or another are concerned with Western and global society and culture, even when they disagree with some views of the author. Christianity has transformed Western and global civilization and will transform it in the future: this is the message of Schmid to Christians and non-Christians alike.

—Jan A. B. Jongeneel


Messianic Judaism.


Voices of Messianic Judaism: Confronting Critical Issues Facing a Maturing Movement.


Gradually some Jewish scholars are giving serious academic attention to Messianic Judaism. Perhaps this is because the Messianic Jewish movement is growing and gaining recognition—once again—as a significant religious community that cannot be ignored, despite opposition from the Jewish religious establishment.

These are two important volumes from Rabbi Dan Cohn-Sherbok, a well-known American scholar who is professor of Judaism at the University of Wales in Lampeter. They are groundbreaking studies that deserve attention and appreciation by missiologists for the author’s willingness to treat this controversial movement in an open, fair, balanced, informed, even sympathetic, fashion.

In Messianic Judaism Cohn-Sherbok seeks to provide “an objective account of this important development in modern Jewish life,” first by tracing the development of Messianic Judaism from its origins in ancient times, then by assessing the movement’s claim to represent an authentic interpretation of the Jewish faith, and finally by describing three alternative models of viewing the relationship between Messianic Judaism and the Jewish community (p. xii).

The first model is Orthodox exclusivism. Orthodox Judaism rejects not only Messianic Judaism but all non-Orthodox Jewish movements in the world, since it believes there is only one legitimate form of the faith: Orthodox Judaism.

The second model is non-Orthodox exclusivism. Despite their own rejection by the Orthodox, all other branches of modern Judaism “are united in their rejection of Messianic Judaism as an authentic expression of the Jewish faith” (p. 208).

Third is the pluralist model. Here the author offers “a more tolerant view of the Messianic movement” but does not mention the names of any proponents of this model. Since modern Jewry is no longer united by belief and practice, “pluralists maintain that the exclusion of Messianic Judaism from the circle of legitimate expressions of the Jewish heritage is totally inconsistent” (p. 210). In many respects, he says, “Messianic Jews are more theistically oriented and more Torah-observant even than their counterparts within the Conservative and Reform movements” (p. 212). In this model, using the image of the seven-branched menorah, he says, “Messianic Judaism should be seen merely as one among many expressions of the Jewish faith, [alongside] Hasidism, Orthodox Judaism, Conservative Judaism, Reform Judaism, Reconstructionist Judaism, and Humanistic Judaism” (p. 212). Cohn-Sherbok concludes that the pluralist model, in which Messianic Judaism is included, “is the only reasonable starting point for inter-community relations [among Jews] in the twenty-first century” (p. 213).

In Voices of Messianic Judaism, Cohn-Sherbok brings together essays by thirty leading representatives and friends of the movement, including Barry Rubin, John Fischer, Stuart Dauermann, Joel Chernoff, Daniel Juster, Ruth Fleischer, Jim Sibley, Russell Resnik, Mitch Glaser, David Stern, Arnold Fruchtenbaum, and Arthur Glasser. In his introduction, Cohn-Sherbok
Engaging Unbelief: A Captivating Strategy from Augustine and Aquinas.


Lesslie Newbigin taught us that the West must be considered a mission field. Curtis Chang’s Engaging Unbelief deserves to be placed among responses to this insight. Not content to simply comment on or criticize our cultural condition, however, Chang grapples with what must now become of serious apologetics. He does so admirably, and surprisingly, by recovering rhetorical strategies from Augustine’s City of God and Thomas Aquinas’s Summa contra Gentiles. Their differences are as important as their similarities, for they show how different rhetorical crises can call for different apologetic emphases, even while maintaining a common structure of evangelical faithfulness. And Chang points out how the accomplishments of Augustine and Thomas might yield new fruit, not because their situations or their arguments are directly applicable to our own, but because they are analogous enough to model a way. Their willingness to render the Gospel in words both passionate for conversion and respectful of difference makes the point.

