One has to listen attentively to hear good news from Central and South America—together referred to as Latin America. Catering to our almost pathological appetite for the sensational, a steady flow of bad news is obligingly disgorged by the media—drug wars in Colombia, U.S.-sponsored murders in Central America, guerrilla atrocities in Peru, cruelty in El Salvador, torture in Guatemala, corruption of air and politics in Mexico, economic collapse in Argentina, and on it goes.

Bad news from Latin America is not a recent phenomenon. In American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World (Oxford University Press, 1992), David Stannard chronicles with doleful clarity the most sweeping genocide in human history, one that implicated “Christians” in the systematic obliteration of an estimated one hundred million indigenous inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere.

Yet today the church in Latin America boasts an aggregate membership approaching half a billion. Refracted by a bewildering variety of institutional and cultural allegiances, believers—most of whom are baptized Roman Catholic—are in a state of constant, ongoing conversion, sometimes to unbelief. Tensions associated with this frequently controversial phenomenon are elucidated in the lead article by Edward Cleary, O.P.

Latin American Christians are also swept up in the globe’s tidal waves of human migration, forsaking the familiar in search of a better country, often in Europe. Miguel Palomino, himself an evangelical, explores ways in which the “popular Protestantism” of these European immigrants affects both them and their new social and religious contexts.

Contributing editor John Gorski, M.M., highlights Latin American manifestations of two seminal missiological concerns: (1) the complex interplay of cultural form and theological substance, so that newly born, culturally diverse congregations of believers have “their own face” while still evincing the Christian family resemblance; and (2) the challenge to these newly formed churches of assuming their proper responsibility for mission activity beyond their own parochial frontiers.

The essay by Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., reviews the integral role played by Jesuits throughout the history of Christian presence in Latin America. Rendered persona non grata in 1767 by King Charles III of Spain, the society’s suppression six years later by Pope Clement XIV resulted in a further forty-one-year moratorium on their labors. Much that is good about the news from Latin America today can be traced to the indomitable Society of Jesus.

Add Andrew Kirk’s missioner-pilgrim reminiscences, the legacies of Walter Rauschenbusch and Archibald Reekie, and the illuminating statistics from the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA) at Georgetown University, and readers will discover much in this issue to provoke, stimulate, inform, and transform. Good news from Latin America? You be the judge!
When two noted anthropologists canvassed colonization projects in Bolivia’s lowlands, they reached the last house on the new dirt road. The owner heard them coming and ran out of the house yelling as they approached, “Soy católico. Nunca van a convertirme” (I’m Catholic. You’re never going to convert me.) He was the last and only Catholic left in the project.  

This article focuses on the popular subject of conversion in Latin America, with the difficulties both of terminology and of actually counting the number of converts. At the center of the problem is the issue of how long these conversions last. It appears that, in Latin America at least, it is not prudent to study conversion without also studying dropping out, leaving religion as well as entering it. Following earlier usage, we may also refer to such leaving as apostasy.

Religious Conversions in Latin America

At times it does seem that the whole of Latin America is converting. Religious conversion is the single greatest social process changing Latin America and the Caribbean in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Conversions from and within religious groups have rocked the region and changed the face of religion. The process has taken place through a series of quiet explosions that are only now becoming clear.  

While the mainstream media in the United States and Great Britain has taken notice of this process, coverage has focused mainly on the challenge that Pentecostalism has represented to the dominance of the Catholic Church. Far less attention has been paid to the role conversion and intensified religious practice have played in many other contexts, including the reinvigoration of Indian religions, African religions, and even the Catholic Church itself. Indeed, the changes within religious denominations are as significant as those between denominations. While many Catholics are becoming Pentecostal, many mainstream Protestants and classic Pentecostals are also converting to “health and wealth” neo-Pentecostal groups. Traditional Catholics have converted to social Christianity by the millions. At the same time, many socially active Christians have joined more otherworldly Catholic and Protestant charismatic groups. Among the indigenous groups of the region, many persons who are officially Catholic now openly embrace Mayan or Andean spirituality.

Many historians and social scientists who have been looking at Latin American religion for the last twenty or thirty years agree, first, that the main religious shift in Latin America has been from Catholicism to evangelical religion, especially Pentecostalism or neo-Pentecostalism. Mainstream Protestants also, however, have suffered losses. While these Protees have been overshadowed by the fast-growing Pentecostals, in countries like Costa Rica or Argentina they exercise an influence far beyond their numbers.

Second, the major sector of Catholicism affected by this shift has been that of nominal, indifferent Catholics, who have supplied most of the converts to Pentecostalism. This pool of nominal Catholics was very large. In 1960 probably two-thirds of the Catholic population seldom or never attended church. Starting in the late 1960s two trends occurred: large numbers of Catholics in many countries became active in church, and Protestants in two-thirds of Latin American countries gained large numbers of converts. Empirical studies and the long history of religious conversion have shown that the convinced and the committed are rarely converted to a different faith or group. Rather, it is typically the nominal Catholic or indifferent Protestant who becomes the engaged Pentecostal.

Scholars from various disciplines have begun looking more closely at conversion in Latin America, asking who the converts are and how they became converted. Besides the insight that Pentecostal converts typically come from the large indifferent sector of Catholicism, we have evidence that converts adopt and remain in another religion primarily because of networks of friends, job acquaintances, and neighbors who bring them into the church and help them remain faithful. We have begun to look more systematically at why so many Latin Americans have changed religion, both by studying the social context for change and by listening to the reasons converts give for their new (or renewed) commitment to a religion.

Conversion, Switching, and Indifference

Observers note that the rates of conversion to the new and changing religious groups are far greater in some countries than in others. Geographers studying the patterns of religion show some sections of the same country with much greater religious change than other sections. Reginald Prandi and other veteran Brazilian observers note that 25 percent of the population of São Paulo, one of the largest cities of the world, has converted to another religion. Respected Argentine researchers have also noted the incursion of both Pentecostalism and African religion into the extremely traditional religious grounds of their country.

For Latin American social scientists this moving between religions seems a new and especially Latin American characteristic. Some give explanations along the lines of switching religions being another Latin fad. Similar observations, however, were made of the United States, as newspapers in the 1990s spoke increasingly of a religious marketplace. The Boston Globe expressed some amazement at the blooming of black Pentecostal church buildings within its Puritan city, claiming that there were more Pentecostal churches in Boston than Catholic ones. Later the paper looked more closely and published another story, again with implied exclamation marks: 25 percent of the people in the Boston area had changed religious affiliation.

Changing religious groups is not a new story in the United States. People have been switching church affiliation for decades. About 40 percent of North Americans belong to a religion different from the one in which they were raised. Some observers have claimed, on the basis of new churches being built, that switching must be more common than it was. This is not true, however, for there has been little, if any, increase above the 40 percent norm. Probably, then, Latin America lags behind the United States. I attribute this difference to Latin America’s becoming a more open and diversified society, although lagging behind the United States in the process.

Religious switching raises questions about conversion. When

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much of the switching has been from denomination to denomination, it does not seem like a true biblical metanoia (repentance, or turning). Does the switching, at least in the United States, represent a trend toward a search for deeper spiritual decision making? Does switching represent an intensified religious sensibility on the part of persons seeking new (and better) messages and new messengers? Perhaps, but more common reasons for changing religious affiliation include changes in life conditions, such as religiously mixed marriages; moving into new neighborhoods, cities, and regions of the country; searching for social services, such as day care or self-help groups (as for addiction sufferers); and new friendship circles.8

Pentecostalism does seem to change the way one looks at religion in Latin America. While it is clear that the main Pentecostal growth in Latin America is not induced from the United States, still Latin American Pentecostalism shares characteristics of religion in the United States. Specifically, it places exceptional emphasis on congregational participation and worship attendance as a measure of religious involvement.

This emphasis is not true of all major and global religions. Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism emphasize ritual and worship at home and with the family to a much greater extent than Latin American Pentecostalism. Nor did Latin American Catholicism give the same weighty emphasis that Pentecostalism did to congregational participation and worship attendance. Popular Catholicism was, at least until recently, the religion of most Catholics.9 From their earliest years, practitioners of popular Catholicism learned from their parents that saints were somehow in their lives and could be venerated in church, at home, or at strategic places in the city or country. Popular Catholics celebrated feasts, made promises, and prayed for blessings, in and outside of church.

The criterion to be established here for later reference is that indifference, or having no religion, is not measured the same for Pentecostals as it is for popular Catholics. Indifference, being nada (nothing), for Pentecostals means not attending church at least weekly. For cultural Catholics, in contrast, it means not participating in some ritual, in or outside of church.

For Latin American social scientists, moving between religions seems new and especially Latin American.
classic Pentecostals are uncomfortable being under the same tent with “health and wealth” neo-Pentecostals. (For that matter, many Pentecostal pastors consider Catholics to be outside the number of true Christians.)

For statistics, recent academic publications continue to cite figures from Patrick Johnstone’s Operation World: The Day-by-Day Guide to Praying for the World (1993). A recent example is Anne Hallum’s citation in a key 2003 essay in the Latin American Research Review.10 After some initial hesitation (could I obtain reliable statistics from a prayer book?), I obtained a copy of this work, which was reputed to be the best source available for statistics on religion in Latin America. That might have been true ten years ago, but no longer.

In Operation World (1993), Johnstone claimed that 27.9 percent of all Chileans were Protestant, with 25.4 percent Pentecostal/charismatic.11 These figures, however, are much higher than those reported in the carefully and rigorously conducted national census of 1992, which showed only 12.4 percent evangélicos. According to preliminary indications, the national census of 2002 will reveal about 16 percent evangélicos.12 Other systematic surveys of Chilean religion have confirmed the levels of the 1992 census.

The two other Latin American nations cited as the most Pentecostal or most Protestant are Brazil and Guatemala. For Brazil, no one doubts that Pentecostal growth there is impressive; probably half of Latin America’s Pentecostals reside in Brazil. In 1993 Johnstone gave the Protestant population as 21.6 percent of the national population.13 That stands in contrast with the national census of 2000, conducted by apparently competent demographers, that shows 15.4 percent evangélicos. Evangelicals themselves seem to be happy with the census’s lower figure. The Web site (www.infobrasil.org) of Servicio Evangéizador para América Latina, or SEPAL, an international missionary group in Brazil, provides information based on the national census, not on Johnstone.14

An End to Evangelical Growth?

Latinamericanists consistently identify Guatemala as the most Protestant country in Latin America. In Guatemala, however, evangelical growth has leveled off. Some Protestant missionaries within the country are now willing to admit there has been no growth for a decade.

Since the early 1990s longtime experts on Guatemalan religion Virginia Garrard Burnett and Bruce Calder have reported their impressions that Protestant growth in Guatemala had leveled off. They observed that Protestant pastors and other observers of religion felt that Guatemalan Protestantism had reached a “kind of natural limit.” “Some people,” one pastor said in resignation, “will always be Catholic.”

Surveys of Guatemalan religion, including those by SEPAL, have found that Protestant growth rates were indeed flat. One might think that this information would be important in mission and academic circles, but missiologists and academics have generally failed to take notice.

Only now is it clear from SEPAL and other sources that the growth of Pentecostalism and Protestantism leveled off in Guatemala some time ago at about 25 percent Protestant in the Guatemalan total population. The Gallup Organization’s group in Guatemala began doing surveys in the country in the 1990s, including questions of religious affiliation. These surveys, repeated at various intervals and by now in the public domain for a number of years, consistently have showed Protestant affiliation to be in the 25 percent range.15

One might note that though their number as a proportion of the Guatemalan population has remained constant, the conversion rate for neo-Pentecostals and others counted as evangélicos has continued to increase. How can that be? How can a rising rate of conversions be paired with a stagnant rate of growth? We shall see that conversion is only one part of the story.

Nonpractice Among Pentecostals

An initial observation is that many Pentecostals are not very observant. This is a fact that one would not easily learn, even from persons who conduct valuable studies. Two systematic surveys of Chilean religion were conducted by the Chilean Institute of Public Studies, an institute similar to the American Enterprise Institute in Washington and having close ties to eminent sociologist Peter Berger of Boston University. In 1991 this Chilean institute published studies that went beyond census data and asked about church attendance. It was quite a surprise to learn that less than half of Chile’s Pentecostals attend church once a week, and more than a third hardly attend church at all.

One of the main researchers, Arturo Fontaine Talavera, barely alluded to the significance of nonpractice among Chilean Pentecostals.16 But this finding was scandalous to Pentecostal pastors, since Pentecostals strongly stress attendance at weekly services and many Pentecostals go to church more than once a week. The results of the surveys were broadcast on Chilean television and threw pastors into a panic.17

By and large, Pentecostal pastors took up the challenge of religious nonpractice directly and honestly, searching their souls for reasons for the worrisome dropping out. They wondered whether a contributing factor might be the growing distance between the education and class background of the pastors versus that of the persons in the pews. At the time, 40 percent of Pentecostals were middle class in terms of education, which was a higher percentage than that of pastors.18

The same pattern of nonattendance is evident in Mexico. Bowen found that “fewer than half, forty-eight percent, continued to be active evangelicals who attended a church service at least once weekly.”19 The vast majority of the other 52 percent never or almost never attended services.

Leaving Protestantism

A further consideration is that leaving church or religion, dropping out, though seriously understudied in the United States, is even less well researched in Latin America.20 Recent studies have found that not only is nonpractice widespread but also many Protestants are leaving their churches altogether. Bowen found that 43 percent of those raised in Protestant churches were no longer Protestants as adults. Also, 68 percent of those baptized in Protestant churches in Mexico in the 1980s had left by 1990.21 Steigenga believes the same rates of leaving may be true in Guatemala.22

As noted above, several Latin American countries exhibit a
rather high rate of evangelical conversion, but not much of a rise or none at all in the percentage of Protestants. Retention is thus clearly a factor. In terms of conversion, when 40 percent or so do not continue in their commitment, does the conversion itself have to be doubted? In Latin America, one common response is to say that only God knows. But in social science and missiology, when a religion displays such a high dropout rate, to discuss conversion without also looking at apostasy seems partial and misleading.

One reason researchers have overlooked the significance of both leaving and returning is that they believed they were looking at nomadismo: people shopping around for religion. In typical patterns, people shifted from indifferent Catholic to Pentecostal, from Pentecostal to neo-Pentecostal, from Catholic to Afro-Brazilian religions. Sometimes they seemed to convert to these religions all in the same day.

Why They Leave

One can learn a lot from delving into church leaving. Here we are discussing mainly Pentecostalists who have departed. Not only are Pentecostals the largest non-Catholic group in Latin America, but also, judging by Mexico, they may have the highest dropout rates. But why? The responses are complex, but years of interviewing Pentecostals and of observing Pentecostal churches in most Latin American countries convince me that living up to the perfectionist character of Pentecostalism is extremely difficult. Over the long haul, most people simply tire of trying to follow the heavy moral and social demands that many Pentecostal churches impose.

Entry into Pentecostalism takes seriously the turning that early Christians thought necessary. Men and women are expected to change their behavior to include not only the familiar rules of no smoking, no drinking, and no dancing and the giving of 10 percent of one’s income to the church, but also marital fidelity and a wholehearted embrace of communal life and frequent prayer.

The Assemblies of God churches that flourished in Central America have had pastors who preach observance of the Reglamento local, the stated rules for doctrine and practice by which the communicants are expected to live. Members of Assemblies churches, as classic Pentecostals, have a gritty sense of living counterculturally, an acute awareness of evil in persons and institutions, and a humility born from watching their own and others’ minor slips and major failures. Many Central American pastors confided to Everett Wilson, recent president of Bethany College (Scotts Valley, California) and longtime resident in Central America, that over a long period of time only about 15 percent of congregants showed fidelity to the Reglamento local.

There is another side to the Pentecostal churches’ high dropout rate that needs to be explored, an aspect that few have emphasized. Do Pentecostal churches keep key members and attract many new ones because, directly or indirectly, they effectively cast off their faltering members? After he had walked along Mexican dirt roads and byways for years, listening to Pentecostal pastors and communicants, it occurred to Bowen that Latin American Pentecostal churches actually cast off the less committed among their members so that those more committed might continue unimpeded in the pursuit of their high goals. Less committed members would tend to pull the more committed down to a common denominator of laxer practice. The church keep the luster of their religion bright precisely by shedding the nonobservant and the unrepentant.

Moving to No Religion

Until recently, Latin America stood out, at least from Europe and Canada, in having relatively few persons in the category “no religion.” Manuel Marzal, a respected expert in religious research in Latin America, says that this kind of person was hardly representative of Latin Americans. His argument is based not only on forty years of looking at religion in the region but also on a global study of religion in 2000. Marzal’s view is challenged, however, by new evidence that shows a widening pool of “no religion” in Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Chile. This new fact lends significance to the question, Where are the church leavers going?

Much anecdotal evidence exists indicating that many Pentecostal dropouts return to the Catholic Church. James Scanlon, a Maryknoll priest, said that he and his activist parish members brought 1,800 persons in his Guatemala City neighborhood back to the Catholic Church. Somewhat similar stories were heard by others in Guatemala. But Steigenga, who conducted surveys in Costa Rica and Guatemala in 1992 and 1993, took a careful look at the persons who said they had no religious affiliation and found evidence that many had practiced, some rather profoundly, evangelical religion. Of this group, 13 percent said they had spoken in tongues, 37 percent said they had experienced a personal conversion, and 57 percent said they had experienced a miraculous healing. In general he found that few former evangelicals turned (one cannot say returned, because many were born Protestants) to Catholicism. Polls in Guatemala since 1990 show a group of about 12 percent of the national population that identify themselves as having no religion.

In Mexico Bowen’s grassroots questioning of evangelical pastors and lay Mexicans found that 43 percent of those raised in religious affiliation. Within that group, the rate for Pentecostal dropouts in the second generation was even higher: 48 percent. He found that hardly any of the leavers chose to practice Catholicism or any other faith. In terms of Mexican evangelicalism, they were nada (nothing). This conclusion repeated what Steigenga found in Guatemala and Costa Rica, where leavers from evangelical, mostly Pentecostal, backgrounds may be going into a dark pool of “no religion.”

This is a new category, one virtually unknown previously in Guatemala and much of Latin America. But what is it like to be without religion in this holy religious country? Would one feel relief to be on an island of calm away from the heat of religious passion? Do people who say they have no religion still believe in God? Are they hurting and in need of help? We know almost nothing about this category.

In Conclusion

By looking at both conversion and dropping away, it becomes possible to ask whether evangelicals are destined to remain a

It occurred to Bowen that Latin American Pentecostal churches actually cast off less-committed members.
small but vibrant minority, or whether they are capable of embracing sufficient numbers of Latin Americans for Latin American society as a whole to be transformed. It is clear that the capacity of the vibrant community of evangelicals to change the face of Latin American religion is severely curtailed by its inability to retain many of its members. The Mexican churches are losing many new members. The older Chilean churches are also losing members, perhaps third- and fourth-generation ones. It is also clear that there is a growing pool of Latin Americans with no religion. This is no surprise to those who look at the challenge of conversion. We still stand in amazement at Paul, Augustine, and Latin Americans who persevered in their Christian commitment.

Notes

1. This article is based on a presentation made in July 2003 in New Haven, Connecticut, to the Yale-Edinburgh Group on the History of the Missionary Movement and Non-Western Christianity.


5. See, for example, John Burdick, Blessed Anastacia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil (New York: Routledge, 1998), and Ari Pedro Oro, Axd Mercosul: As religioes Afro-Brasileiras nos paixos do Prata (Petropolis: Vozes, 1999).


14. Hallum and some other authors do not refer to the more recent 2001 edition of Operation World: Twenty-First-Century Edition (Carlisle, Eng.: Paternoster, 2001) in which authors Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk use much lower figures for Chile (p. 156) and Brazil (p. 120) and call attention to the fact that they are doing so (p. 120).

15. Public opinion polls include a CBN Poll of March 1990; eight polls taken by CID-Gallup, from January 1990 to February 1997; and SEPAL 2001. The polls show the Protestant populations as ranging from 18 to 26 percent of the general population. See also Roger W. Grossmann, “Interpreting the Development of the Evangelical Church in Guatemala: Year 2002” (D.Min. project, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, N.C., September 2002).


18. Ibid., p. 111.


27. Bowen, Evangelism and Apostasy, pp. 70–71.
As a consequence of tougher U.S. immigration policies after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Latin Americans are now looking to Europe as the next land of opportunity. In some ways, Europe has become an easier destination than the United States and, for many, a more attractive one, to the point that its population of legal and illegal Latinos could now be as high as 3 million.