Chang finds a way of avoiding extremes of either fearful retreat or flirtation with rhetorical or political violence. Enter the imaginations of your hearers with both respect and reason to understand; then tell them their story, but tell it deeper, better, and more sensitively than they thought it could be told; then tell it again, exposing its convergence with the story of human sin we see revealed in the Christian story and showing where both we and they might be open to transformation in Christ.

Scholars will quarrel with Chang on some points, and the book may suffer from trying to do too much that it does no one thing thoroughly. Yet the main point is well taken and worth our attention.

Engaged students like those in Chang’s Harvard campus ministry will find this an important introduction to Christian persuasion. Engaged theologians, pastors, and missiologists will be reminded of themes too easily forgotten.

—Wes Avram

Wes Avram is the Clement-Muelh Assistant Professor of Communication at Yale Divinity School, having served as senior pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Wilmette, Illinois, and college chaplain at Bates College.
From Mission to Church: The Reformed Church of America Mission in India.


This fact-filled chronicle is rich in detail. It traces RCA missionaries from their arrival in Jaffna (Ceylon) in 1819 and from their founding of the American Arcot Mission in 1853 (and Classis in 1854) to beyond their departure from India in 1987. It is also the story of the famous Scudder family; thirty-eight Scudders are listed in the index. The book traces this family from John and Harriet (1819) to beyond the death of “Dr. Ida” (1961), when Ida B. “stayed on.” Ecumenicity is stressed. RCA missionaries initially went to India under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), but then, after the RCA established its own Board of Foreign Missions in 1857, successive mergers followed—with the South India United Church in 1902, with the Student Volunteer Movement in the 1920s, with the Church of South India in 1947, and, finally, with the World Council of Churches. Yet throughout these years, the mission never lost its distinctly Dutch Reformed character.

Among ironies that abound one stands out. How commitment to the ABCFM’s “three-self” formula (indigenous congregations should be “self-propagating, self-supporting, and self-governing”), as set by Rufus Anderson, led to perhaps the most ponderously institutionalized mission in India is never adequately explained. By the time of India’s independence, the mission consisted of forty-five American missionaries, twenty-one Indian ministers, and over five hundred male and female staff serving 283 congregations. Eighteen “pastorates” served a community of 32,020. There were 135 village schools, 13 boarding schools (elementary and high; six for boys, seven for girls), one separate teacher-training school each for men and for women, one college, and one theological school. There was also the world-famous Christian Medical College and Hospital at Vellore, then still directed by Dr. Ida S. Scudder, along with three hospitals and two dispensaries. Finally, there were agricultural and industrial institutes at Katpadi, each with branches for men and boys and women and girls.

Beyond all this was the now world-renowned Kodaikanal International School, originally opened in 1901 by Mrs. M. L. Eddy for American missionary children from Arcot and Madura.

This work is an “in-house” denominational history. As such, it can satisfy its American constituency. It can also provide information to missiologists and historians of missions. But, alas, lapses in understandings of India and Europe—of their culture, history, literature, and historiography—abound. Nevertheless this book serves its purpose as a history the American Arcot Mission.

—Robert Eric Frykenberg

Robert Eric Frykenberg is Professor Emeritus of History and South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

In the Light of the Word: Divine Word Missionaries of North America.


Ernest Brandewie’s carefully researched volume on the Society of the Divine Word (S.V.D.) missionaries makes a clear and convincing case that the archives of religious orders can enrich the writing of history in crucial ways. The letters and records left by German-born priests and brothers who in 1899 established the Divine Word headquarters in Techny, Illinois, north of Chicago, shed new light on issues of immigration, ethnicity, class, race, and place. In his lively narrative, Brandewie discusses the growth and development of Techny as the center of the society in North America, a “sacred space” that connected “generations across the years and miles.”