Immigrants typically face a bewildering array of needs and problems. So indeed do host countries, which are often concerned to manage or restrict the flow of people entering their country. As Mario Vargas Llosa has pointed out, however, “anti-immigrant policies are destined to fail because they will never stop immigrants. These policies will only have the perverse effect of undermining the democratic institutions of the nations that apply them to give xenophobia, racism and authoritarianism an appearance of legitimacy. Immigrants do not take jobs away but rather create them, and bring progress, rather than deterioration. . . . [Immigration] is a shot of life, energy, and culture, which should be considered a blessing by receiving countries.”

An important dimension of this “blessing” of immigration relates to mission, for immigrants represent a clear challenge and opportunity for spiritual and church growth. We consider this idea after first reviewing the phenomenon of migration and then taking a closer look at needs of immigrants themselves.

The Phenomenon of Migration

No one knows exactly how many Latinos have left their countries in recent years. Today, however, Latinos can be found everywhere on the planet. Let us consider Peru, my home country, as it illustrates the scope of this problem. According to official government reports, “the main Peruvian export is neither cotton nor copper, but Peruvians. Almost 1 million Peruvians have fled the country and established themselves in foreign lands as illegal immigrants. Two out of twenty-four Peruvians have left the country for good, and of the twenty-two who stayed, 48 percent (eleven) would leave if they could. The numbers are hard to believe. Almost 1 million citizens have left Peru and never returned. Their favorite destination is the United States, where an estimated 500,000 Peruvians now reside illegally. There are 80,000 in Venezuela, 52,000 in Spain, 50,000 in Japan, 50,000 in Italy and more than 40,000 in Argentina. There are 41,000 in Chile, and 30,000 in Bolivia. According to the authorities, there is no country in the world without Peruvian presence.”

Peru is not an isolated case. Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay, and most other nations of Latin America are experiencing similar mass movements of people out of their country.

Because of its language, historical connections, and culture, Spain is the most popular gateway for Latino immigrants. Besides the linguistic similarities, this country for years has granted special status to Latin Americans because of its strong ties with the region. Jorge Moragas, secretary of international relations of the Partido Popular in Spain, has stated: “We need laborers. For that reason we favor Latin American immigration. Latin Americans who experience social instability and economic depression in their societies play an important role in the Spanish labor market.” Spain, with one of the fastest-growing economies in Europe, certainly needs foreign workers for its strong tourism and construction sectors, and immigrants are in demand because they tend to be highly reliable, punctual, stable, hard-working, and flexible.

Also in Switzerland, Italy, and Britain, Latinos represent the fastest-growing immigrant community. Hundreds of illegal immigrants ride the rails from Spain to the French Alps, then slip into Switzerland from French border villages. Switzerland has as many as 1 million residents who speak Spanish. If the trend continues, Spanish will soon surpass Italian as the country’s third-largest language group, after German and French. Italy, because of its low birthrate, “last year has been able to support a progressive, increasingly aging population, thanks to the immigrants,” according to Las Américas, a Latin American newspaper in Italy. A similar shift is occurring in London, where Latinos take jobs that Britons and the children of earlier immigrants reject. Isaac Bigio, a Peruvian scholar at the London School of Economics, estimates there are at least half a million Spanish speakers in Britain.

Immigration, however, means not only low-wage labor but also a clash of cultures. Observers say that what is at stake on the continent is Western values. Most European immigrants are Muslim, and most are not assimilating well, while others openly and actively reject liberal values such as secular education or the rights of women and gays. In this case, some say that the United States is fortunate that most of its immigrants are from Latin American cultures that accept Western values as their own. While “Americans worry about the threat of occasional terrorist acts that do not directly endanger basic institutions, Europeans worry that immigrants could turn back the clock on centuries of costly social gains.” EU members looked to the Middle East to import guest workers and bolster their diminishing populations. Unfortunately, these immigrants, both legal and illegal, bring with them a strong theocratic, totalitarian background that keeps them from accepting notions of a liberal society based on freedom of choice. Since Latino immigrants, whatever their status, possess a work ethic, a respect for Western laws, and an appreciation of the heritage of western Europe, coupled with a foundation in Catholicism, it would seem to be easy enough for governments to receive them. For this reason, some Europeans argue that drawing labor from a new source—Latin America—may help stem the flow of illegal arrivals from Muslim lands.

Needs of the Immigrants

Immigrants are pressed by poverty at home and by fear for their personal safety. The United States has long been a safe haven for immigrants, and Europe is now becoming a refuge as well. Yet

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One of the first things Latinos do once settled in a new place is try to have their relatives join them.

immigrants in Spain, for instance, are women. They work in houses as domestics, and some even get pregnant to make sure that their children will have a Spanish birth certificate, which will help them to gain legal residence.\(^{11}\) Spain began recruiting women from the Dominican Republic in the 1990s to work as maids. Eventually the new arrivals replaced Spanish migrants, who once flocked north for jobs in richer countries such as England, Switzerland, and Germany. As Spain prospered, fewer of its own workers went abroad, thus allowing further opportunities for the new immigrants in the rest of Europe.\(^{12}\)

All these sacrifices and efforts may well be paying off. In March 2003 Washington’s Inter-American Development Bank reported that cash remittances from Europe to Latin America doubled between 2000 and 2002, to more than $2 billion a year. In concrete terms, this flow of money is a significant benefit to the economy of Latin American countries. For example, according to Ivonne Zimmermann, in 2001 the remittances of Ecuadorian immigrants to their homeland exceeded the combined export value of banana, shrimp, coffee, and cacao, becoming the second largest source of income after oil.\(^{13}\) Worldwide, all immigrants established in industrialized nations send about $80 billion per year to their families in their homelands. If we contrast this figure with the $50 billion that the rich countries have designated for assistance and development of the poor nations,\(^{14}\) we can appreciate the contribution that immigrants make to their native countries.

Assimilation. Every immigrant knows that the process of getting established can be painful, including the difficulty of learning a new language and of facing changes in family routine and diet. The area causing the most concern, however, involves family matters. Immigrants come to Europe expecting to find a financial paradise, only to be overwhelmed by an economic struggle for survival. Parents often need to take several jobs. Without the support of an extended family, children are left on their own for long periods of time. As a result, they are heavily influenced by the public schools and their European peers, something that parents often see as a threat to their value system and family solidarity.

A related issue is bilingualism. Once the family has settled, parents must accept the idea that their children will probably prefer to speak the new language instead of Spanish or Portuguese. This situation can be a problem as far as communication within the family is concerned. It also, though, can be a rich experience for the children, who will be able to understand and interpret their own culture in creative ways.

Another concern is legal status, for a great many immigrants are illegal aliens, dealing with all the risks and hassles of such a status. They live in the fear of being deported, and many are physically or mentally abused by employers who threaten to turn them over to the police if they dare to speak out about their job conditions. Immigrants typically live in marginalized sectors of the city, where they are exposed to a variety of dangers.

Langning for the homeland. Today’s Latino immigrants in Europe fare differently from Europeans who emigrated to Latin America in the first half of the past century. In those days the means of transportation were slow and difficult, money was scarce, and communication was very complicated. Millions left their own homes with the assumption that they would never see them again. Now, however, there seems to be less of a demand that immigrants leave their old selves behind when they come to a new place. Instead, the notions of tolerance, personal freedom, respect for the law, and allegiance to the new land may be all that Europeans are expecting from immigrants, rather than demanding that they become less Latin American than they were before. Latinos indeed like to keep their family ties, cultural traditions, and music, allowing them to express their own ethos wherever they go.

One of the first things Latinos do once they have settled in a new place is to have their relatives join them. The presence of parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts is important for the sake of the family. Second, they establish cultural centers, social clubs, and ethnic restaurants in order to maintain their traditions, language, and food. In cities where immigrants are numerous, their national holidays and festivities are celebrated. For instance, the greatest event of the growing Latin American community in Britain is the Carnaval del Pueblo, held in August. This music festival has been called the most important Latin celebration of Europe; in 2002 it attracted more than 80,000 people.\(^{15}\) As a friend of mine, a prosperous businessman and immigrant, once said to me, “You can leave your country, but your homeland will never let you go.”

Religious experience. An important point in the phenomenon of migration is the role that religion plays in the assimilation of immigrants to their new place. Immigrants, especially those who come from nations where churches are experiencing a spiritual awakening, are shocked when they see half-empty churches on Sundays or church buildings converted into theaters, coffee shops, and fitness clubs. Evangelical immigrants cannot understand how these churches that used to send missionaries to Latin America are now in such a poor spiritual condition. Immigrants normally prefer to attend masses and services conducted in their own language. The ethnic church thus is key for the spiritual and moral support of the immigrant, and the priest or minister becomes an authority figure who helps reaffirm the immigrant’s identity and culture. Though churches are not social clubs, they,
sociologically speaking, they are seen as havens, communities that become the immigrants’ extended families.

For believers in Jesus Christ, the idea of being pilgrims in the world is a strong symbolism that enables them to adjust themselves much better to their new place than is possible for immigrants with no religious connection. Viewing the church as the people or house of God undoubtedly offers the believer the possibility of finding in local congregations the family warmth needed in times of difficulties and loneliness.

Immigration and Mission

Ray Bakke and other missiologists have pointed to the phenomenon of migration as a major challenge and opportunity for the church and mission today. Bakke notes that when God communicated with the human race, he did it through his Son, who was born in Asia and went as a refugee to Africa, where he spent the first years of his life. Half of the world’s children are born in Asia, and half of the refugees anywhere in the world are Africans, which means that Jesus somehow can appeal to them. Furthermore, like modern refugees, Jesus knew about poverty, being born in a borrowed manger, buried in a borrowed tomb, and never owning a house. Certainly the pain, frustration, humiliation, and lack of necessities that many immigrants and refugees experience now would not be strange to Jesus if he were here on earth again today. In this sense, immigrants can be a reminder of the incarnational nature of the church in times when changes are required in order to accomplish God’s mission. It is not far-fetched to think that South-to-North migration might be instrumental in the completion of the missionary task, thanks to its huge mobilization of believers.

More than a decade ago, former RBMU missionary Estuardo McIntosh was one of the first missiologists in Latin America to draw attention to this point when he noted, “According to official statistics, 200,000 Peruvians leave the country every year. We know there is a 5 percent evangelical population in Peru. If we hypothesize that evangelicals are also fleeing, then we have around 10,000 ‘missionaries’ per year leaving Peru. Obviously, this pattern surpasses any other ‘formal’ pattern of mission.”

Who are these evangelical immigrants? A good number of them are part of the new breed of revitalized and fast-growing independent Pentecostal/charismatic churches that are so common now in Peru and the rest of the continent. They emerged in the midst of the deep cultural and social changes that Latin America experienced in the last three decades, and now they are reshaping the religious landscape of the whole region, as well as the way to do mission. These immigrants, and many others like them, have a double purpose in mind: work hard to give their families a better life, and plant new churches wherever they go. Three factors should be considered here:

- **Organization.** This movement of evangelical immigrants challenges the idea that a sophisticated organization and timetable are fundamental to accomplishing the task. For them, flexibility and spontaneity are equally appreciated, and sometimes even more important, since these elements may help with moving in accordance with God’s leading, regardless of existing programs and schedules.
- **Leadership.** Generally speaking, the concept of leadership emphasizes the leader as patron or a father figure, in contrast to the Western notion that understands leadership as a function or a job, based on rules and regulations. Usually a strong personality himself or herself, the Latino leader is expected to be always moving forward and showing results. A weak or indecisive leader would likely have little following. Westerners have a democratic and egalitarian view of leadership, with a small “power-distance” between the leader and the sheep, unlike the normal case in Latin America.

- **Spiritual world.** Latinos come to Europe with a natural sensitivity to the spiritual world that is not so common for Westerners. This characteristic has proved to be useful when dealing with questions of the supernatural. When things go wrong, it is necessary to discern whether the problem is due to bad organization or to demonic attacks. In many occasions the latter turns out to be the cause.

Consider the Comunidad Cristiana de Londres (CCL), a Latino church founded by Edmundo Ravelo in the early 1980s, one of the first to begin working with immigrants. In those years just a few Latinos lived in London. Today, however, Ravelo meets them in the streets, buses, and subway every day. This increase in the Latino population led him to revise his outreach strategy, with remarkable results. After many years of struggling with a congregation of around 80 members, the church has grown in the last six years to about 3,000 members.

The CCL is developing a new mission pattern whose style reflects the ethos of the Latin American culture. One of its first priorities is the formation of communities in the rest of Europe, similar to ones that have already blossomed in France and Spain. Two aspects are significant in working with immigrants. First, the worship service is regarded as a fiesta. Second, the cell-group approach reproduces many features of the extended family.

For evangelicals, the culto (worship service) is an important part of both the church’s life and missionary work. Believers meet in their churches to celebrate God and then go out to share the Gospel with others. In the case of the CCL, its culto emphasizes the emotional and supernatural, focusing primarily on the immigrant.

In this scheme, the unción de poder, or “anointing of [God’s] power,” takes place in the celebration. Empowered by the Holy Spirit, the worship leader expels the territorial demons that control towns, cities, and the nation, reclaims authority over the principalities, and declares the sanctuary holy. During the time of ministry the pastor feels free to preach and then to perform healings and work wonders. Here he prays for those who are unemployed, have no place to live, want to bring their families, or need to adjust their legal status. This is a moment when people feel cared about and supported by hundreds who understand them because they are also going through the same situation. Participants naturally tell others what happened to them and find it easy to bring relatives and friends along with them the next Sunday.

In the CCL, work in the cell groups complements whatever is said and done in the culto. Believers meet at homes on weekdays to discuss the Sunday sermon, share their worries and emotional loads, and pray about them. Each cell leader oversees

The immigrants have a double purpose: work hard and plant new churches wherever they go.
the group's activities, functioning as the cell pastor, since the nature of the small group—limited to a maximum of twelve people—allows him or her to build a close relationship with the people as if it were an extended family. These relationships enable the immigrant to adjust himself or herself in the foreign country with more confidence, knowing that now he or she can lean on others.

Sociologists of religion tell us that the extended family is important in the process of assimilation to the new culture. Writing about Pentecostals in Chile back in the 1960s, Christian Lalive d’Epinay observed that for the migrants who came from the provinces to the capital, the small Pentecostal fellowships would resemble the hacienda they left back home. These fellowships gave them security and shelter in the big city, providing them a place of transition while they adjusted to the new city. In the case of the CCL, the cell groups accomplish a similar role but with a richer dynamic because the leader can relate much better to the situation of the group, since he or she is also an immigrant. This combined effort, uniting the culto and the cell group, has certainly strengthened this community, to the point that its members feel good about themselves, support one another, and are always looking after the newcomers. As a result, the CCL now has a daily radio program (the only Spanish broadcast in the London area) and holds seminars for local English churches that want to develop similar programs.

As Samuel Escobar has noted, this type of evangelical movement, which some call “popular Protestantism,” may further the completion of the unfinished missionary task in other parts of the world. Latino evangelical immigrants are already doing mission among their peers, and also among their host Europeans in what could be called mission in reverse. It remains to be seen, however, whether European churches will endorse what they are doing.

Conclusion

It is hard to forecast the future for Latino immigrants in Europe. Based on the U.S. experience, however, it seems that within the European Union they will probably maintain Spanish or Portuguese as a home language and strive to keep their traditions alive. More Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking churches will emerge, churches of neo-Pentecostal style that will target other immigrants and will also help local congregations to become spiritually revitalized—something that is already happening in England, Spain, and Switzerland. And as the population of Europe ages, bringing with it great demands on government services, the input from Latinos during the peak years of their productive working lives will help keep this continent financially solvent. All in all, the enormous movements of immigrants now occurring will have a most profound effect on Europe at all levels, including on church and mission.

Notes

3. The escalating black market in Spanish birth certificates and passports also attracts many Latinos who want to move freely within the EU.
4. “Europa, el nuevo destino de los latinos,” La Semana del Sur (Tusla, Okla. / Houston, Tex.), year 3, no. 149, November 19–25, 2003. It is worth mentioning that many Spanish citizens do not necessarily agree with this policy that welcomes Latinos. Racist comments and discrimination against Latin Americans are well documented.
5. See http://www.latinos.it/noticias/americas/18/editorial.html.
10. In cities where there is a vast concentration of immigrants, it is easy to observe long lines in places of envío de dinero (lit. “remittance of money”). These places allow persons to place international calls, send money, and dispatch small packages and documents safely. The surprise here is not to see lots of people waiting but the fact that practically all of them are women.
16. Swiss sociologist Christian Lalive d’Epinay observed that Pentecostal churches in Chile served this purpose for the rural immigrants who came to the capital city. In a sense, the same phenomenon might be taking place in Europe with the ethnic churches. See his Haven of the Masses: A Study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile (London: Lutterworth, 1969).
19. “Worship service” does not carry the whole meaning of the Spanish and Portuguese word culto. It is more than the regular Sunday service, for culto conveys the idea of any meeting where prayer and Bible reading are performed both formally and informally. These gatherings may take place at church, in homes, or at any other location that people might find suitable.
20. Lalive d’Epinay, Haven of the Masses.
21. Edmund Ravelo, Peruvian and an immigrant himself, was one of the first pastors who started working with the Latino and Spanish immigrants in London. Not only is his church reaching out to the growing Latin community arriving in England, but it has also led Kensington Temple, a solid, well-known, and established church in London, to adopt the same strategy for church growth. See “The G-12 Vision Explained,” Revival Times (Kensington Temple magazine) 3/2 (February 2001).
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Christology, Inculturation, and Their Missiological Implications: A Latin American Perspective

John F. Gorski, M.M.

This article addresses some missiological implications of Christology from the perspective of mission activity in Latin America. I understand missiology to be the specialized branch of theology that accompanies, analyzes, and gives direction to the missionary activity of the church, which involves the evangelization of human groups that do not yet know Christ or among whom a mature local church does not yet exist.

There are two major missiological concerns in Latin America. The first is the response to missionary situations in that continent, namely, the evangelization of culturally diverse groups so that local churches may come to birth with “their own face,” that of their own culture. The second, closely related concern is the challenge to these churches to assume their proper responsibility for mission activity beyond their frontiers, to engage in missionary situations in other continents.

The Missionary Challenge in Latin America

Although the great majority of Latin Americans profess to be Catholic Christians, for many of them the profession is merely sociological in nature, and thus there are many “missionary situations” in the continent. One-eighth of the population belongs to the indigenous peoples, at times called Amerindians, the original inhabitants of the continent, who speak close to 600 different languages. Also, more than one-fifth of the people are African-Americans, the descendants of the slaves brought to the continent between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The 1979 Puebla conference of Latin American bishops called the indigenous and Afro-American people the “poorest of the poor.” They are tired of being considered objects of pity, however, and want to be valued as protagonists of history and of a new evangelization. These indigenous people, together with a much smaller Asian-American minority, constitute almost 35 percent of the continent’s people. That is, fully a third of Latin Americans are not “Latin” in their cultural roots.

Apart from these ethnically distinct groups, we have the mestizos. We can safely say that one-half of all Latin Americans are racially and culturally mestizos, with mixed racial and cultural roots, partly European and partly Amerindian, African, or Asian. Besides these traditional non-European cultures there is another reality that challenges the church today: the number of people living in a situation of migration, relocating from one part of their country to another, or even to other nations, which may be as high as one-third of the total population. These people no longer express their vitality in the traditional cultural and religious forms that served their ancestors. Instead, they live with a mixture of their own traditions and elements from other cultures, along with a dose of modern and postmodern elements. Particularly I am describing here the challenge of urban populations and the youth.

This multiethnic, pluricultural, and even plurireligious human reality relates the Latin American church to its sister churches in Africa and Asia. Because the continent’s dominant culture was of European roots and expressions, particularly the “Latin” variety of Spain and Portugal, for centuries it was presumed that the big challenge in evangelization was teaching people to learn the proper Catholic religious expressions transmitted through the models of the dominant culture and to pass it on from one generation to the next. An anthropologist would say that the first contact with Christianity involved a process of acculturation (a culture change produced by direct and prolonged contact with another culture), and its further transmission was a matter of enculturation (learning established cultural models). Where it existed, catechesis was often part of a “pastoral action” that was so general that it evangelized no one in particular and touched only a superficial level of the people’s own culture. Since the Second Vatican Council, and particularly since Evangelii Nuntiandi (1975) of Pope Paul VI and the Puebla conference, with their emphasis on what was then called the evangelization of cultures and is now called inculturation, the focus has been a specific evangelization of each human group, taking account of its own cultural identity and religious experience.