Especially provocative is his discussion of the S.V.D. apostolate to African-Americans and the creation of St. Augustine Seminary in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, “by far the most important and radical emblem of the Society’s emerging character” (p. 82). Historians have regarded Cardinal George Mundelein’s decision in 1917 to transfer St. Monica and then St. Elizabeth and St. Anselm parishes to the order as evidence of Jim Crow attitudes in the Catholic Church. Brandewie provides a more complex view, noting that “when American bishops had entrusted the local clergy with Negro missions or parishes, they had failed” (p. 198). Hence, the hierarchy called in the specialists, priests of the Society of the Divine Word. One of the most famous of these priests on Chicago’s South Side was Joseph Eckert, looked on by many as warm and selfless and by others as authoritarian and paternalistic. In the end, Brandewie suggests, he was all this and more—“He was German” (p. 202).

How did Divine Word priests such as Eckert succeed so spectacularly in making converts? While their training as missionaries was helpful, Brandewie also acknowledges the value that African-American parents placed on being able to send their children to “a good school.” However, he never mentions by name the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, whose pioneering work in St. Monica, St. Elizabeth, and St. Anselm parishes in Chicago dates to 1912. Here is a subject for Brandewie to tackle next: the cooperation between men’s and women’s religious orders in crossing the color line in Catholic parishes and schools decades before the civil rights movement of the 1950s.

—Ellen Skerrett

Ellen Skerrett is a research scholar for the Near West Project, University of Illinois at Chicago. She edited At the Crossroads: Old Saint Patrick’s and the Chicago Irish (Loyola Press, 1997) and was a coauthor of Keeping Faith: European and Asian Catholic Immigrants (Orbis Books, 2000).

Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.


Paul Freston provides readers with the first systematic account of evangelical Christians and politics in the developing world. Freston has been studying Protestantism in Brazil since research on his doctoral dissertation some years ago and has been lecturer in sociology at the Federal University of São Carlos in Brazil. He widened his research on Protestantism worldwide while teaching at the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies. Pew Charitable Trusts later funded the opportunity for
him to assess the wide range of materials on evangelicalism and politics in sub-Saharan Africa, major countries in Asia, and eight Latin American countries.

The result is a valuable publication that pushes discussion of a controversial topic much further along than current debates often do. Interpreters of evangelical politics have ranged from those who presume evangelicals are otherworldly folk who disdain this-worldly approaches to politics to those who attribute evangelicals' newly discovered political activism largely to outside sources, principally money and missionaries from the United States.

Pentecostalism has become the leading sector of evangelicalism in many countries and a major expression of world Christianity. Contrary to many portrayals, otherworldly folk who disdain this-worldly approaches to politics to those who attribute evangelicals' newly discovered political activism largely to outside sources, principally money and missionaries from the United States.

Pentecostalism's coming of age in society and politics needs the kind of study Preston provides. The author wisely omits countries about which scanty information on his themes is available. He further acknowledges the unevenness of information from country to country.

Where possible, Preston brings the details of evangelical politics into sharper focus, providing a map of diversity between countries and a guide to views of leaders and followers within countries. The study of religion and politics within a global perspective is thus emerging as a credible scholarly enterprise. Preston has opened a window to a comprehensive view.

—Edward L. Cleary, O.P.

Edward L. Cleary, O.P., is Professor of Political Science and Director of Latin American Studies, Providence College, Providence, Rhode Island. He served as a missionary in Bolivia and Peru, 1958–63 and 1968–71.

U.S. Protestant Missions in Cuba: From Independence to Castro.


Jason M. Yaremko, a historian with the History Department at the University of Manitoba, Canada, has made an excellent contribution to Cuban Protestant history. His diligent research makes this book an indispensable source for any serious missiological and historical analysis of Protestant mission in Cuba. He combines social, economic, ideological, cultural, and anthropological dimensions with historical analysis, offering readers an interdisciplinary approach in support of his main thesis: Protestant missions in Cuba were and are deeply intertwined with the presence and role of the United States in Cuban society during the twentieth century.

Yaremko's efforts deserve praise for two reasons. First, his careful analysis of primary sources in Cuban archives, location of unpublished material, and direct interviews with key leaders and scholars in Cuba and the United States are invaluable. He also demonstrates firsthand knowledge and access to important secondary sources. The bibliography is perhaps the first serious attempt in any language to offer a solid and selective record of books and articles on the topic. Second, his main focus on the eastern part of Cuba, so important in the religious and political life of the country, adds immeasurably to the quality of this book.

Yaremko makes no attempt to discuss the Pentecostal churches present in Cuba by the late 1930s. His major interest is clearly in the mainline Protestant churches planted by U.S. missions.

The book ends with a solid chapter on the situation of Protestant missions and the national churches in Cuba and U.S.
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This collection of papers was presented at the second quadrennial congress of the Berlin Society of Mission History. The overall theme is the role that force or violence played in the modern missionary movement, although the rubric as applied is quite elastic, as, also, is the time framework. There are thirty-nine essays, twenty in German and nineteen in English. The participants hail from eleven countries, mainly in Europe and Africa, although India, Israel, Canada, and the United States are represented. The first section focuses on the tensions between Islam and Christianity in the Near East, East Africa, and central Africa. The next group of writers addresses a wide range of questions regarding missions in Africa, mainly in the south and east. Several contributors deal with matters in India and China, and the final section concentrates on issues in the pre–World War I German colonies and actions of German missionaries elsewhere. It is impossible to summarize the content of each essay, as they vary in quality and range over a great variety of topics. Some are quite insightful, such as Alex Carmel’s account of the kaiser’s junket to the Holy Land in 1898, Werner Ustorf’s theoretical assessment of the violent side of the missionary enterprise, Irving Hexham’s incisive critique of the postmodernist historiography of missions and South Africa, Christoph Pauw’s account of the little-known mission of the South African Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland (today Malawi), Karla Poewe’s treatment of the spell that National Socialism held over Berlin Mission Society.
figures who really were not Nazis, Michael Bergunder’s analysis of proselytism in Indian Christianity, and Vera Mielke’s portrayal of women workers of the Liebenzell Mission in China. All in all, this book would be a good addition to an academic library’s missions collection.

—Richard V. Pierard

Richard V. Pierard, Professor of History Emeritus, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, lectures regularly at Gordon College, Wenham, Massachusetts, and Moscow Theological Seminary. In 2002 he is Visiting Lecturer at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future.


This book, the most comprehensive synthesis of recent scholarship on Christianity in China, moves chronologically and thematically from the Nestorians in the 600s to the cultural Christians in China of today (Chinese intellectuals influenced by Christian culture who do not join the church).

Xiaoxin Wu is Director of the Ricci Institute, where Stephen Uhalley, Jr., is a Distinguished Fellow. Compiled from a conference, “Reflections on the New Millennium,” held at the institute in 1999, the book is dedicated to Edward Malatesta for his passionate goodness and deep commitment to Christianity in China.

Twenty-one leading scholars examine Christianity within Chinese culture. Uhalley writes that the power of the message itself, whether accepted or not, is astonishing. This astonishment—that indigenous Chinese Christianity has survived 1,400 years—is echoed by others.

John Witek, S.J., provides a broad introduction of Christianity as a universal teaching from the West, while Zhang Kaiyuan discusses research done by scholars in the People’s Republic of China since 1978. The historical papers discuss revelation (Paul Rule’s brilliant critique of Jean Gernet) and cultural transmission (Nicolas Standaert, S.J.). The papers on the Jesuits are strong, particularly complementary papers on the dissemination of Chinese philosophy through the Academie Royale des Sciences in Catholic France (Han Qi) and via Protestants like Leibniz in Germany (Claudia Von Collani). Dinara Doubrovskaja’s 300-year history of the Russian Orthodox Church as a diplomatic mission contrasts with the European focus.