Inculturation: From Ecclesiology to Christology

In the past quarter-century the term “inculturation” has been used by many missionaries, missiologists, and others all over the world. Since the 1977 Assembly of the Synod of Bishops on Catechetics, the term has been part of the official vocabulary of the Catholic Church. Pope John Paul II has spoken of inculturation in many of his documents and discourses. Yet in spite of the passing of the years, the use of the term often seems unclear. It is now employed not only by missiologists but also by many others for whom theological precision is not a controlling concern. If the meaning we give to the term is not clear, however, neither will its implications be clear for the mission activity of the church.

We have tended to consider inculturation basically as a question of externals involving church order and new, culturally enriched expressions of Christian life and faith. We would do better, however, to view inculturation as a matter of Christology, not of ecclesiology. Specifically, we should focus on how faith in Jesus the Christ underlies the whole problematic of inculturation.

When inculturation is viewed ecclesiologically, we focus on how the local ecclesial community draws from its culture new expressions of its Christian faith in catechetics and liturgy and in forms of ministry and church structure. Such an emphasis looks to the fruits of inculturation more than to its roots.

At times one gets the impression that the objective of inculturation is simply the fostering of cultural pluralism in the church, as an end in itself. Or inculturation may seem to have as its end the autonomy or even independence of the various local churches. At times it seems that the result of inculturation would be a Christianity that admits of radically diverse principles and models of worship, doctrine, and morality, all of them fully acceptable and mutually respected. At times one even gets the impression that inculturation is based on the concepts of cultural
inculturation” (learning one’s own culture) realized that the relation between the Christian faith and cultures could not be identified with or reduced to either of these concepts. Thus “inculturation,” an entirely new term, was coined to express what this relation of Gospel and culture should be. Its parentage was not anthropological but rather missionary and theological.

Various definitions of “inculturation” have been proposed. The classic definitions of Pedro Arrupe (the former superior general of the Jesuits) and Arij Roest Crollius (present dean of missiology at the Pontifical Gregorian University), formulated in the late 1970s, led the way to clarifying the concept.

Inculturation is the incarnation of Christian life and message in a concrete cultural area in such a way that this experience not only comes to express itself with elements proper to the culture in question (which would be only a superficial adaptation) but becomes an inspiring, normative, and unifying principle that transforms and re-creates the culture, giving rise to a “new creation.” (Pedro Arrupe)

The inculturation of the church is the integration of the Christian experience of a local church in the culture of its people, in such a way that this experience not only comes to be expressed in elements of that culture but becomes a force that animates, orients, and innovates that culture, to the point of creating a new unity and communion, not only in the culture in question, but also as an enriching of the universal church. (Arij Roest Crollius)

These definitions insist that inculturation must go beyond mere external adaptations that may result in new outward expressions of the faith. More significantly, it involves a “new creation,” a new life-giving encounter between the Christian faith and the deeper levels of a culture. Roest Crollius emphasizes the ecclesial dimensions of inculturation, pointing to how the faith experience of the local church is its moving force and how the process enriches the universal church. These definitions proved to be foundational, ones on which others had to build.

It is important to note that inculturation is specifically distinct from “missionary adaptation.” This point is emphasized by the special Synod of 1985, and Pope John Paul II also has referred to it. How is it distinct? First, its subject is not the missionary who comes from another culture but rather a local church embedded in its own culture. Second, its objective is different. While adaptation looked to establishing a local branch of the basically monolithic church, inculturation seeks the birth of a truly particular church with its own vitality and identity within the universal church. Third, it is distinct in methodology. Adaptation is a form of acculturation, while inculturation seeks a gospel transformation from within. Adaptation affects the external expressions of culture, while inculturation reaches its cosmogony and value systems. The most important difference, however, is in the fundamental theology involved. Adaptation implies that God basically acts only in the visible church, while inculturation supposes a paschal Christology in which the Spirit of God is already active among peoples yet to be evangelized, drawing them to Christ.

Inculturation as Dialogue

The definition of inculturation I use to introduce the concept in my missiology courses is that of Aylward Shorter: “the ongoing dialogue between the Christian faith and cultures.” It implies not simply any kind of relation between the Gospel and cultures but a specifically dialogic relationship. The missionary church
We missionaries want to help people experience the fullness of the paschal mystery, which is the joy of the resurrection.

God had been active and present in the history of Israel, but they also realized that the new revelation of God in Jesus changed everything. There is continuity between the old and the new, but also a profound transformation. Similarly, communities of disciples of Jesus among the diverse peoples of the world can realize that their ancestors, by the unspeakable mercy of God and the gift of his Spirit, also had an authentic experience of God. Their new experience of God revealed in Jesus does not destroy that previous experience but brings it to fulfillment.

The community of the disciples of Jesus thus are the subjects of inculturation: they know both their culture and the mystery of God revealed in Christ. Without the interaction of both of these elements, inculturation is impossible.

To recapitulate to this point:

- Without faith in Christ there is no inculturation.
- Only disciples of Jesus can be subjects of inculturation.
- Without a Christian ecclesial community embedded in its own culture, there is no inculturation.
- If a community does not know and love Christ, there is no inculturation.
- If this ecclesial community does not know and love its own culture, there is no inculturation.
- Only inculturation realized by local churches can transform the universal church, making it effectively more and more catholic.
- The fruit of inculturation is the birth and growth of Christian ecclesial communities among the diverse peoples of the world, churches born not wearing a mask but “with their own face,” that of their culture.
- These local churches are born to be missionary, born to evangelize those who are near and those who are far away, and to evangelize these human groups in and from their own cultural identity.
- If a local church community has not yet had the life-giving and joyful experience of realizing how the Christian faith transforms the depths of its own culture, how can it reach out missionally beyond its own frontiers?

Theological Objective: Fuller Participation

The Spirit active in cultures is none other than the Spirit of the risen Christ. The dynamic of the Holy Spirit is to draw people to God in Christ and to transform them into the likeness of Christ. The gift of the Spirit is there. What is often lacking in history and culture is a human participation that is conscious, intelligent, free, responsible, joyful, and devout.

We used to think of the salvation of the individual person at the hour of death. Perhaps this is the case for the great majority of humans who do not yet know Christ and who do not participate in the life of the church. In Matthew 25 we read that in the final judgment Christ will surprise good and merciful people who did not know him with a welcoming into his kingdom because what they did unto others, they in reality were doing unto him. But is this the ideal way of salvation? Does not God want human beings to participate in his saving mystery in a way that is as fully human as possible? We humans are created to be intelligent, free, and responsible. Those are the notes of a truly “human act.” The Second Vatican Council reminded us that God wants to save us not as individuals but rather as a people (Ad gentes 2). He wants to save us as members of society that expresses its vitality through cultural life, here and now in our historical relationship with others.

It is here that I see the urgency of mission, the necessity of the missionary church. It is by the action of the church that people are enabled to participate in salvation in a way that, as stated, is conscious, intelligent, free, responsible, joyful, and devout, in history and culture. The task of the missionary church is to add to the dynamic of the Spirit a humanly and historically necessary “humanization.”

Notes

1. This article is adapted from a presentation made in Rome on October 20, 2000, to the International Missiological Congress, in the panel “Jesus Christ the Saviour: Christology and Its Missiological Implications.”

The Jesuits in Latin America: Legacy and Current Emphases

Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J.

The murder of six Jesuits in El Salvador in 1989 dramatically reminded the world that the Jesuits are still in Latin America and, as usual, in the center of the storm. For more than 400 years the Jesuits have been present in the region as educators and missionaries. Their colonial legacy is well known. Less well known is what they have been doing since they returned in the nineteenth century after their expulsion in 1676.

Early Service in Latin America, 1549–1767

The Jesuits were founded in 1540. Only nine short years later they sent their first missionaries to Latin America, to Brazil. In fact, they arrived on the ship carrying the first governor-general, Tomé de Souza. As such, the Jesuits were founders of Portugal’s most important New World colony. Manoel da Nobrega and José de Anchieta, two of the first Jesuits, evangelized the Indians, founded mission towns (one of which was São Paulo), and defended the Indians from the white colonists. But they also founded schools and parishes for the colonists. By the eighteenth century the Society of Jesus was the most important educational and missionary order in Brazil.

The Jesuits arrived in Mexico and Peru in 1568. By coincidence, they arrived on the ship bearing Peru’s most important viceroy, Francisco de Toledo. But these were more than coincidences: de Souza in Brazil and Toledo in Peru looked upon the Jesuits as key advisers and collaborators in establishing their respective empires in the New World. As a newly founded order, untainted by the abuses that had affected orders in the Catholic Church and fired with the enthusiasm of fresh troops, the Jesuits built schools and founded missions everywhere, from Mexico to Chile, from Brazil to Paraguay.

By the late eighteenth century the Jesuits were clearly the most influential order in Latin America. Their schools flourished, and their missions prospered. The Paraguay missions in particular were already being romanticized in Europe as a sort of New World utopia. A little over 100,000 Guaraní Indians in Paraguay and another 100,000 Indians in Bolivia (the Chiquitos and the Mojos) lived in neatly organized towns, with their own Indian militia. Scarcity and hunger were unknown. Peru’s leading Marxist, José Carlos Mariátegui (1894–1930), observed in admiration that these Indian societies were the only places where the Indians were actually better off after the conquest. In the rest of Latin America the Indians were exploited in the mines or forced to perform menial services for the colonists.

Contemporary critics of the Jesuits accuse them of paternalism in their treatment of the Indians. That may be so, but it was certainly a bland paternalism, because the Indians were allowed to bear arms and to make their own decisions affecting the daily life of each mission.

In 1750 Spain and Portugal made a treaty by which seven missions were transferred to Portuguese territory. That incident was the background of the 1986 award-winning movie *The Mission*. The Jesuits told the Indians that they, the padres, had to leave, but the Indians were free to accompany them or to remain. The Indians chose to remain and to fight. For two years (1754–56) Jesuit-trained Indian armies held off two European armies, the Portuguese and the Spanish. (The Spanish king felt obliged to join the war in order to keep his word to the Portuguese king.)

Less defensible was the Jesuits’ use of black slaves to run their sugar estates and other properties, which the Jesuits acquired in order to finance their schools. Contemporary historians debate whether or not the Jesuits were modern capitalists. They were certainly efficient, and their haciendas prospered. They were not really modern capitalists, however, for they did not aim to expand their wealth beyond what they strictly needed to support the schools. Also, not all Jesuits accepted slavery. In fact, they were repeatedly warned by the general in Rome to end the practice. But the New World Jesuits, like people with vested interests everywhere, claimed that they could not run their haciendas without slaves. At least the slaves were baptized, taught Christianity, and decently fed. Also, the Jesuits encouraged the slaves to marry, which was a way to guarantee stability.

Suppression

When everything seemed to be going well, the axe fell. In 1767 the Spanish king Charles III ordered all the Jesuits out of Spain and Latin America. In fact, the king of Portugal had already expelled the Jesuits (559 altogether) from Brazil in 1759. Most of the 2,171 exiled Jesuits ended up in the Papal States, and only a handful lived to return to their homelands in the next generation. The
expulsion can be understood in the context of royal absolutism and the perception that the Jesuits, staunch defenders of the papacy, were outside royal control. All their schools, missions, and lands were expropriated. The schools and missions were turned over to the bishops and other religious orders, and the haciendas were auctioned off.

In 1773 Pope Clement XIV suppressed the entire Society of Jesus. He did so under pressure from the Catholic kings of Europe. As a result of the suppression all the exiled Latin American Jesuits were now former Jesuits. Those who were priests joined the local diocesan clergy. Those who were not yet priests had to find a means to support themselves, which some did by teaching or writing. But these exiled former Jesuits were quite active. In fact, they made a major contribution to the history and literature of their homelands.

Three in particular wrote histories of their countries that influenced local Creoles (the whites born in the New World who would eventually lead the independence movement) in search of a national identity. Francisco Javier Clavijero, one of the exiled Mexican Jesuits, wrote a history of the Aztecs and other Indian cultures. Although Clavijero acknowledged that the Aztecs were quite bloody, he also recognized the value of their great temples and other cultural achievements. Juan Ignacio Molina, a Chilean Jesuit, wrote a history of Chile that exalted the courage of the Araucanians (today called Mapuches), who never surrendered to the Spanish. And Juan de Velasco, an Ecuadorian, wrote a history of the Indian peoples of Ecuador.

Another of the exiled Jesuits became famous because he openly called for Latin Americans to break with Spain. Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán wrote an open letter to the Creoles in 1792 in which he denounced the Spanish king as a despot. His letter, the Latin American equivalent of Thomas Paine’s Common Sense, influenced many of the independence leaders. Viscardo died in London in 1798, but not before he had turned all his papers over to Rufus King, the American ambassador in England. Inspired by Viscardo’s ideas, King tried unsuccessfully to persuade the American government to join the movement to liberate Latin America.

Arrupe urged all Jesuits in Latin America to make the call for social justice the heart of their ministries.

Return to Latin America, from 1816

The Society of Jesus was finally restored as a religious order in 1814. But because the Jesuits were so few, they had to build up strength before sending out missionaries to the rest of the world. They trickled back to Latin America, with one group arriving in Buenos Aires in 1836; another went to Colombia in 1844. Only in Mexico were there Mexican Jesuits who had survived the long period of exile. In 1816 three aged Jesuits refounded the Mexican province, which by 1820 had 37 members.

Unlike during colonial times, the Jesuits this time did not arrive with viceroyos or governors. Quite the contrary, in all of Latin America they were looked upon with suspicion and hostility by liberal governments, which viewed them as harbingers of papal interference and conservative reaction. There was some justification for this attitude because the Jesuits, having been exiled and suppressed, were much more cautious and less open to new ideas than their colonial predecessors had been. In fact, in nearly every Latin American country, the Jesuits were soon exiled for a second time. The Jesuits who arrived in Argentina in 1836 were exiled by the dictator Juan Manuel Rosas in 1843, and the group that went to Colombia was exiled in 1850. Indeed, the Jesuits in Colombia who went back in 1858 were exiled for a third time in 1861.

On the positive side, these exiled Jesuits reestablished the Society of Jesus in other parts of Latin America. Overall, the Jesuits managed to weather liberal persecution, and by the end of the nineteenth century they were once again working in all Latin America. In fact, they were thriving. In Mexico in 1900 there were 244 Jesuits, most of whom were native born. The mission to Colombia began in 1844 with 12 priests and 6 brothers. In 1924 the Colombian province had 306 members, the vast majority native born.

Everywhere the Jesuits founded colegios (in Latin America colegio refers broadly to primary and secondary education) and universities, which were soon recognized as among the best. They also went back to their old missions in the jungles or the desert of northern Mexico among the Tarahumara. After the encyclical Rerum novarum (1891) of Pope Leo XIII, the Jesuits also began preaching the new social message of the church. Although the Jesuits still maintained their militant antiliberal mentality, they now had a more positive message to preach: social justice.

Liberal anti-Catholicism reached its zenith in Mexico during the Calles regime (1924–28). Bernardo Bergóend, a Belgian Jesuit who went to Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century, founded the organization Catholic Action for Mexican Youth (1913). Many of the leaders of that movement became the leaders of the Cristero (from their cry ¡Viva Cristo Rey! “Long live Christ the King!”) rebellion against the Calles regime. One Mexican Jesuit, Miguel Pro (1891–1927), was captured and ordered shot for his connections with the Cristeros. Two of Pro’s brothers were actively involved in the movement. But in fact Miguel Pro, though sympathetic to the movement, did not approve of its violent means. Even before his death Pro became a legend because of his humor and antics. He would go around Mexico City to celebrate Mass or hear confessions in many different disguises, sometimes as a worker and other times as a dandy. Pro is currently a candidate for canonization.

A near-contemporary of Pro was Father Alberto Hurtado (1901–52) in Chile, who is also being considered for canonization. Hurtado was very much concerned about the lack of a Christian response to the poverty in Chile. As a young priest in 1937, recently returned from studies in Europe, he gave talks and wrote books urging Catholics to become more social-minded. In 1944 he founded the Hogar de Cristo (Home of Christ) as a refuge for abandoned children. Since then the Hogar de Cristo has become the largest private charity in Chile for abandoned chil-
Vatican II, Reform, and Revolution

Major changes took place in the Society of Jesus as a result of Vatican II and the dynamic leadership of Pedro Arrupe, who was general between 1965 and 1981. In fact, the changes had long been in the making. The general before Arrupe, Jean Baptiste Janssens, a Belgian, exhorted all the provinces, but especially those in Latin America, to face the social question and prepare to take action. Janssens, and later Arrupe, fostered the creation of centers of research and social action, known by their initials in Spanish as CIAS. Also, many young Jesuits were sent to study social science in Europe or the United States. In every province of Latin America the Jesuits set up these centers, which in turn organized “surveys” (the English word was used) to study the social situation of each country and propose reforms.

In 1968 Arrupe attended a meeting in Rio de Janeiro with all the provincials and superiors of Latin America. There he urged all Jesuits in Latin America to make the call for social justice the heart of their different ministries, whether they were university professors, parish priests, or retreat directors. Everywhere the new social consciousness was incorporated into formation programs for young Jesuits. At the same time, major changes were sweeping over Latin America. The Cuban Revolution was followed by a series of military dictatorships in the 1960s that aimed to stop the changes. By way of exception, in Bolivia under General René Barrientos (1964–69) and in Peru under General Juan Velasco (1968–75), the military pushed for reforms. Latin American society became highly polarized as the debate increasingly came down to the question: reform or revolution?

This polarization placed the Jesuits in the center of the debate. For the political right wing and the military, the Jesuits with their new message of social justice were perceived as allies of the revolutionaries. In fact, several times Arrupe wrote letters to Jesuits worldwide, but with a special eye toward Latin America, warning them of the pitfalls of Marxist analysis, and he exhorted them not to favor violence. While most Jesuits eschewed Marxist interpretations, they recognized the importance of using the social sciences (which included a knowledge of Marxism) in order to study the causes of poverty and propose reforms.

This social polarization, plus the changes in the church, produced internal crises. Many Jesuits began to question the appropriateness of maintaining their schools for the middle and upper classes. In Mexico in 1971 the Jesuit provincial decided to close the Instituto Patria, the principal Jesuit secondary school in the capital. This decision not only provoked the anger of many parents but also divided the Mexican Jesuits. Similar debates were held throughout Latin America. Most provinces opted for maintaining their elitist schools, but only after introducing courses and activities that would make the students more socially conscious. Today, in a typical Jesuit school in Latin America, upper-division students are encouraged to do voluntary work among the poor on the weekends or during the summer.

The Jesuits could not avoid the political crises that erupted all over the continent. Many Spanish Jesuits were forced to leave Cuba after the Bay of Pigs invasion (1961), in which some of their former students participated, and Belén High School in Havana (from which Fidel Castro graduated) was confiscated by the government. In Chile, Roger Vekemans, the Belgian Jesuit who helped found the Bellarmine Center (the CIAS center of Chile), left the country when Salvador Allende was elected in 1970. Vekemans and his team were very close to the Christian Democrats, and accusations had been made that the U.S. CIA had funneled money via Vekemans into the Christian Democrats’ campaign against Allende. The accusations were unfounded, but the stigma of being associated with the CIA was too great to bear. In the following years Vekemans became an adviser to Alfonso López Trujillo, the archbishop of Medellín, Colombia, who spearheaded the conservative reaction against liberation theology. During the same period a Chilean Jesuit, Gonzalo Arroyo, was instrumental in founding the group Christians for Socialism, which supported Allende. Arroyo and many other priests fled the country after Augusto Pinochet took over in 1973.

The Central American Jesuits were particularly hard hit. Most of Central America forms one province, and many of the Jesuits came from the Basque regions of northern Spain. In the 1960s the Society of Jesus founded three different universities: one in Guatemala City, another in Managua (Nicaragua), and the third in San Salvador (El Salvador). Under Ignacio Ellacuría, accompanied by other Jesuits and lay professors, the Universidad Centroamericana (UCA) of San Salvador became a lively center of new ideas for change. Right-wing animosity increased as the Jesuits became involved in grassroots movements. In 1977 Rutilio Grande, a young Salvadorian Jesuit, was killed in reprisal for his work among peasants in an area north of the capital city. The White Warrior Union, a paramilitary death squad, ordered all Jesuits out of the country. During the civil war in that country (1980–92), which began with the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero and, later that year, four American religious women, Ellacuría became one of the principal voices in favor of reconciliation based on dialogue and reform. Right-wing politicians and military considered that position tantamount to treason. Top military leaders ordered Ellacuría and several companions to be murdered in November 1989 while leftist forces were attacking the city.

Nicaragua posed a peculiar problem. There the leftist forces, the Sandinistas, came to power in 1979, and several Jesuits and other priests were directly involved. Fernando Cardenal was the most prominent Jesuit (poet Ernesto Cardenal, his cousin, is not a Jesuit) in the Sandinista government. He organized a literacy campaign and served as minister of education. In 1984 the general, Father Kolvenbach, requested Cardenal to leave the Jesuits because the pope had expressly forbidden priests to hold

With their new message of social justice, the Jesuits were perceived as allies of the revolutionaries.
political office. But the same general allowed Cardenal, who made his first vows for the second time in 1997, back into the society.

The same story was repeated with variations in the rest of Latin America. The dictator of Paraguay, Alfredo Stroessner (1954–89), had several Jesuits deported as a result of their social commitment to peasants and Indians. In 1981 the government of Honduras denied permission to Jesuits and priests of Maryknoll to enter the country. The accusation was always the same: the priests were involved in “politics” and not performing their religious functions.

The period of dictatorships and internal wars ended in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and the Jesuits ceased to be at the center of the storm. But they continue to be very active and influential in all Latin America. The Society of Jesus experienced a vocation crisis in the years following Vatican II but gradually climbed back, eventually reaching the same high numbers as before the crisis. In 1973 there were 3,801 Jesuits in Latin America, of whom roughly half were Latin Americans by birth. But in 2001 that number had dropped to 3,474. Given the vocation crisis in Europe and North America, very few new missionaries now go to Latin America. On a positive note, however, the proportion of native Latin Americans has grown steadily. In Mexico, Colombia, and Chile the vast majority of Jesuits are native born. In countries with a large Indian population (the Andean countries or Guatemala), it has proved difficult to draw many native vocations because of the high academic standards of the society. But even in those cases, the novitiates and formation programs call for more flexibility to allow for the great differences in cultural backgrounds.

The Jesuits are still an educational force. There are nineteen universities and graduate faculties run by the Jesuits, some big and others very new and small. One of the most prestigious is the Ibero-American University in Mexico (of which Vicente Fox is a graduate). One of the biggest is the University of the Sinos River (UNISINOS) in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, with close to 30,000 students. There is a Jesuit high school in every major city in Latin America. Belén High School, closed by the Cuban government, was refounded in Miami, where it is flourishing today.

There is a Jesuit high school in every major city in Latin America.

Current Jesuit Emphases

The Jesuits have long since gone beyond their traditional universities and high schools. In 1955 José María Vélaz, a Venezuelan Jesuit who was born in Chile, founded the first Fe y Alegría (Faith and Joy) school among the poor in Caracas. Basically, Fe y Alegría schools are state schools run by the Jesuits. The Jesuits make up the national administrative team, while the individual schools are run by different religious orders of women or committed lay Christians. The state pays most of the salaries of the teachers. Since its humble beginnings in Venezuela, Fe y Alegría has grown until it now operates 1,675 centers, with over 437,000 students in 15 countries. In Bolivia alone 6.4 percent of all primary and secondary students are in Fe y Alegría schools.

The Jesuits also run many nongovernmental organizations that seek to foster community development and citizen participation or to defend human rights. When the Mexican Jesuits announced their decision to close the Instituto Patria in 1971, they founded in its place a new entity, Cultural and Educational Development, which consists of a team of Jesuits and lay associates who live with poor and indigenous communities with the aim of empowering them to bring about their own development. In Bolivia the Center for Research for the Promotion of the Peasantry (CIPCA, formed in 1971) offers workshops and publishes materials to help the peasants organize themselves. In La Paz the Jesuits also created the Center of Multi-Educational Services (CEMSE), which aims to help children in state schools get a better education. State schools in Bolivia are so poor that most of them do not even have a library. CEMSE has a library and computers, and it encourages children from state schools in La Paz to use the library. CEMSE also offers free health services and training courses for state teachers, and it produces educational programs for use nationwide.

Human rights have also become a major Jesuit concern. In Mexico City the Miguel Agustín Pro Human Rights Center, founded in 1988, offers legal assistance to victims of human rights violations (and many of those are victims of the government itself, as was the case during the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas in 1994). Other centers attempt to face the problem of poverty in creative ways. In 1977 Rosalynn Carter visited Father John Halligan’s Center for the Working Boy, in Quito. Halligan, a New York Province Jesuit, founded his center in 1964 to take care of abandoned children. In time, and with the help of generous contributions, the center has become a model in Latin America. The center takes in poor families (not just boys) to educate the entire family—mother, father, and children—so that with new skills they can acquire decent jobs. More than 5,000 families have gone through the center’s training program.

Contemporary Jesuits in Latin America are very influenced by the principle of multiplying, for relatively few Jesuits actually work in their schools, universities, and research or human rights centers. Rather, the Jesuits normally take a more advisory role, preferring to encourage committed laypeople to assume leadership positions. Jesuits look back on their colonial churches and missions with pride but have no intention of reproducing them today. If anything, they aim to capture the creative spirit of the old Jesuits, but in the context of the challenges of the twenty-first century. The colonial Jesuits defended the Indians and taught them how to defend themselves. That ideal, now extended to all marginalized groups, is still very much alive today.

Note

Crisis and Hope In Latin America
A Christian Perspective
Emilio Nunez and William Taylor
Panoramic yet thorough. Part one examines the historical, socio-political, and religious background of Latin America. Part two probes issues, such as post-conciliar Roman Catholicism, liberation theology, the charismatic movements, contextualization, and social responsibility. Part three explores the implications for the church, mission agencies, and expatriate missionaries serving in Latin America.

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The Rebellion & Revolution in Chiapas, Mexico
Carl Lawarence, with Benjamin Rule
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SP1-7 Shannon Publishers, 1999 Paperback, 255 pages
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-Warren Mayers, Professor of Anthropology, Wheaton College

List: $16.99 Our Price: $11.05 3 or more: $9.35*
Latin American Catholicism

Bryan T. Froehle and Mary L. Gautier

CARIBBEAN

In comparison to North America’s almost 20 million square kilometers, the 24 countries or territories of the Caribbean cover only a little more than 200,000 square kilometers. Population density is much higher, with nearly 161 people per square kilometer in the Caribbean, compared to 16 in North America. Countries or territories in this region include those on the islands of the West Indies, which include the Greater and Lesser Antilles, as well as island chains such as the Bahamas, just outside the Caribbean Sea.

The Caribbean stretches 4,000 kilometers from the southern tip of the United States to Venezuela, dividing the Atlantic Ocean from the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. The historical importance of these diverse islands as trading and military outposts has resulted in a great diversity of separately governed microstates and a variety of official languages. The islands of the northern part are larger and comprise the Greater Antilles. They include Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti and the Dominican Republic, the Cayman Islands (a British territory), and Puerto Rico (a territory of the United States). These were the territories first encountered by Christopher Columbus and the first Spanish missionaries in 1492–3.

Of the 24 nations and territories in the Caribbean, the Dominican Republic has the greatest Catholic population of any of the islands. The Church counts 88 percent of the 8.5 million inhabitants as Catholic. This results in an average of 9,277 Catholics for each of the 804 priests. Forty-seven percent of its priests are diocesan. More than 27,000 catechists and over 1,600 women religious minister to Catholics in 485 parishes in 12 dioceses.

The Lesser Antilles are southeast from Puerto Rico to Venezuela, and include territories of the Netherlands, Britain, France, Venezuela, and the United States. They include Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Aruba, Curacao, and Bonaire, together with the Leeward and Windward Islands. The Leeward Islands include the British and U.S. Virgin Islands, Guadeloupe, St. Eustatius and Saba, St. Martin, St. Kitts and Nevis, Antigua and Barbuda, Anguilla, and Montserrat. The Windward Islands include Martinique, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

Catholics comprise about 80 percent of the population of Aruba, Dominica, Guadeloupe, Saint Lucia, Martinique, and the Netherlands Antilles (which include the islands of Curacao, Bonaire, Saint Eustatius and Saba, as well as part of Saint Martin). For the most part the populations of these island territories and microstates are quite small. The largest by far is that of Trinidad and Tobago. As a result, despite the fact that only about one in three persons in Trinidad and Tobago is Catholic, its nearly 400,000 Catholics give it the greatest number of Catholics anywhere in the Lesser Antilles. Within the islands and microstates of the Lesser Antilles, the number of parishes ranges from 61 in Trinidad and Tobago to one in Anguilla, where 3 percent of the population of 7,000 is Catholic.

Mesoamerica

Given its common colonial origins, the Catholic Church in Mexico has more in common with the nations of Central America than with Canada and the United States. For purposes of this book, therefore, Mexico is treated as part of “Mesoamerica,” a region that encompasses all the countries of Central America, including Panama.

In spite of shared cultural roots, the diversity between the countries of this region is great. A wide variety of pre-Columbian languages and cultural phenomena survive in Guatemala. English is the official language of Belize, and Belize shares much in common with the islands of the Caribbean basin. Panama was historically tied to South America as part of Colombia, and only came to be seen as part of Central America in the twentieth century. Finally, Mexico is a separate case in its own right, and its sheer size dwarfs the rest of the region in geographic, demographic, and economic terms.

The Church in Mexico dates to 1519, when Hernando Cortes and his men, together with their native allies, conquered the Aztec Empire. In the aftermath of the colonial period, the history of the Church in Mexico has been punctuated by times of sharp hostility by the state towards the Church. The situation was particularly tense between 1923 and 1940. By 1958, relations between the Church and the Mexican government began to improve. In 1992, Mexico established full diplomatic ties with the Vatican and has since moved to a situation of greater openness and freedom for the Church.

In spite of shared cultural roots, the diversity between the countries of this region is great. The current rapid growth of evangelical Christians, especially among the more indigenous populations in the south of Mexico, has increased the number of parishes in Mexico. Approximately nine in ten Mexicans are baptized Catholic. A little over 14,000 priests, 74 percent of whom are diocesan, are present to a Catholic population of nearly 90 million. The distribution of Catholics per parish and per priest is very different in Mexico and its neighbor to the north. Mexico has 15,502 Catholics per parish, and the United States has 3,273. Likewise, Mexico has 6,382 Catholics per priest, and the United States has 1,311. Catholic population in Mexico is 29 percent higher but the number of parishes (5,784) is 70 percent fewer. Mexico, however, has 171,719 catechists, for an average of 30 per parish, far higher than for any other country in the Americas.

Guatemala, Mexico’s neighbor to the southeast, has some 9,764 baptized Catholics per priest, a particularly elevated figure.

South America has 7,112 Catholics per priest, while Europe has 1,342 per priest.

Bryan T. Froehle, formerly of the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA), Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., and Mary L. Gautier, Senior Research Associate at CARA, publishers of the award-winning quarterly CARA Report, are the authors of Global Catholicism: Portrait of a World Church (Orbis Books, 2003). This overview of Latin American Catholicism is adapted from Global Catholicism, pp. 78–84. Global Catholicism is the second of three volumes profiling and reflecting on the Catholic Church in the United States and around the world. Used by permission.
Another reflection of the Church’s relative weakness here is that only 37 percent of its 970 priests are diocesan priests, suggesting a continued dependence on international religious orders to supply priests. This compares to the 74 percent of priests in Mexico who are diocesan priests. The challenges the Church faces in Guatemala largely spring from the country’s many decades of civil war and endemic violence. Average income is less than half that of Mexico, and the literacy rate is one of the lowest in the Americas. Guatemala’s infant mortality rate of 46 per thousand live births is the third highest, after Bolivia and Haiti.

SOUTH AMERICA

Both South America and Europe have similar numbers of Catholics (280,144,000 in Europe compared to 297,455,000 in South America) and a similarly sized land mass (about 20 million square kilometers). However, this is where other comparisons from the perspective of Church statistics demonstrate sharp differences.

Europe has over six times as many Catholic parishes as South America and 20 percent more dioceses and other ecclesiastical territories. South America’s dioceses and ecclesiastical territories average about 36 parishes each while Europe’s average is 202. Europe has about five times as many priests as South America and about six times as many women religious. South America has 7,112 Catholics per priest while Europe has 1,342 Catholics per priest. In terms of parishes, the difference is even larger: South America has 20,984 Catholics per parish and Europe has 2,162 Catholics per parish.

Trends in the numbers of priests and women religious highlight another facet of South America’s long relationship with Europe. Historically, large numbers of priests, particularly religious priests, and women religious, came to South America from Europe. When the number of religious in Europe began to decline in the late 1960s, fewer were sent and others returned to Europe. As a result, the proportion of native-born diocesan clergy has been increasing and the overall rate of growth within numbers of priests and women religious has been slow, due to the loss of Europe as a major source for Church personnel.

Diversity in this large region is defined largely by geography. The Andes mountain chain stretches from Eastern Venezuela to Bolivia and the Southern Cone includes Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. The largest country, Brazil, occupies about half the land mass along with the vast Amazon River basin and is usually considered separately, as is the relatively small area to the east of Venezuela colonized by the English, Dutch, and French.

The Andean countries historically had the strongest Church presence in this land of mountains and plateaus, where the Church had a well-established place in the life of the large estates and towns. The sparsely settled jungles leading to the Amazon basin, as well as the traditionally less settled coastal regions, tended to have a weaker Catholic presence and practice.

The Southern Cone of Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay has a temperate climate and grew rapidly through immigration from Spain and Italy during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a result, the Church in the Southern Cone has tended to have the most in common with the Church in Europe. Uruguay, the smallest of these countries, is also the one where Catholicism—and organized religion in general—is most weakly established. The first diocese was created in Montevideo in 1878 and the political climate reflected the relatively strong anticlerical orientation of nineteenth-century immigrants. Between a quarter and a third of the population has counted itself as agnostic and been unaffiliated with Catholicism since the turn of the twentieth century.

The Church in Brazil includes 143 million baptized Catholics. Brazil’s 8.5 million square kilometers are divided into some 267 ecclesiastical territories which in turn contain over 8,700 parishes. Although the United States has many more parishes than Brazil, no other country in the world has more dioceses. The average diocese or ecclesiastical territory has 33 parishes. This ratio is about a third of the average for North America and a fifth of the average for Europe.

In comparison to Mexico’s average of 1,120,800 Catholics per diocese, there are 577,921 Catholics per diocese in Brazil. The average number of baptisms per diocese, as reported by the Church in Brazil (8,687), is about three times lower than the similar figure for Mexico (25,031). This may suggest that Brazil has a greater proportion of baptized Catholics who do not baptize their children as Catholics.

Catholic history in Brazil has been punctuated with difficulties. After independence from Portugal in 1822, the government took a heavy hand to regulating Church actions and growth. During the dictatorships of the 1960s and 1970s, the Church in Brazil was at the forefront of leadership for change. Many bishops advocating land reform and defending democracy were threatened with violence, echoing the call of missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to stop the exploitation and enslavement of indigenous peoples.

### The Catholic Church in the Americas, by Region: 2000

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<th>Region</th>
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<th>Meso-américa</th>
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*April 2004*
My Pilgrimage in Mission

J. Andrew Kirk

S

o many have been my experiences of the world church and its mission that it is hard to select from the host of influences that have helped form my pilgrimage. By God’s grace I have been greatly privileged in the wealth of exposure I have had to the Christian community on all continents (with the exception of Antarctica!). I was born in London two years before the Second World War began and evacuated to the country about seventy kilometers from the capital. I have some deep impressions of the event, not least my first meeting with black people: GIs in transit in a local army camp on their way to the D-Day landings, whom we entertained in our house.

I was brought up as a conventional Anglican, during the decades regarded by Callum Brown as still the peak of religious observance in Britain.1 My profession of faith was largely formal, though never seriously questioned. I came alive to the reality of Jesus Christ, however, while doing military service in Berlin. (There, among other duties, I helped guard the notorious Nazi leaders Hess, Dönitz, and Speer, whom we could see exercising in the prison’s inner yard.) I vividly remember kneeling in the barracks chapel and making a first commitment to follow where Jesus would lead. Many surprises ensued: the first was a change in my career plan, from farming to the ordained ministry.

In my last year reading theology in the University of London, the Christian Union held a convention on the challenge of cross-cultural mission. My college was responsible for preparing an exhibition on Latin America. This was the beginning of my interest in that region, greatly stimulated by the vibrant enthusiasm of Canon Harry Sutton, then general secretary of the South American Mission Society. As a young Christian, I had been encouraged to read missionary biographies. I was impressed then by the argument that a Christian should normally consider service overseas unless specifically called to stay at home. At that time (the early 1960s), thinking about mission still largely accepted the view that Western Christianity was the measure of the faith, that Western Christians had much to offer Christians elsewhere, and therefore that the older churches still bore a great responsibility for the younger churches. Later, I came to realize that one of the primary reasons for cross-cultural service was the value of cross-fertilization, through which mission partners would become transmitters of God-given insights into the Gospel in “reverse” mission from the receiving to the sending churches. Part of their commission was, as it were, to keep alive for the local church the “rumor” of the world church.

During my last term at theological college in Cambridge, I was introduced in person to the thinking of Francis Schaeffer. Later, on three separate occasions, I spent time at the L’Abri community in Switzerland that he and Edith, his wife, founded in the mid-1950s. This encounter had a profound impact on my understanding of the Christian faith in relationship to contemporary culture. At that time, Bishop John Robinson’s celebrated book Honest to God had just been published. In his response to the book, Schaeffer analyzed the drift of cultural history in a way that made a lot of sense to me. Instead of merely denigrating Robinson’s argument for misrepresenting and departing from established Christian teaching, Schaeffer convincingly explained previous faulty shifts in thinking that led inexorably to Robinson’s position. I also found Schaeffer’s insistence on the absolutely objective reality of God and salvation a cogent response to the increasingly subjective and existentialist outlook of the culture. Perhaps even more important was the community’s living integration of intellectual life with pastoral concern, prayer, evangelism, social commitment, and the ability to communicate the Gospel to a generation completely alienated from all God-talk. I believe that Schaeffer’s apologetic approach is still highly relevant in the twenty-first century.

Resident in Latin America

Following ordination in 1963, I served a statutory three years of parochial ministry in North Finchley in London, the political constituency of a young member of Parliament named Margaret Thatcher. There I met my future wife, Gillian Crane; we were married in 1968. Early in 1967 I left England for Mexico and four months of language study. Learning another language is always challenging and is an excellent way into the culture of those who speak it. Spanish is a rich language, and I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to learn it, albeit not very competently. The language school was in Cuernavaca—the city of eternal spring—in a center run by the highly controversial, but utterly fascinating, Ivan Illich. What an introduction to Latin America! One month prior to my arriving, Illich had written a polemical article in the Jesuit journal America in which he debated the desirability of a moratorium on foreign missionaries going to Latin America. The argument is now familiar: most missionary work was being undertaken under false assumptions in the belief that Christians from the North could make up for the weaknesses and inadequacies of the Christian community in the South. The true missionary calling at the end of the 1960s, he argued, was to remain put and to urge the political and business establishment of the rich nations to change radically the way they related to poor communities elsewhere. Illich was an unconventional thinker, his line of reasoning often difficult to follow. Later on he became involved in contentious issues around psychiatric counseling and wrote his celebrated books on conviviality, education, and medicine.

In spite of Illich’s call for a moratorium, I traveled on to Argentina in June 1967. The nation, like many others in South America at that time, had a military government with ultra-Catholic leanings. Around that time, facing internal unrest, the president, General Ongania, proposed a ceremony to dedicate the nation to the sacred heart of the Virgin Mary at the shrine of Lujan, outside Buenos Aires. Under pressure from reforming elements in the Catholic Church, the entire Protestant population, and other sectors of the nation, the project was eventually called off. I became aware of a new reality for me: the power of the Catholic Church in the political and cultural life of a country. The hierarchy maintained a very conservative stance with regard to change. Later, at the time of the so-called dirty war (1976–82), when it identified itself with the ideological leanings of the military dictatorship, it came to regret its cultural captivity to forces of the extreme political right. Unfortunately, subsequent

J. Andrew Kirk spent twelve years in Buenos Aires in theological education, a further twelve years in London involved in mission and lay education, and a final twelve years in Birmingham in academic and vocational mission teaching. He is the author of a number of books, most recently, What Is Mission? Theological Explorations (Darton, Longman & Todd, 1999).
my approach to my classes.

Seeing that conventional New Testament studies would make no impact, I had quickly to rethink my approach to my classes.

change was incompatible with the good news of Jesus. Together with Yoder, José Míguez Bonino, and a group of postgraduate students, I was involved in a semester-long seminar on the subject of violence in Christian thought and action. I found the interaction enormously stimulating in light of the content, the exchange of sharply differing opinions, and the multidisciplinary approach to the subject. Throughout my pilgrimage I have continually returned to the problem of violence as a theological and practical challenge to the Christian conscience.