Ten chapters discuss modern Protestant and Catholic Christianity. Ryan Dunch describes the Protestant churches as fragile, fragmented, and hopeful, divided among the Three-Self churches and the house churches and sects and between urban and rural. Nevertheless, Protestantism flourishes with bewildering diversity and has a place in China and among the Chinese diaspora.

These papers represent astute thinking at the end of the last century. Zhuo Xinping concludes that for the future of Christianity in China, there is still a need for a prophetic voice, a servant spirit, a sincere dialogue, and a tolerant spirit. Philip Wickeri concurs, noting that such an approach is important for scholarship about Christianity everywhere in the new millennium (p. 358).

—Alvyn Austin

Alvyn Austin teaches Asian Studies at University of Toronto. Organizer of the York Missions Studies Seminars, the Canadian node of the Currents in World Christianity project, he is author of The Wordless Book: The China Inland Mission and Chinese Folk Religion (forthcoming).

July 2002 139


Studies in Asian Mission History covers several major "missionary periods in Asia": the Mogul mission in India, the Chinese and Japanese mission, and the missions in Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Cochinchine, and Tibet. The introductory chapter deals with the new methodology of mission history, a shift from transmission-history to reception-history (pp. 3–4). It rightly emphasizes the evident impact of mission history upon the motivation, methods, and scope of mission today (p. 8). The second part of the introduction gives a brief summary of the modern missionary movement during the last five centuries and an objective evaluation of the role of the Portuguese padroado system, the popes, and Propaganda fide mission history in Asia.

The chapter on Chinese mission is particularly interesting, and the interpretation of events is carefully done. It deals with the problems of the reception of the Gospel in China, although what is said in this chapter is equally valid for the rest of Asia. Reception-history (p. 187) can have important implications for the missionary approach to Chinese culture and politics and may suggest a way out of the present political, cultural, and missionary impasse facing the church in China. The chapter on Franciscan mission to Asia is also particularly interesting, since the Franciscan contribution to mission in Asia has not received the attention it deserves from historians.

Professor Camps deserves our gratitude for making this material available to missionaries and scholars alike. The volume gives insight into motivation, methods, and scope of mission in Asia. Unfortunately, the price puts it beyond the reach of many Asian libraries and scholars.

—Sebastian Karotemper, S.D.B.

Sebastian Karotemper, S.D.B., a Contributing Editor, is Professor of Mission Theology at the Pontifical Urban University, Rome, and a member of the International Theological Commission.

The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial, Postcolonial Encounters.


The opening phrases of this book command attention: "Along with gunboats, opium, slaves, and treaties, the Christian Bible became a defining symbol of European expansion" (p. 1). To place the Bible in this less than illustrious line may set one’s teeth on edge, yet the author is not a member of that tiresome group whose chief delight is to expose the evils of all things colonial and Western. His account is balanced indeed, a panoply of light and dark as the colonists and the Bible impacted the conquered with here a heavy hand and there a tender compassion.

The defining moment in this odyssey was the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. The BFBS became the focus of evangelical passion, and Bible translation brought the book to millions. The society’s reports brought glowing accounts of changed lives amid
Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba.  


Since the era of European colonialism, anthropologists have been numbered among the fiercest critics of Christian missions. One great exception has been J. D. Y. Peel, an anthropologist-turned-historian who is presently associated with the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Peel’s most recent book, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*, is arguably the first great piece of historical writing on the implantation of Christianity in Africa of the twenty-first century. Making use of the letters and reports of Church Missionary Society agents, Peel constructs a narrative of the first fifty years of the Yoruba encounter with Christianity with the twin goals of explaining first, Christianity’s appeal and, second, the initial stages of Christian assimilation.