My time in Latin America was immensely significant in my understanding of mission. I became more certain that a gospel message that could not address directly and fittingly the major social and political questions of the times was, at best, defective and, at worst, a false Gospel. To put it another way, the supreme calling of the Christian community to share the good news of
Jesus Christ by word and life has a number of indispensable facets. Thus, “every aspect of mission has an evangelistic dimension, in that it shows forth the good news of Jesus Christ; however, not every aspect of mission has an evangelistic intention.” The Gospel always addresses individual people and challenges them to repent and believe the Good News, but always as people with real social and cultural histories. At a later stage, and in the light of controversies within Roman Catholic, evangelical, and ecumenical streams of the world church, I tried to work out what I understood to be the dialectic relationship between evangelism and the whole mission of God’s people, using the biblical teaching on the kingdom of God as a main key of understanding. This is a task that every generation needs to continue.

An Intercontinental Visitor

Late in 1978 my wife and I and our three young children returned to England after nearly twelve years in Latin America, years in which I had received immeasurable help in understanding more fully the dimensions of faithful obedience to the calling of Jesus Christ. The next twelve years saw a further stretching of horizons in new directions. For most of this time I was working partly with the Church Mission Society and partly with the London Institute for Contemporary Christianity. With CMS I was given a role of seeking to interpret to the church in the United Kingdom some of the mission issues prevalent in Africa and Asia. This responsibility involved me in significant visits to West Africa (twice), East Africa, Egypt, India, the Philippines, and Israel-Palestine, topped and tailed by two return trips to Latin America. In each case I produced extensive reports on what I had encountered.

The primary purpose of my visits was to listen to the local churches, observe their life and work, and make sense of it in terms of changing perceptions of world mission. In doing so, I had to try to place myself imaginatively into the cultural and social contexts of these churches in order to begin to understand the challenges they were facing and the responses they were giving. This was a demanding task, given the diversity of situations, my own limited experience, and the brief amount of time available. For example, it was not easy to empathize with the complexity of the problems faced by someone from a Muslim or Hindu background wanting to take a step toward public baptism. Nor was it easy to appreciate the depth of feeling around the question of polygamy held by many Africans, as I experienced in a two-hour discussion with a group of theological students in eastern Nigeria. However, these journeys helped to bring home vividly the enormous riches available within the world church in terms of the understanding and practice of the Gospel and of the diversity of gifts given by the Holy Spirit to God’s people everywhere. I began to learn just a little more about the potential for partnership in mission between different parts of the one body.

Noteworthy

Personalia

The International Association for Mission Studies has appointed Lalsangkima Pachuau, professor of missiology at United Theological College, Bangalore, India, as editor-elect of its journal Mission Studies, effective with the first issue of 2005. The incoming associate editors are Johann Jayakiran Sebastian, also of United Theological College, Cathy Rae Ross of the Bible College of New Zealand, Auckland, and Paulo Suess of the Catholic University of São Paulo, Brazil. The current editor of Mission Studies is Stephen B. Bevans, S.V.D., professor of mission and culture, Catholic Theological Union, Chicago, Illinois. Visit www.missionstudies.org.

Daniel Jeyaraj, Judson-DeFrietas Associate Professor of World Christianity at Andover Newton Theological School, Newton, Massachusetts, has been named as an IBMR contributing editor. An Indian theologian, Jeyaraj is a leading authority on the Tranquebar Mission and the emergence of eighteenth-century Protestant churches in India. As a contribution to the Indian churches’ 300th anniversary celebrations in 2006, he recently translated two major monographs of the first Protestant missionary to India, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719), from German into English. Editor of Dharma Deepika: A South Asian Journal of Missiological Research and an ordained presbyter of the Diocese of Tirunelveli, Church of South India, Jeyaraj previously taught at Union Biblical Seminary and Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute in Pune and Madras, India, respectively, and most recently as John A. Mackay Professor of World Christianity at Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey.

Died. G. Linwood Barney, 79, missionary anthropologist and seminary administrator, October 29, 2003, in Fort Myers, Florida. He and his family served in Laos and Vietnam as missionaries of the Christian and Missionary Alliance from 1951 to 1954, where he worked with William Smalley and Yves Bertrais on developing the romanized written form of the Hmong language. After returning to the United States, he taught at St. Paul Bible College, now Crown College, St. Paul, Minnesota, and earned an M.A. and Ph.D. in anthropology at the University of Minnesota. In 1960 he and Jack Shepherd founded the Jaffray School of Missions, now the Alliance Theological Seminary, Nyack, New York. In addition to being professor of anthropology for twenty-five years, he served for various periods as dean of students, dean of faculty, and director of studies. For twenty-five summers he also taught at the Toronto Institute of Linguistics, and for twenty-four years he served on the board of the Overseas Ministries Study Center. His article “The Challenge of Anthropology to Current Missiology” appeared in the IBMR in October 1981.

Died. Jonathan Chao, 65, founder and president of China Ministries International and director of the Christianity and China Research Center, January 12, 2004, in West Covina, California. Born in northeastern China, he grew up in China, Hong Kong, and Japan, until he immigrated to the United States, where he graduated from Geneva College, Westminster Theological Seminary, and the University of Pennsylvania (Ph.D. in Sinology, 1986). From 1977 to 1987 he taught at the China Graduate School of Theology in Hong Kong, of which he was the founder, where he also established the Chinese
The Gospel in the Midst of Ordinary Life

With the London Institute, I was involved with a group of dedicated and skilled Christian colleagues in a lay academy whose vision was (and is) to facilitate mission in the daily life of work and employment. Together with John Stott and some others, I helped to make concrete an institution that was, in part, inspired by Kairos, a lay learning community founded in the 1970s in Argentina. In its courses the institute focuses on issues inspired by Kairos, a lay learning community founded in the 1970s in Argentina. In its courses the institute focuses on issues of faithful Christian witness in different areas of life, such as medicine, education, the media, business, politics, and the arts. I came to appreciate more clearly that the life of work is for almost all Christians the primary missionary frontier: a concept that has not yet penetrated sufficiently into the mentality of the professionally trained ordained ministry of the churches. I was provoked by the thinking and experience of both lecturers and students (from many parts of the world church) to consider that this reality should not be seen as a tension between a church-centered and world-oriented mission; rather, the whole Christian community needs to learn and practice God’s calling in the midst of the world as followers of Jesus. It began to dawn on me that mission is not about Christians being sent into the world as if they were outside it; they are sent to engage with the many aspects of human existence of which they are already an inextricable part. In some respects, the institute (and others like it) exists because the churches are failing to address adequately this primary mission task, a deficiency largely caused by faulty expectations laid upon the professional leadership.

One memorable event at the institute was a special seminar convened to discuss with Lesslie Newbigin some of the ideas coming from his recent books. This seminar began for me an extended relationship with the Gospel and Our Culture project, which was formed to explore further the implications of his insights into mission in the West. Newbigin’s thinking has been formative for me in a number of ways: in particular, I have benefited from his incisive critique of secular faith and his call for mission to the whole of culture. Later, I was involved for five fruitful years in the study project “Towards a Missiology of Western Culture” under the leadership of Wilbert Shenk and partly inspired by Newbigin’s outlook. Participation in this program, as a member of the subgroup that looked at the implications of epistemological issues for mission, helped me to understand the importance of philosophy in evaluating the task of mission in a Western environment. The major concern was to explore the problems surrounding faithful Christian witness in a late modern, secular ambience, where basic assumptions about reality appear to contradict those affirmed by the Christian faith. The subgroup produced a pioneering book that sought to relate the epistemological dilemmas of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries to Christian mission.

During this same period I also became involved, rather fortuitously, with an international Christian research institute


Announcing

The Pontifical Institute of Foreign Missions has an online edition of its AsiaNews service. The agency, which has been publishing social, cultural, and religious news on Asia since 1986, started the online edition November 2003. Directed by Bernardo Cervellera, an expert in Chinese affairs, the agency offers daily news on all of Asia in Italian, English, and Chinese. Visit www.asianews.it.

The trustees of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia voted in November 2003 to move their program personnel and program office from New York to Asia. “This is a significant change in the way the United Board operates and promises to transform its work, ensuring that it will remain relevant, timely, and evidence-based,” according to a press release. The trustees’ decision came in response to recommendations of a task force chaired by Willi Toisuta, president emeritus of Satya Wacana Christian University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The move will “enable more immediate and collaborative dialogue” between United Board program officers and their Asian scholar-partners. As a result, the Asian Christian Higher Education Institute, established in 2001 and currently located at Hong Kong Baptist University, will be the main focus of United Board program activity in Asia. David Kwang-Sun Suh, founding executive director of the institute, now serves also as the United Board’s vice president for programs. Richard J. Wood, president of the United Board and based in New York, will maintain oversight of the United Board as a whole, including the Asian Institute.


The Yale-Edinburgh Group on the History of the Missionary Movement and Non-Western Christianity will hold its annual meeting July 1–3, 2004, at the University of Edinburgh. Speakers will discuss the theme “Missions, Money, and Privilege.” The study group is cosponsored by the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World at the University of Edinburgh, Yale Divinity School, and the Overseas Ministries Study Center. Visit www.library.yale.edu/div/yaledin.htm for details.

The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization is calling church leaders from around the world to meet with mission strategists September 29–October 5, 2004, in Thailand for the 2004 Forum for World Evangelization. Participants will examine trends and develop plans to address thirty local and global issues that include globalization, transformation of cities, the “uniqueness of Christ in a postmodern world,” and “at-risk people.” Visit www.lausanne.org/2004 for details.
based in Sweden that was set up to aid the churches in their thinking and practice regarding global and local situations of conflict. The institute has undertaken and completed research projects on a diversity of matters in many parts of the world. My association with this work has convinced me that the transformation of conflict through reconciliation in justice and truth is a mandatory part of the missionary vocation.

Communities of Mission Learning

The final part of my pilgrimage in mission to date has taken place in the context of the former Selly Oak Federation of Colleges in Birmingham, United Kingdom. I was appointed as dean and head of the Department of Mission in September, 1990. At that time, the department was formed by a partnership among four (independent) mission colleges and a central unit. I was confronted, both personally and in my role as the coordinator of mission education, by a number of different perspectives on mission represented among the teaching staff, particularly in the areas of evangelism, interreligious dialogue, and spirituality. Moreover, three centers for interreligious encounter and study formed part of the federation, of which one remains—the Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations. The centers had grown out of the federation’s concern with mission as attempts to understand better the multifaceted religious reality of the modern world. As they developed and took on a life of their own, they became increasingly wary of the Christian call to mission. My own experience of other faiths led me to believe that only informed Muslims, with a commitment to inviting people to Islam, really understand the attention Christians give to evangelistic mission. The city of Birmingham is an ideal location for the study of mission because of its multicultural and multifaith composition. For a number of years I was part of an informal group of Christians and Muslims who met monthly for the discussion of both important social issues and the essential questions of our respective faiths. These meetings were conducted in an atmosphere of openness, understanding, frankness, and friendship. We were able to move beyond polemic to understand better each other’s core beliefs and values while bearing witness to our own, and to work together on common local problems. Undoubtedly these contacts and discussions within the Department of Mission prompted me to consider seriously matters relating to the reality of diverse religions as an aspect of Christian mission.

One of the major causes of concern among both staff and students at Selly Oak was how to relate the academic and vocational aspects of mission education. The tension between them continues to exercise my thinking. It may become for me the theme of further writing at a later date. Academically, the relationship between missiology and other theological disciplines is constantly raised. Should it be considered an adjunct to practical theology? Is it applied theology? Or is it a particular way of doing theology—missionary theology? Vocationally, because the students who studied at Selly Oak were, in the great majority, mature students with considerable mission experience behind them, the dilemma of how to relate theory and practice constantly presented itself. Their interest was in reflecting critically and constructively on mission practice. Just because they were practitioners, and because mission, by definition, covers most aspects of Christian life, the dimension of worship and prayer also became central for them.

Looking Ahead

My pilgrimage has covered five decades. My understanding of mission has been forged out of encounters with different parts of the world church on most continents. I am conscious of having received my life as a special gift of God’s grace. There can be few people who have had the range of privileged experiences that I have. As if all so far recounted were not enough, since retirement I have been invited to participate in two mission education programs in central Europe, one in Budapest and one in Prague. These opportunities have been for me eye-openers into the vigor, as well as the frailty, of mission thinking and practice in the former Communist countries. As cross-cultural mission cuts across national and cultural boundaries, extending right through central Asia to Vladivostok, the Gospel is indeed in our generation reaching the ends of the world and will continue until the end of time. A decade ago, for example, who could have imagined a Polish woman together with a local church in Kazakhstan using the film The Matrix as a means of evangelism? Mission in our generation is being inspired by a missionary God with great imagination and immense resources.

Notes

7. Kairos continues to flourish, now in its own premises just outside Buenos Aires.
11. Details can be obtained from The Life and Peace Institute, P.O. Box 1520, SE-751 45 Uppsala, Sweden (www.life-peace.org; info@life-peace.org).
12. In 1999 the Department of Mission was integrated into the Department of Theology of the University of Birmingham. I retired from my position with the university in September 2002.
The Legacy of Walter Rauschenbusch: A Life Informed by Mission

Barbara A. Lundsten

According to Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918), “the Christianization of the social order in the next two generations” should be added to “the evangelization of the world in this generation,” the dynamic watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. At the turn of the century Rauschenbusch witnessed hundreds of students pledge themselves to the austere goal of world evangelization. He longed, though, that “those who do not go to the foreign field during Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. At the turn of the century old, as a model for the social gospel movement. Indeed, one of the great thoughts that came upon me was that I ought to be a preacher, and help to save souls. I wanted to go out as a foreign missionary—I wanted to do hard work for God. During the summers of 1884 and 1885, Rauschenbusch did what he referred to later as “home mission work among the Germans.” He served as an interim pastor in Louisville, Kentucky, to a German congregation mired in divisive issues. His labor-intensive summers produced conversions and a greater sense of church unity, leaving an indelible and formative mark on his Christian faith. By the end of his years as a seminarian, Rauschenbusch reported: “Very soon the idea came to me that I ought to be a preacher, and help to save souls. I wanted to go out as a foreign missionary—I wanted to do hard work for God. Indeed, one of the great thoughts that came upon me was that I

Educational and Spiritual Influences

Near the end of Rauschenbusch’s student years in Rochester, two outside speakers left lasting impressions on him. The first, John E. Clough, spoke at Rochester Theological Seminary’s 1884 commencement exercises. Clough, a well-known Baptist missionary with the American Baptist Telegu Mission who had spearheaded a mass movement in India in the late 1870s, impressed upon his seminary audience the need for workers to serve as evangelists and pastors. Clough’s methods, often controversial, maintained as much as possible the social cohesion of the community.

In 1885, a year before Rauschenbusch graduated from seminary, he heard W. S. Rainsford, an Episcopal priest at St. George’s Church on New York’s East Side, speak about the progressive reform among his congregation and the community. Rainsford’s church was transformed into a center that welcomed the working-class neighborhood by providing immigrants with recreation as well as educational opportunities. With prophetic foresight Rainsford cited the church’s urban mission as the place where she would either “win her greatest victory or suffer her most disastrous defeat.” Rauschenbusch, spurred by the missional action taken in the inner city, struggled to reconcile life in the increasingly industrialized cities with his historical faith and with confidence in the written Word of God. Few of his professors spoke of the mounting concerns produced by the rapid industrialization of cities, the influx of immigrants, the economic power struggles between the rich and the poor, or the weakening religious mores impacting the changing society.

Rauschenbusch had more than a casual connection with Clough and his foreign mission work. In 1882 Emma Rauschenbusch, his sister closest in age, became a missionary for the Woman’s Baptist Missionary Society of the West. By 1883 Emma had become Clough’s associate working among the Telegu, a movement that boasted a congregation of over 20,000 participants—the largest Baptist church in the world at the time.

Clough respected Emma’s work and decided to take a much-needed furlough.

Upon his return to the United States, Clough accepted an invitation to stay at the Rauschenbusch home in Rochester. His invitation to be commencement speaker evidently came after he had justified his conversion methods to Augustus H. Strong, president of the seminary and originally a skeptic of Clough’s missionary methods. The result of their discussions was that “Clough had completely won over Strong, as well as gained a firm ally in Rauschenbusch.” In 1894 Rauschenbusch’s “firm ally” became his brother-in-law when Clough married Emma.

Clough’s mission legend, retold to and written by Emma, was given a title fitting for the Rauschenbusch legacy—Social Christianity in the Orient (1914).

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Barbara A. Lundsten, a doctoral student in the School of Intercultural Studies at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, is currently researching a women-led grassroots mission study movement that took place in the early twentieth century.
ought to follow Jesus Christ in my personal life, and die over again his death. I felt that every Christian ought to participate in the dying of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in that way help to redeem humanity, and it was that thought that gave my life its fundamental direction in the doing of Christian work.”

After Rauschenbusch’s graduation in 1886, he accepted a call to the pastorate of New York’s Second German Baptist Church, a position he held for eleven years. Rauschenbusch came prepared to save souls. He quickly understood that the area of Hell’s Kitchen on West 45th Street and Tenth Avenue—home to gangs and immigrants, disease and promiscuity, “crowded tenements and noisy factories”—was not “a safe place for saved souls.” The experience was an awakening, and one that he used throughout his life to challenge himself personally as well as the church at large. He once told a friend, “In New York a person feels the waves of human life all around, as it really is, not as it ought to be according to the decretum absolutum of an old theology.”

Rauschenbusch dug into his pastoral duties of preaching, visitation, counseling, and study. After only one month, however, a hearing problem resurfaced that had first appeared in Rochester. It was the beginning of a serious hearing condition—a degenerative neurological defect—that would impact him the rest of his life. Rauschenbusch’s congregation gave their newly arrived pastor two months to recuperate in the Allegheny Mountains.

In mid-August 1886, surrounded by the serenity of the Alleghenies, Rauschenbusch received an invitation from the Baptist Mission Union asking him to consider filling the presidency of the Theugu Theological Seminary in Ramapatnam, India. Though he had just recently taken the pastoral position in New York City, he decided to consider the offer and gave the mission agency the go-ahead to review him as a candidate for the position. One of his professors, however, questioned Rauschenbusch’s “view of the Divine Authority of the Old Testament,” and as a result, the mission retracted its offer.

“A Missioner to the City”

Rauschenbusch’s congregation in New York consisted of German immigrants and children of immigrants, most of whom were struggling to survive along with nearly 400,000 other German immigrants living among New York City’s 1.5 million people. Most immigrants had fled their rural farmlands on the Continent and came looking for better wages and opportunities to fulfill their dreams. A great many, however, had become disillusioned as they suffered joblessness, poverty, and injustice.

Rauschenbusch accepted his call and its meager annual salary of $600. As a pastor, “he would live in near-poverty, deny himself, and minister like Christ to the poor and abused. He would be a missioner to the city that more than any other was shaping America’s future.” Ordained on October 21, 1886, Rauschenbusch plunged into his duties. His Sunday sermons reflected his evangelical education and training—“My idea then was to save souls in the ordinarily accepted religious sense.” He quickly expanded his ministry involvement to include weekly meetings with other Baptist pastors, regional conferences, and citywide campaigns for justice and political change.

During the summers of 1887 and 1888, Rauschenbusch traveled to Northfield, Massachusetts, where he participated in the summer revivals led by evangelist D. L. Moody. There he wrote, “I gave myself to God unreservedly and had a rich blessing.”

He savored the personal relationship such renewals wrought, and prior to 1886 he had read sermons from men such as Moody, Henry Drummond, Edward Judson, and J. Hudson Taylor. But the more he read, studied, and associated with leaders and issues of social justice, the more he sought to strike a balance between the social message and personal communion with God.

As he matured in his faith, social issues pressed to the forefront of his thinking. Without abandoning his personal commitment to God, he enlarged its horizons and envisioned its broader implications. In the process he questioned why the church never challenged him to consider the social question: “The church held down the social interest in me. It contradicted it; it opposed it; it held it down as far as it could; and when it was a question about giving me position or preference, the fact that I was interested in the workingman was actually against me—not for me.” He had “personal religion” and a “large social outlook,” and he thought deeply how to bring these together into a “unity of life-faith.” For Rauschenbusch, religion aspired to a holistic conception of one God, one world, and one redemption. Faith was incomplete when life was compartmentalized and God was reserved for one part but not another. He wondered, “Where does the social question come in? Where does the matter come in of saving the world? That does not seem to have any place there, does it? And that was the real difficulty in my thought all the time—how to find a place, under the old religious conceptions, for this great task of changing the world and making it righteous; making it habitable; making it merciful; making it brotherly. Somehow, I knew in my soul that that was God’s work. Nobody could wrest that from me. Jesus Christ had spoken too plainly to my soul about that. I knew that he was on the side of righteousness, and on the side of his poor brother. But where could I get it in with my old Christianity—with my old religion?”

Throughout Rauschenbusch’s pastorate in New York, he actively engaged in broadening his own understanding of how to live out his Christian faith and participate in the regeneration of the community around him. He was convinced that the capitalistic economic structure deterred righteousness, and he fought hard to bring about a more just system. He aligned himself with Henry George, who ran for mayor of New York “as the reform candidate of a coalition of labor unions and socialists.” Later, Rauschenbusch lauded George’s influence on his life when he said, “I owe my own first awakening to the world of social problems to the agitation of Henry George in 1886 and wish here to record my lifelong debt to this single-minded apostle of a great truth.”

Richard Ely, an Episcopal layman and professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins University, also had a significant impact on Rauschenbusch’s growing social conscience. He went a step further than George by advocating church intervention toward the reformation of the economic structure of America’s capitalistic system. Ely affirmed Rauschenbusch’s growing belief: “What we need is the whole truth, and that includes a social as well as an individual Gospel. . . . It proclaims individual and social regeneration, individual and social salvation.” Ely blended his religion, economics, and ethics into a unified faith that
Rauschenbusch translated a number of Ira Sankey’s hymns into German.

Rauschenbusch could embrace. Throughout Rauschenbusch’s life he considered Ely a significant influence upon his thought and his disciplined lifestyle of study, both being prerequisites of social reconstruction.28

Rauschenbusch’s social position was often worked out in his writings. Because of his profound hearing loss, writing was an avenue that opened vistas of dialogue. Soon after he arrived in New York, he published articles in newspapers and religious journals, founded and edited For the Right, a paper for the working class, and expressed views that would eventually be explicated in his numerous books. He wrote Sunday school lessons and translated into German a number of church hymns composed by Ira Sankey, Moody’s renowned song leader.

By 1889 Rauschenbusch had delved more systematically into the relationship between religion and the social question. “The major issue engaging him was how the church could close the widening gap between itself and the urban masses. The issue presented itself as two questions: How far can Christians go toward embracing the aspirations of workers, especially those expressed in socialism, and how can Christians be made to care about the social revolution under way in their country?”29 Though Rauschenbusch never formally joined the Socialist Party, he sympathized with, and worked for, the implementation of many socialist ideas. He felt that socialism, grounded in a solid Christian faith, merited consideration.

In 1891 he sailed to Europe for ten months to take time to reflect and study the social, economic, and biblical issues that challenged his views. He traveled to Birmingham, where he observed economic reform in action. In London Rauschenbusch spent time with the Salvation Army, under the direction of General William Booth, and noted their “soul saving and society saving,” though years later, Rauschenbusch felt that the Salvation Army failed to reach the root cause of poverty in its efforts to ease the plight of the poor. He went to Berlin and studied the New Testament in the light of social issues and the kingdom of God.

The year 1892 was a pivotal point in Rauschenbusch’s thought. He returned from England and the Continent invigo-rated with ways to implement his maturing view of the centrality of the kingdom of God. In May 1892 the Baptist Congress, a “forum for debate on theological and social issues by both Northern and Southern Baptists,” along with other Baptist agencies, met in Philadelphia to commemorate the 100th anniversary of William Carey’s missionary journey to India, which heralded the modern Protestant missionary movement.30 In an address before the Baptist Congress, Rauschenbusch pressed “the conversion of America’s new urban-industrial order.”21

On April 12, 1893, Rauschenbusch married Pauline Rother, a schoolteacher who, as a girl of six, had emigrated to the United States (Wisconsin) from Prussian Silesia. During the first four years of their marriage they lived in New York, where Rauschenbusch continued his pastoral duties. In 1897 Rauschenbusch, with his wife and their two children, left New York to take a position in the German department at Rochester Theological Seminary as professor of New Testament interpretation, natural sciences, and civil government. By 1902 he was awarded the chair in church history at the seminary, a position he held until his death in 1918.22 While in Rochester, Rauschenbusch continued the diligent study, civic responsibilities, lecturing, correspondence, and writing needed to refine his ideas about the kingdom of God.

Professor and Advocate of Full-Orbed Mission

For Rauschenbusch the kingdom of God was “a conquering idea,” an “all-powerful impulse to missionary effort, as the center of a valid theology, and as the basis for the task of social regeneration to which he believed the Church is called.”23 In 1904 he published an article entitled “The New Evangelism” in which he asked two important questions: “Are the traditional motives still effective? And is the moral standard held up by the church such as to induce repentance?”24 According to Rauschenbusch the traditional motive of mission involved solely an individualistic salvation, which was seen as the sole motive and aim of Christianity. Rauschenbusch maintained that such an “individualistic conception of personal salvation has pushed out of sight the collective idea of a Kingdom of God on earth” and as a result has left the church “comparatively indifferent to the spread of the spirit of Christ in the political, industrial, social, scientific, and artistic life of humanity.” All these areas have been left as “the undisturbed possessions of the spirit of the world.”25

Personal salvation is the foundation of mission, to which Rauschenbusch attested in 1892: “To save men from sin and death and see them become brethren of Jesus Christ must ever remain the first and mightiest motive of Christian missions.” This “evangelical conception of missions” is the primary motive of mission—“first in order of importance, first also in order of time.”26

Those who espoused traditional motives because of their millennial view he called “a dead weight against any effort to mobilize the moral forces of Christianity to share in the modern social movement.” Though “they are among the most devout and earnest people,” their evangelical motive is to save “individuals for the coming of the Lord”; they participate in world mission “because it is an express condition that the Lord will not return ‘until the gospel has been preached to all nations.’”27

Rauschenbusch was no mission strategist, but he fought for “Christianizing the social order,” a title fitting for his second book. In his view, mission work was in fact modeling what he envisioned:

The practical influence of foreign and home missions has been another constructive influence in modern Christianity which has aided the advance of the social conception of the Kingdom. The leaders of the missionary movement have been compelled to adopt imperial policies and to think in terms of nations and races. Missionaries have been forced by the facts of human life to look beyond the saving of single souls and the establishment of churches to the christianizing of social customs and institutions. The strategy of missions has taught us to reckon with generations in the slow implanting of new powers of spiritual life in great races. The ablest leaders of the missionary propaganda have been among the pioneers of the Kingdom idea, because no other idea was adequate for their needs. The most effective expositions of this revolutionary new theology have come from the platform of missionary conventions, and not from the chairs of theological seminaries.28

Rauschenbusch challenged the church to gear up to “the big live issues of today if it is to manifest its full saving energies.”29
He warned: “If the Church tries to confine itself to theology and the Bible, and refuses its larger mission to humanity, its theology will gradually become mythology and its Bible a closed book.”30 Here he revisited the moral dilemma and challenged the church to move beyond concern over the moral issues of the family—drunkenness, sexual immorality, profanity—into issues of “the justice of holding land idle in crowded cities, of appropriating the unearned increment in land values, of paying wages fixed by the justice of holding land idle in crowded cities, and of taking the surplus of their output as ‘profits,’ or of cornering the market in the necessities of life.”31

Rauschenbusch’s impact on mission methods was evident when John R. Mott sounded the call for a greater involvement in social issues of the day. Mott endorsed the social gospel when he affirmed: “There are not two gospels, one social and one individual. There is but one Christ who lived, died, and rose again, and relates Himself to the lives of men.”32 In April 1914, at the “Conference on Social Needs,” Mott gathered social gospel leaders, one of whom was Rauschenbusch, along with representatives from North American student organizations, to address the relationship between students and the social realm. This meeting “marked an epoch in the social thinking of the student community.”33

World War I deeply affected Rauschenbusch. His German ancestry, his connections to Germany, and his allegiance to the United States were difficult to reconcile during the war. His eldest sister, Frida, and her family lived in Germany and supported its regime. His son Hilmar, with Rauschenbusch’s approval, served in France with the Allies. At the outbreak of the war in 1914, Rauschenbusch wore a black ribbon on his coat lapel to signify his “profound grief” and his commitment to peace. Rauschenbusch presented Germany’s side in journal articles while attempting to maintain his sympathy with the Allies. Many friends and colleagues distanced themselves from him because he did not vocally side with the United States. In 1917 after the United States declared war, Rochester Theological Seminary pressured Rauschenbusch to establish his American loyalty in a written letter, parts of which were published in local newspapers and religious journals.34 Rauschenbusch, though profoundly shaken by the war, an agony that accompanied him to his grave, continued to write. He called the church to a higher level, to the “big, modern social task” ahead, “demanding a christianizing of international relations.”35 He saw the nations and the races drawing together and in need of “a monotheistic religion as a spiritual basis for the sense of human unity.”36 In 1917 he published his last book, A Theology for the Social Gospel, in which he developed a theology to match his growing sense of internationalism. “When the progress of humanity creates new tasks, such as world-wide missions, or new problems, such as the social problem, theology must connect these with the old fundamentals of our faith and make them Christian tasks and problems.”37

The war as well as pressure from conservatives concerning his “liberal” views took their toll on Rauschenbusch’s final years. Though the next generation was accepting the basic tenets of the social gospel, Rauschenbusch was aware of the widening gap that existed between social gospelers and conservatives espousing traditional Christianity. Try as he might to bridge the gap by centering his writing on Jesus and the kingdom of God, there remained “an attenuated connection between them.” Even in his last days, Rauschenbusch tried to articulate a position that was neither liberal nor conservative. “The old theology must develop social relevance, the new social movement must discover religious depth.”38 In the end, he found solace in his family. As his five children grew into adulthood, their lives reflected the influence of their father’s social ideas. Diagnosed with pernicious anemia Rauschenbusch died on July 25, 1918, in Rochester, New York.

Assessment

Today, Rauschenbusch is remembered as a seminal thinker of the social gospel movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. For the most part, however, he has little currency among liberals or conservatives, missiologists or theologians. He is an important figure in mission history and mission theology because of the influence he exerted during his time. Rauschenbusch deserves to be rediscovered by those who struggle to attain social and theological balance in a full-orbed mission.

Rauschenbusch the pastor, as “a missioner to the city,” lived his gospel message in the heart of New York City. He struggled with political, social, and economic problems, as well as theological and missiological questions that assailed him at the turn of the century. Rauschenbusch the historian anchored his teaching and his writing on the centrality of Jesus Christ and the kingdom of God. He faithfully challenged the church to embrace its “larger mission to humanity.”

More than a social gospel reformer, Rauschenbusch was a man who understood the present in light of the past, attempting to garner lessons and warnings that would make the world a better place because of the pervasive influence of Christianity and its world mission. From start to finish, mission informed his life’s thought and work.

Notes

4. Quoted in Minus, Walter Rauschenbusch, p. 45.
6. Harris, in the prepublication draft of “The Social Dimensions of Foreign Missions,” sent by Harris to the author on January 17, 2003. The quotation was edited out of the version that appeared in Gender and the Social Gospel.
11. Ibid., p. 52.
12. Ibid., pp. 50, 55.
13. Ibid., p. 56.
15. Rauschenbusch, “Kingdom of God,” p. 266. Rauschenbusch’s
reference to “giving me position or preferment” likely refers to two incidents when he was initially considered for a position and then refused—a pastorate in Springfield, Illinois, and the presidency of the Telegu Theological Seminary in Ramapatnam, India. His biographer D. R. Sharpe made an interesting point about the latter opportunity: “If he had gone as a missionary, one can imagine what triumphs of faith would have been recorded, but then think of the loss to America and world Christianity. So, perhaps even the wrath or stupidity, or both perchance, of a theological professor was made an instrument of good” (Walter Rauschenbusch, p. 58).

17. Minus, Walter Rauschenbusch, pp. 61, 62.
18. Ibid., pp. 63–64.
19. Ibid., p. 65.
22. Sharpe, Walter Rauschenbusch, pp. 73, 141, 142.
23. Ibid., p. 63.

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The Legacy of Archibald B. Reekie

William H. Brackney

Archibald Reekie (1862–1942), pioneer missionary to Bolivia, remains historically important as well as a significant symbol for continuing overseas missionary outreach in the Canadian context. As Canadian Baptists followed their British and American cousins in establishing their overseas missions in the nineteenth century, they produced a generation of stalwart entrepreneurs who served them well in several contexts. A. B. Reekie was one of those “good knights in a new crusade.”

Archibald Brownlee Reekie was born in Armow, Kincardine Township, in the province of Upper Canada (later Ontario), June 12, 1862. Kincardine borders Lake Huron and experiences consistently harsh winters, characterized by deep snowfalls and bitter wind chills. The Lake Huron lands were passed over by early settlers for better possibilities beyond the Lakes. Archibald’s father, John Reekie, a farmer and sometime lumberman, was descended from Scottish immigrants, likely from Edinburgh, from which the family name is derived. His mother was Anne Sinclair, the township’s first schoolmistress. The Reekie family was poor, living during a pioneering era in one of the less arable and productive areas of Upper Canada, owing to its shorter growing season and the relative isolation from markets. Male children were expected to contribute the labor force on small farms, and Archibald and his siblings fulfilled this expectation well—indeed until he was almost thirty years old. His schooling was interrupted several times, and for years it seemed he would inherit his father’s livelihood as a small-time, struggling farmer. Child mortality was high; in Archibald’s youth he nearly succumbed to a fever, and one of his cousins died from complications following a winter baptism.

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Laying a Spiritual Foundation

Two influences redirected Archibald’s future. First was his dream of faraway places, and the second was his Christian conversion. His biographers and siblings tell of his early interest in geography, particularly that of Latin America. He read voraciously. A sensitive young person, at sixteen years old he witnessed the death and funeral of his local pastor, which profoundly affected him. In fact, a call to full-time Christian service began to take shape as a result.

In 1891 Reekie’s life changed dramatically toward the realization of his youthful dreams. He reentered Kincardine High School and then Woodstock College in southern Ontario, where he qualified for university studies. From Woodstock he entered McMaster University in Toronto, the provincial Baptist institution of higher education, founded only a few short years before.

As an older student, he took the English Bible course in preparing for the ministry. His curriculum was a three-year program that terminated in a diploma, rather than a degree, which fully qualified him for ordination in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.

At McMaster he was able to engage in field education, which placed him in churches in the Toronto area during term time and in the summer months in missionary placements in the Canadian West. In places across the province of Manitoba like Pilot Mound, Boissevain, and Ninga, Reekie learned how to conduct personal evangelism and plant new congregations under difficult circumstances. He also took more time to read and write on the subject of Latin America.

During the academic summer recess of 1896, Reekie took the bold step of exploring the possibilities of commencing a Latin American mission. He collected funds from his fellow students and made contacts in the Toronto diplomatic community. Finally, he developed a bold “prospecting” plan to actually visit South America. For six months he traveled the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, encountering oppressive heat in the Isthmus of Panama, climbing snow-capped mountains in Peru, and realizing his total inadequacy in the Spanish language. At length he crossed Lake Titicaca and reached La Paz, sold enough Bibles for his return passage, and surveyed the possibilities. Returning through Lima, Peru, Reekie boarded with evangelical missionaries who discouraged his plans as they observed his language deficiencies and unfamiliarity with the culture. Undaunted, Reekie returned to McMaster and was confident of his call to be a missionary. His travel journal for the exploratory trip, complete with financial notations, is an exemplary piece of missionalia at the turn of the century.

Reekie’s dream soon became an obsession in the halls of McMaster. His professors encouraged his call, and other friends were drawn to the possibility of missionary work. Through the Fyfe Missionary Society, named for the first principal at McMaster, Reekie presented lectures on South America. He communicated also with local churches and, before long, captured the attention of the Foreign Mission Board of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. He published a series of articles on religion in Latin America in the Canadian Baptist that further raised the consciousness of the denomination.

Due to uncertainty about funding, the annual meeting of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec in 1897 at London, Ontario, proved to be a trial for Reekie but ultimately led to good in unforeseen ways. He hoped for approval to launch a self-funded mission, and he campaigned among the delegates to that end. Praying throughout the sessions of the assembly, and with help from a keynote speaker, Reekie and the proponents of a new mission won approval and modest support for a Bolivian mission. This was not an easy decision, as Canadian Baptists had invested heavily in their only field in India and were considerably in debt when Reekie’s proposal was proffered. Churches and individuals were newly excited about missions and pledged their support not only to Bolivia, but also to liquidating the India debt. The 1897 Convention would long be remembered as the “Bolivia Convention.”

Over the next nine months, Reekie canvassed the churches of the Convention and secured the necessary travel documents to move to Bolivia. He was ordained at the prestigious Bloor Street Baptist Church in Toronto with the enthusiastic endorsement of his entire university faculty, a necessary step in the credentialing process. He managed to graduate from McMaster with a diploma, apparently distracted from his best academic efforts by the prospects of Latin America. When he finally departed Toronto’s Union Station on March 4, 1898, with a warm send-off by many students, pastors, and dignitaries, he doubtless gave thanks to God for allowing him to pick up his delayed dream. He was almost thirty-six years old.

Getting Under Way in a New Field

When he arrived in Bolivia to set up his mission in 1898, Reekie moved quickly to organize a school. He was an entrepreneur at heart; the plan he developed on his exploratory trip in 1896 called for teaching English to support evangelical work. Through classes and personal witness, Reekie expected God to bring new converts into the kingdom. In Oruro there was sufficient opportunity to teach English, both to Bolivians and to foreigners who were there as engineers and construction workers, plus their families. This work also became an ideal means for the missionary to learn Spanish himself.

Though Reekie had few personal converts, soon the work prospered through churches he organized and his reports to the board back in Ontario generated more interest. In 1899 Robert Routledge (1870–1961) arrived in Bolivia, followed by Charles N. Mitchell (1866–1917) in 1900, Archibald Baker (1875–1953) in 1903, and Freeman J. Scott in 1907. Thereafter a steady stream of appointments to Bolivia were made and sustained for several decades. Almost without exception, the missionaries to Bolivia were McMaster alumni, some with histories of negative personal relations with Reekie. Dormitory life in the university had produced both close ties and personal competition.

As several generations of biographers have shown, Reekie possessed all of the boldness and impetuosity of a pioneer. His years of self-reliance in Ontario had inured him to hardships and criticism. He was intolerant of others, a harsh taskmaster, and a poor correspondent with his superiors. More than once he found...
himself in difficulty with the board over financial overextensions and inadequate credit provisions. He moved boldly in construction projects and answered questions later. He was also uncompromising about the nature of the mission in Bolivia being educational. Self-supporting schools had been his original plan, and regardless of others, he relentlessly pursued that goal in each Bolivian city in which he ministered. Apparently Reekie resented the appointment of female missionaries and related to them with a characteristic coolness. Human relations became so problematic in 1907–8 that the board launched an investigation that tarnished the pioneer’s reputation.

Reekie’s bachelor status was well suited to the hardships he endured early in Oruro. His rented housing was a meager, dark, earthen-floored, street-level adobe structure from which he experienced urban life at its noisiest and dirtiest. For his first term, his sole companion was a cat. When his colleagues the Archibald Bakers joined him in Oruro, they found that Reekie had one dry well, one black pig, and one little black hen. But he was energetically involved in building and teaching. At least one of the single female missionaries who arrived after 1905 commented that Reekie’s lack of order and cleanliness was a poor testimony.

During a return to Canada in 1905–6 on furlough, he married Jeanette (Jean) Manzer of Midland, Ontario. Two months later the couple resumed Archibald’s work in Bolivia. In order to facilitate another missionary couple and to accommodate Jean’s altitude sickness, the Reekies moved to Cochabamba, which featured a lower altitude and more pleasant setting. The pleasantness was short-lived, however, as opposition to Protestants set in; at one point, Mrs. Reekie was struck in the face in an attack of rock-throwing. The Reekie family suffered perhaps their greatest tragedy in the loss of their firstborn son, Alexander Grant Reekie, a victim of diphtheria. A large consolation was the birth of their second child, Earl, born three days after his brother’s death.

As time went on, Mrs. Reekie’s compatibility with Bolivia became more problematic. It is clear from correspondence that the couple disagreed about a calling to Bolivian missionary work; Jeanette was emotionally unprepared to remain in South America. In 1911 she left Bolivia, never to return, although Archibald hoped otherwise. He was again a bachelor housekeeper for two years, moving between Oruro, Cochabamba, and La Paz, before returning to Canada in 1913. In 1914, as both the Canadian board and the Reekies assessed their circumstances, Archibald spent a short term in Cuba under the auspices of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. While his work there was generally well regarded, the climate was oppressively hot for a Canadian, and he returned to Toronto in 1916. The political uncertainties of World War I, plus separation from the family, made the Reekies’ plans indefinite. Archibald even considered volunteering for a chaplaincy overseas, but he concluded that South America was his field.