Trained as an anthropologist, Peel is most sensitive to the symbolic/cognitive aspects of culture, and his explanations reflect these instincts. Yorubaland was in the throes of wars between city-states and the big men who ruled these states when Christianity appeared. Part of Christianity’s initial appeal was the perception that it could provide states and individuals with access to European sources of power. Yoruba culture celebrated *aláṣẹ*, the state of material well-being, which was pursued through the propitiation of the *orisas*, or intercessory gods. Another part of Christianity’s appeal was the perception of Christ as potentially the greatest of *orisas*. The Yoruba embrace of Christianity Peel ascribes, first, to the prior spread of Islam, which facilitated the transition among the Yoruba from an earlier faith to Christianity. Interreligionism, the mixing of Christianity with Islam, was also a factor. The Yoruba turned to such syncretic religions in part because they did not have a orthodoxy — an “orthodox” religion — to which they could turn. Christianity was an orthodoxy from the start.

The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories, and Trends.


What have Africans done, and what are they doing to the Bible? Does the discipline of biblical studies exist in sub-Saharan Africa? Who are those involved with the Bible, and to what extent have ordinary Africans shaped the reception, use, and interpretation of the Bible? These and similar questions receive answers in this volume of essays edited by Gerald West and Musa Dube. The scope of the volume is impressive. It helps to strengthen the idea of a rich, ongoing cultural interaction between an influential text and the varied contexts within Africa in which it has found a place—with all the difficulties attending such transactions.

The Bible gave the peoples pride in their triumphalism aside, it is clear that the cruel, degraded societies. Putting the languages and so also gave them an identity. Particularly inspiring are the accounts of the colporteurs, who emerge as the real heroes of the story. Thus the book once inaccessible to most of the world’s peoples became available by means either honorable or dubious. The text is replete with accounts of those who carried the Word to the peoples of the world—those who then often used it to resist the imperialists themselves.

A final section relates the influence of the Bible in reclaiming lost cultural values in a postcolonial world. Freed from its imperial ties, the Bible impacts society in instrumental view of religion to a quest for salvation; second, to the personal articulation of faith, especially by African evangelists. Christianity was made real among the Yoruba by example, by individual Christians demonstrating both the material and spiritual power of Christian faith.

—Andrew Barnes

Andrew Barnes is Associate Professor of History, Arizona State University, Phoenix. He conducts research on Christian missions in northern Nigeria.

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Part 1, "Historical and Hermeneutical Perspectives," provides the reader with a masterful overview of African biblical interpretation. The wide-ranging part 2, "Particular Encounters with Particular Texts," demonstrates how certain groups in West, East, Central, and Southern Africa have interpreted and used certain biblical texts. Part 3, "Comparison and Translation as Transaction," deals with two paradigms in African biblical scholarship: the comparative and the translation. Part 4, "Redrawing the Boundaries of the Bible in Africa," treats the scope and limits of biblical scholarship in Africa. The volume concludes with a bibliography compiled by Grant LeMarquand (pp. 633–800), an impressive entry that alone is reason to own this volume.

F. B. A. Asiedu
F. B. A. Asiedu, a citizen of Ghana, is Barbieri Fellow in the Humanities, Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania.

Touching the Heart: Xhosa Missionaries to Malawi, 1876-1888.


The handful of Xhosa evangelists who accompanied the Scottish missionaries in the early years of the Blantyre and Livingstonia Missions in Malawi have tended to be regarded as shadowy figures of little lasting significance. Jack Thompson contests this view by vividly describing the role exercised by the Xhosa men, graduates of the Lovedale Institution in the Eastern Cape region. Their identity was always ambiguous (stranger or brother?), but they were thus able to enter with great sensitivity into the liminal area where traditional life and culture met with Christian conviction and practice. In showing that Christian faith was an option for Africans and in intuitively understanding how it might be inculturated, William Koyi in particular laid foundations on which Ngoni Christianity would be built in the years following his tragic death in 1886. Named Mitusane—"bridge-builder"—he functioned as a cultural and religious mediator in a way that was deeply significant for the early Ngoni appropriation of Christian faith.