Inevitably, Reekie’s career on the mission field came to an end. Problems with the physical and emotional fitness of Jeanette Reekie, the leadership transition to younger missionaries, and Archibald’s own intractable stances led to an amicable parting of the ways in 1921. The board recalled Reekie’s work with deep appreciation and approved a modest annual pension of $520 per year. Reekie assumed the pastorate of five different congregations over the next twenty-one years. Life in small churches was kinder to Jeanette than the heights of the Andes; her musical and organizational skills were a perfect match for Archibald’s pulpit and educational emphases.

Reekie’s Ongoing Legacy

In the early stages of his work in Bolivia, Reekie’s exploits were chronicled in the denominational press as well as in numerous mission study books about Bolivia. By 1910 he was known across Canada as the Pioneer. Stories about Reekie’s trials had direct influence upon new potential candidates for service, notably Alexander Haddow (1883–1947) and Norman Dabbs (1912–49).

A second aspect of the Reekie legacy was the broadening of Canadian Baptist overseas involvement from essentially a singular commitment to India (where they had worked in conjunction with American Baptists and later in their own right) to multiple fields, as limited resources allowed. As the Baptist family of churches across Canada grew in the twentieth century, Bolivia became the first of more overseas interests in Africa, the Caribbean, and Europe. In its context, Bolivia was a confidence builder.

Third, Reekie created in Bolivia a uniquely Canadian Baptist field. At the end of the nineteenth century, Baptists across Canada were moving steadily toward establishing themselves as a national entity and an evangelical voice in their own right overseas. This growth had its difficulties, including competition with other Protestants on potential fields, and the economic need to work with other Baptists, notably the American Baptist Missionary Union. It was a bold step in 1870 when what evolved as a Canadian Baptist Board of Missions was independently organized and Canadians assumed the support of several stations in India. The possibility of a new work in Bolivia was daunting to many in Canada in 1898 and a creative step of faith to a significant few. Over the nine decades of enlarged support for the Canadian Baptist mission in Bolivia, Bolivians and Canadians exercised a high degree of spiritual camaraderie and ownership in each other. As financial stresses and different paradigms of mission led to reduced support for Bolivia in the 1960s down to a minimal Canadian staff in the 1990s, sadness and resentment emerged in both Bolivia and Canada.

Archibald Reekie’s denominational identity as a Baptist left a deep impression in Bolivia. Reekie had learned well in his local and regional settings in Canada of the importance of congregational autonomy to church development and of evangelistic preaching. From professors like Albert H. Newman at McMaster, he imbued a heritage of religious liberty and democratic decision-making. In Bolivia Reekie and his successors followed the political achievements of the Liberal Party in government reforms and assisted in the development of local institutions such as schools for ordinary citizens. His choice of a mining city like Oruro for his mission beginnings over La Paz or Sucre, where more Conservative forces ruled, demonstrated his democratic political savvy. As pioneers of Protestants, Baptists created a new meaning for soul liberty and the priesthood of all believers in the face of centuries-old Catholic institutions. And, in due course, it would be the Baptists who led in democratic land reforms at Huatahata, where peasants were given ownership shares of agricultural lands. Bolivian Baptists in succeeding generations of the twentieth century evolved as a progressive evangelizing community with social concern.
From the perspective of personnel policy, Reekie’s situation proved to be influential. The board in Toronto, thousands of miles distant from Bolivia, was forced to develop policies that responded adequately to human-resource disagreements. Concern for the ongoing health and fitness of Jeanette Reekie enabled the leadership to discern the proper role of spouses in appointments. And finally, as Reekie’s career wound to its conclusion, his negotiations over furlough employment and an adequate pension set patterns for generations to come.

Assessment

The story of Reekie’s life as a missionary could hardly be characterized as hagiography. His personality quirks and his tensions with both board and missionary colleagues were hard to mask and sometimes greatly embarrassing to the board. As time went on, the historical accounts became more candid about his problems. Successive generations of missionaries to Bolivia were oriented to both sides of “Reekie the pioneer.” In early written histories of Canadian Baptist missions, authors made little attempt to disguise the problems encountered and caused in the first stages of the Bolivian mission. Canadian Baptists came to accept that missionaries could be saints with feet of clay.

In Bolivia the legacy of Archibald Reekie stands out. His work is recalled in establishing the congregation and constructing the building for the Primera Iglesia Bautista de Cochabamba, the oldest Protestant church edifice in the country. In Oruro, still largely a mining community, the outstanding parochial school is the Reekie School, named by the mission board in his honor in 1921. In the centennial celebrations of 1998, Archibald Reekie achieved a kind of cult status in Canada as pilgrims retraced his original journeys, preached at sites mentioned in his journals, wrote histories and biographies in English and Spanish defending his right to be remembered as the pioneer, and launched new initiatives of mission in his name.

Reekie spent his last years in the quiet context of a retirement pastoral ministry. After serving in a number of small Ontario village churches during the Great Depression, he finished his course in Acton, west of Toronto. In the midst of a raging blizzard, Archibald Reekie died on February 1, 1942, of a stroke. He was buried in White Chapel Cemetery in West Hamilton, Ontario, under a marker with the simple message, ‘Pioneer Missionary to Bolivia.’

Note


Selected Bibliography

Reekie’s personal papers, local church minutes, student records, and the official records of the Canadian Baptist mission in Bolivia are in the Canadian Baptist Archives at McMaster Divinity College in Hamilton, Ontario. There is a small collection of letters pertaining to his Cuba experience in the correspondence files of the American Baptist Home Mission Society in the American Baptist Historical Society in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. In Bolivia there are local church records and mission records pertaining to Reekie and his era in the historical papers of the Bolivian Baptist Union (UBB) and the Seminario Bautista Boliviana in Cochabamba.

Works by Reekie

A. B. Reekie did not write any full-length works. His journalistic accomplishments were five articles published in 1897 in the Canadian Baptist. These articles exhibit not only his emerging theology and missiology but also a contemporary North American’s perception of Latin American history and culture.

March 25: “The Indians of South America.”
April 8: “South America After Three Centuries of Roman Catholic Domination.”
April 22: “The Darkness of Bolivia.”
May 6: “Openings for Mission Work in Bolivia.”

Works About Reekie

Stillwell, Herbert. Pioneering in Bolivia. Toronto: Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Board, 1922. It was Stillwell who created the idea of Reekie as a prospector.
Book Reviews


Christian churches in mainland China have experienced significant changes in recent years. As the editors of this volume note, “There has been a consolidation of ‘post-denominational’ Protestantism; a steady growth in Bible printing and religious publishing; the opening or reopening of churches all across the country; the replacement of aging seminary campuses with new facilities; the building of new seminaries; a rise of interest in Christianity among non-Christian intellectuals and scholars of religion; and the initiation of health care, education and rural development projects run by the Amity Foundation” (p. vii).

In great part, these changes occurred thanks to the intellectual and pastoral leadership of K. H. Ting (Ding Guangxun). Born in 1915, Ting was ordained an Anglican priest in 1942. During the Japanese occupation (1937–45) he served as pastor of Shanghai’s Community Church. In 1946 Ting and his wife, Siu-May Kuo (d. 1995), left for North America, where he served as mission secretary for the Canadian Student Christian Movement. After obtaining an M.A. from Union Theological Seminary in New York, Ting went to Geneva to work as mission secretary for the World Student Christian Federation.

In 1951 the Tings returned to China. In 1953 Ting became principal of the newly established Nanjing Union Theological Seminary. He was elected to the standing committee of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) in 1954, and in 1955 was consecrated bishop of the Anglican diocese of Chekiang (Zhejiang).

Ting was a committed supporter of the TSPM, convinced that Christians and socialists should collaborate for the common good of China and the Chinese church. After the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), Ting reemerged as the preeminent leader of Chinese Protestant Christians. In 1980 he became president of the China Christian Council (CCC) and the re instituted TSPM. In 1985 Ting helped found the Amity Foundation, a nongovernmental organization initiated by Chinese Christians to promote health, education, social service, and rural development in China. He also traveled extensively to meet with church leaders all over the world. In 1991 Ting led a Chinese delegation to Canberra, where the CCC joined the World Council of Churches. In 1997 Ting retired from his leadership of the CCC and TSPM.

The book under review is edited by Janice and Philip Wickeri, the former a translator and the editor of the Chinese Theological Review, and the latter Flora Lamson Hewlett Professor of Mission and Ecumenism at San Francisco Theological Seminary. It contains some early sermons and meditations, as well as some more recent essays. It is a useful complement to an earlier collection of Ting’s writings, No Longer Strangers (ed. Ray Whitehead [Orbis Books, 1989]).

The editors point out that Ting’s theology has been influenced by three factors: the changing Chinese context, the ecumenical movement, and Anglican theology of the 1930s (p. x). The selections, preceded by the editors’ helpful summaries, nicely illustrate these three influences. The following selections in particular show theological depth, spiritual passion, and historical interest: “Does God Call Us?” “On Christian Theism,” “A Rationale for Three-Self,” “The Cosmic Christ,” and “My View of These Fifty Years.”

K. H. Ting is a controversial figure, and his theology and activities have been criticized, especially by conservative Chinese Christians. Readers can be grateful that the Wickeris have offered us the opportunity to become better acquainted with Ting’s thought and life. I strongly recommend this book for courses on contemporary Chinese Christianity.

—Peter C. Phan

Peter C. Phan, Ignacio Ellacuría Professor of Catholic Social Thought at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., has written extensively on Asian Christianity, most recently In Our Own Tongues: Asian Perspectives on Mission and Inculturation (2003).

The Quest for Russia’s Soul: Evangelicals and Moral Education in Post-Communist Russia.


Responding to the collapse of the Soviet Union and its official atheism, Western evangelicals managed in 1991 to secure the collaboration of key officials in the Russian Ministry of Education for a program of technological and humanitarian assistance that included authorization to work with Christian education and moral instruction in Russian schools. These evangelicals, led by Paul Eshleman of Campus Crusade for Christ and the Jesus Film Project, organized themselves as “CoMission” to target Russian schoolteachers. The missionary effort that ensued and the conflicts engendered are the subjects of Perry Glanzer’s book.

The project was foredoomed by the radically conflicting goals of the respective parties. Protestant evangelicals in CoMission, seeking to proselytize in Russia, anticipated 12,000 missionaries and billed the project as the greatest missionary church-planting effort of the twentieth century. Russian ministry officials, whose motives remain obscure, probably sought to uplift the dispirited ranks of Russian schoolteachers by securing computer and related Western curricular support. By 1992–93 CoMission’s International Schools Project brought close to 400 non-Russian-speaking missionaries into Russian schools for “Jesus” film showings, follow-up convocations, and Bible study meetings. Glanzer seeks to document the personal impact of the mission in converting
Russian teachers. Despite CoMission’s efforts to co-opt Russian church support by providing technological and financial assistance for the Orthodox University in Moscow, the Moscow Patriarchate ultimately could not counterbalance the affront of such open Protestant proselytizing in the Orthodox heartland. The ensuing Russian church opposition to foreign missionaries culminated in its challenge to the landmark 1990 legislation on religious liberty. In 1997 Russia’s Parliament enacted a far more restrictive law, “On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Associations.” The irony is that although limited CoMission programming continues in Russia, CoMission proselytizing helped to drive the very 1997 restrictions on religious associations that ultimately spelled its own demise.

Back to Jerusalem: Called to Complete the Great Commission.


Back to Jerusalem presents a missionary agenda shared by three major networks of autonomous (“house”) churches in China: to complete the Great Commission by taking the Christian Gospel westward from China, through the Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim regions of Asia and the Middle East and, ultimately, “back to Jerusalem.” Paul Hattaway, the founder and director of Asia Harvest, is the principal writer of the book, but through most of it he claims to be acting as interpreter for the leaders of the networks in question, Brother Yun, Peter Xu Yongze, and Enoch Wang.

The twelve short chapters fall into three parts. The first summarizes Chinese Protestant church history and the development of a vision for mission toward the west in some Protestant circles before the Communist Party came to power in 1949. The middle chapters present the testimonies of the three Chinese coauthors and show how their movements shifted from a stance of rivalry to one of cooperation in the mid-1990s, joining together around the goal of sending out 100,000 workers from China in the “back to Jerusalem” movement. The last five chapters discuss the missionary strategies they plan to adopt, focusing on the readiness of Chinese Christians to suffer for the Gospel and their noninstitutional methods of church planting (“we won’t build a single church building anywhere,” p. 109). They also present a call to the churches in other lands to reconstitute themselves to missionary work.

Glantzer, visiting professor at Russian-American Christian University in Moscow, tries to provide a balanced assessment. He accepts Walter Sawatsky’s critique of misguided Western evangelization, notably its lack of an ecclesiology. But some of the Protestant bromides about Orthodoxy’s preoccupation with “suffering” and its failure to offer religious instruction in an understandable idiom contribute to the half-truths that obscure Western understanding of Russian spirituality today.

—Stephen K. Batalden

Stephen K. Batalden, who writes on the history of modern Russian biblical translation, is Professor of History and Director of the Russian and East European Studies Center at Arizona State University.

Pride, Faith, and Fear: Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa.


This book is based on extensive tours of various parts of Africa by Charlotte (who died in 2000) and Frederick Quinn. It combines keen observations and the use of case studies to interpret Islam to Western decision makers. From West Africa, where the Muslim population is estimated at eighty million, the Quinns consider Nigeria, which has a strong Muslim presence locked in fierce competition with non-Muslims, and Senegal, where the urban elite face acute economic collapse and rebellious youths. From the Horn of Africa they profile the Sudanese military rulers, who are embroiled in a costly war against the Christian south, where the country’s minerals are located. In eastern Africa, where 40 percent of the population is Muslim, mostly Shi’ites, the authors focus on Kenya, where a resentful minority in the coastal towns chafes under political domination by Christians. Finally, they look at South Africa, where a Muslim minority, numbering about 4 million, is sandwiched between Afrikanners and the indigenous people. The heterogeneous identity of Islam is refracted through contrasting terrains, ethnicity, class, language, and relation to Sufism as it faces the problem of adjusting to modernity.

Overall, it fragments into four ideological camps: secularists, progressives, traditionalists, and fundamentalists.

The Quinns describe the rapid growth of Islam throughout Africa, with the attendant dysfunctional political consequences. Instead of globalization, they highlight the “variety of local manifestations and the importance of the north-south divide along the east-west axis of the Sahara desert, as well as the political implications of the contrast between Sufi and reformist beliefs and generational changes” (p. 7). Economic collapse of African states, the failure to bridge the global-local divide, the use of Islam as a collective identity signifier, and a perception of history that weaves myths into facts all combine to breed the rise of Islamism, which is both an ideology and a religion of the dispossessed. The Quinns conclude that the call for renewal and social justice by the proponents of ideology will “over time appeal to many young Muslims, especially if the economies of African states fail to improve” (p. 26).

The authors argue that Western economic interests will benefit from the internal divisions that neutralize the more sweeping aspects of the Islamist agenda. If the American experience in Iraq is any indication, however, and if the defiance exhibited by Palestinian suicide bombers teaches us anything, this optimism may not be warranted. The book, however, is readable and sensitive, even as the subject matter is complex.

—Ogbu U. Kalu
Albert Chan, a Jesuit scholar, began collecting Chinese books over sixty years ago. He is renowned for assembling an 80,000-volume library of Chinese materials, now housed at the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco. In 1970 the director of the Jesuit Archives in Rome asked Chan to help catalog the Chinese books held in the Japonica-Sinica section of the archives. This volume, thirty years in the making, is the result; it was worth the wait.

Chinese books in the Jesuit Archives consist mainly of catechisms, prayer books, apologetics, and other religious tracts, many by Jesuit missionaries. The collection also holds works by Chinese lay Catholics and non-Jesuit clergy. There are also writings, mostly philosophical, by non-Christians. (The very first work listed is a version of the Xiaoxue [Elementary learning] by the great thirteenth-century neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi.)

This catalog comprises a list of the books and documents (xvii–xxv), a descriptive catalog of these items (1–561), and indexes of titles, printing houses and publishers, place-names, subjects, and names of persons. The descriptive catalog entries provide bibliographic data, describe the format and condition of the book, and summarize its contents. The entries vary in length from a paragraph to three or four pages.

The Jesuit Archives are a wonderful resource for mission history. Chan’s catalog will greatly help those doing research in the archives on the Catholic mission in late imperial China.

—Robert Entemmann

Robert Entemmann, Professor of History at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, has written several articles and book chapters on Chinese Catholics in eighteenth-century Sichuan.

Handbook of Christianity in Japan.


Christianity in Japan has had more influence than its numbers would indicate. This Handbook of Christianity in Japan goes a long way toward explaining that phenomenon. The editor, Mark R. Mullins, is a professor of religion in the Faculty of Comparative Culture, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan. He and the other seventeen contributors to the volume have all published works or completed dissertations previously in the area of Japanese Christianity. Divided into three sections, the first traces the history of Christianity in Japan; the second discusses the influence of Christianity in Japanese society and culture; the final section provides important information on archives and resources in Japan for the study of Christianity.

Besides surveying the history from the first Roman Catholics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the advent of
The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History.


These excellent essays chart significant changes in the historiography of U.S. and Canadian missions, as historians grow bold to correlate religious missions to larger themes in social, diplomatic, and popular cultural history, now freer to see mission personnel and their extended families as actors and agents in national life, beyond particular confessional traditions. Moving beyond the analysis of missions as ideology, these essays indicate dynamics too rarely acknowledged as characteristic of missions: self-criticism, doubt, and dissent, all due to the basic transformative nature of cultural exchange. These essays examine the broad effect of missions on North America, whether involving those who raised funds, popularized, prayed, and sent loved ones abroad; those born on foreign fields; those concerned with policy and politics; or those who heard what could be known and told only by those who had been abroad. With widening reach, the authors trace the many ways missions were employed, appropriated, and interpreted “back home.” For most North Americans, the wide world was known through immigrants and missionaries.

Five essays are from the national period, six from the “high imperial” era, and four from the period since World War II. Addressing topics spread worldwide, and crossing boundaries of race and confession, these well-selected essays tell stories of growing complexity, deepening ambiguity, and continuous but changing popular culture access and influence.

What remains is the continuing, enigmatic absence of current missions personnel. Tens of thousands currently in missions remain as when John King Fairbanks described the missionary as “the invisible man [sic] of American history.” If it is true that the missionary must be martyred or retired or remembered in order to attain visibility, then we should hope the next generation of missions historians shows the skill and sophistication shown in these excellent essays, wisely funded by Pew and ably edited by Daniel Bays and Grant Wacker.

—Ken Sawyer

Ken Sawyer is Associate Professor of Church History at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.

The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ.

Vol. 1.


This book is the first installment of a projected four-volume account, chronologically arranged, of the widely differing interpretations of Jesus in China from the sixth century to the twentieth. The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ is a fascinating collection of value both to those interested in the history of China and to those concerned with the current expansion of Christianity in Asia and Africa and in the inevitable inculturation and/or syncretism that results.

Roughly three-quarters of the book is devoted to informative and fascinating essays by specialists on medieval Chinese Christianity or Chinese religion, with pieces on Nestorian Christianity and Manichaeism best illustrating how a receiving culture shapes a delivered message. The remainder of the book contains intriguing documents, such as two Christianized sutras and a Nestorian hymn. However, the relevance to medieval Christianity of Livia Kohn’s excellent summary of medieval Taoism is unclear, and it seems a stretch to read Christian allusions into a poem by the revered poet Li Bai.

The editor’s introductory essay is analytically informative. In neither content nor flavor, however, does it anticipate the enlightenment and delight awaiting the reader in the revelations provided in what follows. If the contents of the remaining volumes are as consistently interesting as most of the first, one hopes that the editor will relax enough to share the joy in his subsequent introductions.

The appearance of The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ at this moment in history is of considerable importance. Christianity is generally declining in the West, but it is growing in most of Asia, including China. Beginning to learn of the earliest Christian origins in China and what they led to is a critical step for those of us outside China in trying to grasp the full context of Chinese Christianity as it becomes increasingly influential in the world church.

—Timothy Light

Timothy Light is Professor Emeritus of Comparative Religion and Asian and Middle Eastern Languages, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and Chair of the Trustees, United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia.


This volume is the thirty-first Freedom House’s invaluable annual survey of
political liberties. We should all be encouraged by the positive trends that this report depicts. For the past many months we in the United States have been living with security as the highest value in our hierarchy of values, with all the attendant risks for loss of human rights. That said, however, it appears that tangible progress is being made worldwide.