The book's compelling quality arises from the combination of the historian's passion for accuracy with the artist's sensitivity to the subject. Each chapter begins with the translation of a Xhosa poem, and a revealing selection of photographs accompanies the text. Thompson has exhaustively examined the scarce written sources, but one wonders if there is more light to be shed on this remarkable episode by retrieving oral tradition. We learn that William Koyi features in popular songs in northern Malawi (p. 199), but their content is not unpacked. This reviewer would also have valued a more developed statement of what the study contributes to our understanding of African Christianity and of Christian mission. But it is a book not to be missed by anyone interested in either. Rigorous in scholarship and beautifully crafted, it not only will enlighten the understanding but also will touch the heart.

Kenneth R. Ross
Kenneth R. Ross is General Secretary of the Church of Scotland Board of World Mission. He was formerly professor of theology at the University of Malawi, where he taught from 1988 to 1998.

The Cross in the Land of the Khukuri.


This book is written by one who has been as close to the Christian scene in Nepal as anyone. The author describes the struggle of the church to remain authentically Nepali while at the same time holding on to the Christian faith with integrity. In many areas around the world emerging churches feel more or less obliged to accept the good news in the cultural package offered by missionaries. In Nepal, however, the church has found its own way of expressing its discipleship, which is the result of courageous local Christians and of missionaries who have understood and lived servanthood in Nepali forms. It is to be hoped that as the church of Nepal seeks to strengthen ministry, it will keep tight hold of the validity of its own culture.

Roy Dorey
Roy Dorey is a Baptist minister in the inner city of South London.
September 9–13, 2002
*How To Develop Mission and Church Archives.* Martha Lund Smalley, Yale Divinity School Research Services Librarian, helps missionaries and church leaders identify, organize, and preserve essential records, with an introduction to computer and Internet skills. Cosponsored by United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries. Eight sessions. $125

September 16–20
*How to Write to Be Read.* Robert T. Coote, who recently retired as OMSC’s Associate Director, leads an interactive workshop on letter writing and publishing for missionaries. Eight sessions. $125

September 23–27
*Advancing Mission on the Information Superhighway.* In a hands-on workshop, Dr. Scott Moreau, Wheaton College Graduate School, shows how to get the most out of the worldwide web for mission research. Cosponsored by Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod World Mission and United Church/Disciples of Christ Common Global Ministries Board. Eight sessions. $125

September 30–October 4
*Nurturing and Educating Transcultural Kids.* Dr. David Pollock and Janet Blomberg of Interaction help you help your children meet the challenges they face as third-culture persons. Cosponsored by United Church/Disciples of Christ Common Global Ministries Board. Eight sessions. $125

October 7–11
*Servant Leadership for Mission: Biblical Models and Guidelines.* Dr. Donald R. Jacobs, Mennonite Leadership Foundation, leads a study of biblical personalities to establish foundational principles for responsible leadership in mission. Cosponsored by Eastern Mennonite Missions. Eight sessions. $125

October 21–25

October 28–November 1
*Doing Oral History: Helping Christians Tell Their Own Story.* Dr. Jean-Paul Wiest, director of the Maryknoll history project, shares skills and techniques for documenting church and mission history. Eight sessions. $125

November 4–8

November 11–15
*Contextualizing Theology for Mission in Asia.* Dr. Enoch Wan, Western Seminary, Portland, Oregon, focuses on China as a case study in contextualizing the Gospel. Eight sessions. $125

November 18–22
*Translation and the Christian Story.* Professor Andrew F. Walls, Edinburgh University, examines theological and cultural issues that have proven to be critical to the expansion of the Christian movement. Cosponsored by American Baptist International Ministries, Park Street Church (Boston), and Wycliffe Bible Translators. Eight sessions. $125

December 2–6
*Islam and Christianity in Dynamic Encounter.* Dr. J. Dudley Woodberry, Professor of Islamic Studies, Fuller School of World Mission, outlines principles for Christian presence and witness within the Muslim community. Cosponsored by SIM International. Eight sessions. $125

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