There are inescapable problems associated with any such report. Specifics are sometimes lost in the need to be comprehensive. Verbal reports go directly to numerical results, often without much, if any, analysis of the data. The ultimate numbers, then, become something of a blunt instrument. The numbers assigned to political rights and civil liberties have been a trademark of this particular publication. Their rationale has been as consistent as the criticisms that are raised against it. The process of quantifying the preselected pieces of information assembled in a coherent fashion is tricky business at best. The consistency with which this has been done over the last thirty years, however, ameliorates at least some of the problems in this approach and offers a credible assessment of what is actually taking place in the world. In other words, the “blunt instrument” might be a necessity of this kind of reporting and should not unduly diminish our appreciation for the Herculean effort needed to assemble such a report.

This report differs from similar reports in the use of essays designed to create historical context before going through the specific countries. This year’s essays, as in times past, are well-written, thoughtful pieces. I think, however, that a major opportunity has been missed. At a time when new paradigms are being considered, new rules are being called for, new challenges are being felt, the essays chosen are dated and disappointingly unimaginative. Our world is going through considerable upheaval with the consequence that the issue of human rights in general and in relation to religion specifically figures much more prominently in the geopolitical dynamic. Had the essays been more “cutting edged,” the report would have been improved immensely.

Freedom in the World, 2003 is a commendable contribution to the permanent challenge of human rights. As the report itself suggests, this information should be used as one of many sources in apprising oneself of the human rights reality in today’s world.

—Robert A. Seiple

Robert A. Seiple, formerly president of World Vision (1987–98) and the first ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom in the U.S. State Department, is Chairman of the Board of the Institute for Global Engagement, which he founded in 2000.

Who Are the Christians in the Middle East?


The Christians of the Middle East are probably harder for outsiders to understand than Christians in any other part of the world, partly because of all the complexities and varieties created by twenty centuries of Christian history (including a great deal of involvement/interference from Europe and the West), and partly because of the political and religious history of the region (including Islam, the Crusades, and Zionism). The authors of this book, Betty Jane Bailey and...
her husband, J. Martin Bailey, are ideally placed to write about the subject, since, as Americans, they understand what people outside the region need and want to know and, as travelers who have visited frequently over many years, they have worked hard to enter into the experience of Middle Eastern Christians.

Part 1 deals with issues affecting the whole region, while part 2 provides profiles of all the different church families—Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Catholic, Evangelical (Protestant), and Assyrian Church of the East. Part 3 outlines the situation in each country of the region, describing the composition of Christian communities, the historical background, contemporary circumstances, and interfait activities. There is a full index, and the cover carries glowing commendations from Donald Wagner, Yvonne Haddad, Jonathan Bonk, and Kenneth Cragg.

This book is a worthy successor to Norman A. Horner’s Rediscovering Christianity Where It Began (1974). A flow chart or diagram showing the relationship of the different church families might have been a useful addition. Statistics are notoriously difficult in the region, as the writers acknowledge, and most of my Christian students in Lebanon would question the claim that “Christians now number just under 50 percent of the total Lebanese population of nearly three million” (p. 171); they would put the figure nearer to 35 percent. But this volume is a superb service for all who want to know about Christians who have such a rich history but face such a precarious and uncertain future. Those who can make the journey to meet them in the flesh will enjoy exploring the human reality that lies behind this perceptive and sensitive introduction.

—Colin Chapman

Colin Chapman has worked in the Middle East for seventeen years with the Church Mission Society. From 1999 to 2003 he was lecturer in Islamic studies at the Near East School of Theology, Beirut, Lebanon.

Announcing the Kingdom: The Story of God’s Mission in the Bible.


“Evangelical missiology at its best.” Thus writes former OMSC director and IBMR editor Gerald H. Anderson on the back cover of this volume. For many years a draft of this book was used at Fuller Seminary’s School of World Mission (now the School of Intercultural Studies) as the text for the course “Biblical Foundations of Mission” (p. 14). Now with the help of three of Glasser’s former students and colleagues, this draft has finally been published. There certainly exist already a number of biblical theologies of mission. Few, however, have the breadth and depth of Glasser’s study. This is clearly the product of a life’s work of reading, reflection, and prayer about the fact that “the whole Bible . . . is a missionary book” (p. 17).

Glasser guides the reader through the entire Bible, beginning with missionary mandates implicit in the creation narrative and ending with Revelation’s vision that “God will triumph in history—finally and absolutely” (p. 368). From start to finish, says Glasser, God is active in the world calling all creation into relation with Godself, calling Israel—and then the Christian community—to be partners in ensuring that “all peoples on earth will be
blessed” (Gen. 12:3). As he expresses it: “Where Israel failed, the church is given the mandate…Nothing is more important in the divine order for the church than mission into the world” (p. 26).

This book will be read with deep appreciation by evangelical Christians. Catholic readers, however, may encounter several difficulties. One will be Glasser’s acceptance of the historicity of the Genesis narrative, particularly its first eleven chapters. Another may well be Glasser’s sincere and unabashed advocacy of converting the Jews. Such an attitude Catholics would call supercessionist, one that has been more finely nuanced by several recent Catholic documents and papal actions. All Christians, however, will profit from the wisdom that is found in these pages and from the convictions articulated by a scholar of evident faith.

—Stephen B. Bevans, S.V.D.


The Jesus Road: Kiowas, Christianity, and Indian Hymns.


Amid a growing number of studies of Native American Christianity, The Jesus Road is a welcome look at the faith and experience of the Kiowas of southwestern Oklahoma. The collaborative effort of Lassiter, an anthropologist, Ellis, a historian, and Kotay, a Kiowa Christian singer, makes this not only an informative and readable text but also one that provides valuable insight into the ways Kiowa Christians have forged faithful and enduring communities that reflect both their Kiowa and their Christian identities. The history and life of Kotay’s home church, the Saddle Mountain Kiowa Indian Baptist Church, are set within the larger history of the Kiowas and their missionaries, who together shaped a “culturally flexible Christianity” (p. 54) empowered by native hymnody.

As in similar studies of other tribal nations, the longevity and vitality of Christianity among the Kiowas is credited to the use of indigenous leadership in the churches, the reinforcement of Kiowa values expressed in the language of the people and particularly native hymns, and the central role of the church in fostering community identity. Kotay, whose commentary and singing of Kiowa hymns on an accompanying CD are alone worth the price of the book, notes that the hymns are seen as a word from God just for Kiowas. He claims that the missionaries “brought us their songs with the English tunes, but they really didn’t catch on. We had our own way of singing. Actually, our Kiowa hymns are very similar to our Ghost Dance songs from way back” (p. 92). The hymns are an indigenous expression of faith that continues to link the singers to traditional Kiowa and Christian roots. This connection raises interesting missiological issues concerning church revitalization and the transmission and translation of the Gospel.

—Bonnie Sue Lewis

Bonnie Sue Lewis, Associate Professor of Mission and Native American Christianity at the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, taught at the Inter-American School in Quezaltenango, Guatemala, from 1976 to 1979.
Warriors of the Lord: The Military Orders of Christendom.


Michael Walsh, the librarian of Heythrop College, London, is a distinguished Catholic writer and broadcaster. In this book he first traces the theological development from a straightforward pacifism among early Christians to the church’s support of a warrior class in the high Middle Ages. This support was at first tempered by the desire to protect noncombatants, to uphold the peaceful celebration of holy seasons, and to forestall the violation of holy places. The escalation of warfare in eleventh-century Europe, and in particular the attack on the Holy Land by Zoroastrian Persians and Muslim Turks, led to the development of the concept of the crusade, or holy war, for the defense and extension of Christendom’s boundaries.

The military religious orders were born in the context of the Crusades. The Templars were founded to protect the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem after its recapture. The Hospitallers of St. John were founded to provide hospitality and care for poor pilgrims, later becoming Knights by a process of assimilation to the Templars. Like the Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights developed out of a hospice for the sick founded at Acre by crusaders from Bremen.

After the siege of Acre and the fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the military orders retreated to Europe and the Mediterranean. The Teutonic Knights extended Latin Christianity into the Baltic countries. The Templars and their associates became involved in the suppression of European heresies and the reconquest of Spain from the Moors, while the Knights Hospitallers retreated to Rhodes and Malta, being involved in land and sea battles to wrest control of the Mediterranean from Islam. The Templars were brutally suppressed in the fourteenth century. The Teutonic Knights fragmented into a religious society with Catholic and Protestant branches. The Knights of Malta became a medical and charitable association, with an Anglican counterpart.

Walsh helpfully lists the various other religious military orders but fails to include Cardinal Lavigerie’s Armed Brothers of the Sahara, the bizarre final project of the great missionary strategist in 1891–92. The book is popular narrative history, well researched and well illustrated. Its size and the number of its illustrations make it an attractive coffee-table book.

—Aylward Shorter, M.Afr.

Aylward Shorter, M.Afr., is Principal Emeritus of Tangaza College in the Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Nairobi, Kenya, and former president of the Missionary Institute, London.


Veteran Christian statistician Peter Brierley begins this helpful research publication by stating that this “is not a book to read straight through!” Nonetheless, this slim volume contains a wealth of information on Christianity in the United Kingdom. This is largely thanks to the British government’s decision to
The main value of this book lies in its meticulous unpacking and analysis of that census data and its intersection with information gathered directly from the churches. In particular, new information on the churches of Scotland is presented both in tabular form and in full-color maps. For context, the editors begin the volume with comparative demographic and religious statistics related to European Union countries (and a special page dedicated to Malta). An added value is found in the section “Religious Trends,” where many variables are examined over time. This volume is the fourth in the Religious Trends series and, so far at least, unmistakably the best.

The researchers were clearly surprised by some statistics (72 percent of the population describe themselves as Christians) and discouraged by others, particularly low church attendance figures. Astute readers will have to decide for themselves what the numbers actually mean for the future of Christianity and religion. Between the snapshot this volume offers of religion in the United Kingdom and the many trends that are analyzed, this volume is a must for anyone who wants quantitative evidence to weigh the many qualitative prognostications currently in vogue about religion in Europe.

—Todd M. Johnson

Todd M. Johnson, Director of the Center for the Study of Global Christianity, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts, is coauthor of World Christian Encyclopedia, 2d ed. (Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), and World Christian Trends (William Carey Library, 2001).

Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History.


In 1800 fully 87 percent of professing Christians lived in Europe or North America. Now only some 40 percent have their homes in those regions. Christianity has changed from being a Western to being a non-Western religion. The editor of this volume, Wilbert R. Shenk, professor of mission history and contemporary culture at Fuller Theological Seminary, has assembled a short collection of programmatic essays, the fruit of a 1998 symposium, in an attempt to grapple with the implications of this shift for church history.

The burden of the message is conveyed, eloquently and elegantly, by Andrew Walls in the first paper. How, he asks, can the history of Christianity be purged of the impression that the religion is a phenomenon of the Western world? Part of the remedy lies in recognizing that Western dominance was only a phase, lasting less than five centuries. There was a time when the faith spread just as rapidly eastward as westward from its base in Palestine, putting down roots in the Persian Empire as well as in the Roman Empire. Accordingly, the church history syllabus must be revised so as to recognize that Africa and Asia have protracted Christian pasts. The message is reinforced in essays written by specialists on India (A. Mathias Mundadan), China (Philip Yuen-Sang Leung), and Africa (Lamin Sanneh). A further essay (by Gerald J. Pillay) urges that any specific events in particular places should be seen against the backdrop of the universal sweep of

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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Christian history, a solution echoed in a concluding essay that reflects a panel discussion. The challenge of this volume needs to be heeded. Over several years down to 2001 a global project called Currents in World Christianity tried to wrestle with these issues. This project filled a vital role. Will its like be seen again?

—David W. Bebbington

David W. Bebbington is Professor of History at the University of Stirling, Scotland.

**Frontiers of African Christianity: Essays in Honour of Inus Daneel.**


Part 1 contains eight short essays reflecting on the life and work of Inus Daneel. Both his academic colleagues and his Shona partners of the African Independent Churches (AICs) of Zimbabwe rightly acclaim him as the preeminent AIC field researcher in Africa. They appraise his thirteen books on independency and African religion in Zimbabwe as “the quintessence of all AIC studies today” (p. 118). Especially acclaimed is his creative partnership with both traditional spirit mediums and Christian prophets in the 1990s to replant the trees and restore the land.

Part 2 contains ten essays on AIC studies and African religions by Daneel’s academic colleagues and former students. Together they provide a kaleidoscope of current scholarship in southern Africa. Stan Nussbaum argues that as self-founding or self-initiating churches, the AICs critique the old missionary three-self formula—self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. Allan Anderson compares healing in the Zion Christian churches of South Africa and in those of Zimbabwe, the latter researched by Daneel.

Tinyiko Maluleke, Daneel’s successor at the University of South Africa, identifies a “general crisis in theology” in postapartheid South Africa, expressed as “uncertainty about the relevance of theology to ordinary people” (p. 173). Maluleke reviews research on the AICs and other grassroots communities, mainly by white researchers, including Daneel, and calls for a rapprochement between African theologians and AIC researchers.

*Frontiers* also includes vistas in shadow. Notably absent from the volume are contributions by Zimbabweans from outside the AICs. Why was a prophetic theology missing from the training program of the AICs? What changes took place in the roles and leadership of women? How was leadership affected by the infusion of large funding from overseas? These questions remain unanswered.

Pioneers in Zimbabwe endured the perils of war and drought to mine gold. A century later a pioneer researcher, amid war and famine, mined human gold—the vitality of African independency. Visually enhanced by his photographs, this book is a fitting tribute to *mudavanhu* (the one who loves the people).

—Norman E. Thomas

Norman E. Thomas, Vera B. Blinn Professor Emeritus of World Christianity, United Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio, formerly served as a missionary teacher and scholar in Zimbabwe.

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**RESCUING THE MEMORY OF OUR PEOPLES**

*Archives Manual*

Compiled by

Martha Lund Smalley, Yale University Divinity School, New Haven, and Rosemary Seton, School of Oriental and African Studies, London

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Dissertation Notices

Adeleru, Joseph Bamidele.
“Beginnings, Contacts, and Encounters: Christianity and Traditional Religions in Egypt and Yorubaland.”

Ahn, Heui Yeol.
“The Influence of the Niagara Bible Conference and Adoniram Judson Gordon on Malcolm Fenwick and Korean Baptist Missions.”
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Ahonen, Tiina.
“Transformation Through Compassionate Mission: David J. Bosch’s Theology of Contextualization.”

Bainomugisha, Lambert.
“The Role of the Lay Christian Faithful in the Mission of the Church in Mbarara Archdiocese (Uganda) in Light of Its First Synod.”

Ballew, Christopher.
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“A Scripture-Focused and Media-Based Adult Literacy Program in Bangladesh, with Principles of Adaptation for Other Contexts.”

Cilliers, Jacobus Lodewicus.
“Christians and Muslims at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1795: A Study of Inter-religious Relations and Their Power-Based Dynamics.”

Cuellar, Rolando Wilfredo.
“The Influence of Spiritual and Educational Formation on the Missionary Vision and Programs of Four Hispanic Churches in the United States of America.”

Essamuh, Casely B.

Eze, Herbert Maduchukwu.
“Felt Needs in Mubi, Nigeria, in Relation to the Three Dimensions in Contextualization.”
Ph.D. Pasadena, Calif.: Fuller Theological Seminary, 2002.

Goto, Nathan Frank.
“Indigenous and Western Missionary Partnership in the Propagation of Christianity: The Methodist Episcopal Church in Manyikaland, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), 1897–1939.”

Guimaraes, Sebastio Lucio.
“A Model for Missionary Training in a Two-thirds World Context: A Study of Campinas Baptist Bible College (FTBC), Brazil.”

Headrick, Robert.
“Pauline Principles for Confronting Animism in the Church, with Special Reference to Corinth and Ephesus.”
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Kovacs, Abraham.
“History of the Free Church of Scotland’s Mission to the Jews in Budapest and Its Impact on the Hungarian Reformed Church, 1841–1914.”

Lee, Jang-Ho.
“Traditional Medicine, Modern Medicine, and Christianity: A Study on the Realities of Sickness as Described by Balinese Christians in the Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia in Bali.”

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Little, Christopher Reese.  
“Mission in the Way of Paul: With Special Reference to Twenty-First-Century Christian Mission.”  

Mackman, Toshiko.  

Millikan, Joyce.  
“Isolation and Mutuality: Mission Through the Church as a Relational System.”  

Muktar, Abdella Usman.  
“Integration of Evangelism and Development: A Case Study in Antsokia Valley, Ethiopia.”  

Mung’oma, Stephen Masette.  
“Revitalization in the Church: A Study of Leadership in the Anglican Diocese of Kampala, Uganda.”  

Petrusic, Christopher George.  
“I Could Not Bear to Be Beaten by Difficulties’: Exploring David Livingstone and Questions of Manliness, Race, and Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century Africa and Britain.”  

Pokki, Timo.  
“America’s Preacher and His Message: Billy Graham’s View of Conversion and Sanctification.”  

Rodriguez, Augusto.  

Rutz, Michael A.  
“The British Zion: Evangelization and the Politics of Dissent in Britain and the Empire, 1790–1850 [Southern Africa].”  

Sanguma, Mossai T.  
“Toward a Mission Theology of Reconciliation in an African Context of Ethnic Conflict.”  

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“Transforming Witnesses: Strangers and Hosts at the Interface Between Worship and Mission.”  
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Varughese, Vazhayil Sakariah.  

Whitmer, Linda F.  
“The Father Metaphor of God: Shona and Biblical Implications for Missions in Africa.”  

Wilson, James Arthur, Jr.  

Correction (January 2004):  
Griffith, Herbert.  
September 7–8
**Orientation for residents.** Orientation begins Tuesday morning. Dr. Jonathan J. Bonk, OMSC executive director. A **public reception** to welcome the 2004–05 OMSC international community of residents will be held Wednesday at 4:00 p.m. All are invited.

September 9–10
**U.S. Churches Today.** Rev. Geoffrey A. Little, pastor, St. James Episcopal Church (New Haven) and director of the Church Mission Society U.S.A., provides an overview with a guided tour of church life and churches in New Haven, Connecticut. There is no registration fee for this seminar.

September 13–17
**How to Develop Mission and Church Archives.** Ms. Martha Lund Smalley, research services librarian, Yale University Divinity School. Eight sessions, $145.

September 20–24

October 11–15
**Doing Oral History: Helping Christians Tell Their Own Story.** Dr. Jean-Paul Wiest, research director, Jesuit Beijing Center, visiting professor of Christianity, Tsinghua University, and former director of the Maryknoll history project, all in Beijing, China, and Dr. Jan Bender Shetler, assistant professor of history, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. Eight sessions, $145.

October 18–22

October 25–27
**Leadership, Fund-raising, and Donor Development for Missions.** Mr. Rob Martin, director, First Fruit, Inc., Newport Beach, California. Five sessions in three days, $145.

November 8–12
**Missions and Consequences.** Professor Andrew F. Walls, honorary professor, University of Edinburgh, former director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, and emeritus professor of religious studies, University of Aberdeen. Eight sessions, $145.

November 15–19

December 6–10
**Peacemaking as Mission.** Dr. Richard Deats, editor of *Fellowship*, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, New York. Eight sessions, $145.
Book Notes

Balling, Jakob.
The Story of Christianity: From Birth to Global Presence.

Brownson, James V., Inagrace T. Dieterich, Barry A. Harvey, and Charles C. West.

Chow, Ivan.
Chow Chee Yee: Formed by Providence.

Taking It to the Streets: Using the Arts to Transform Your Community.

DeBerri, Edward P., and James E. Hug, with Peter J. Henriot and Michael J. Schultheis.
Catholic Social Teaching: Our Best Kept Secret. 4th rev. ed.

Ellwood, Robert.

The Encyclopedia of Christianity. Vol. 3: J–O.

Kobia, Samuel.
The Courage to Hope: The Roots for a New Vision and the Calling of the Church in Africa.

Ma, Wonsuk, and Julie C. Ma, eds.

Mgadla, P. T.

Murphy, Edward P., S.J., ed.

Ndungane, Njongonkulu.
A World with a Human Face: A Voice from Africa.

Nurminen, Anja.

Schenk, David W.
Journeys of the Muslim Nation and the Christian Church: Exploring the Mission of Two Communities.

Thirumalai, Madasamy.
Sharing Your Faith with a Buddhist.

Vadakumpadan, Paul, S.D.B., and Jose Varickasseril, S.D.B.
Apostle of Christ: Essays in Honour of Archbishop Stephen Ferrando, S.D.B.

In Coming Issues

Colin Chapman

The Church in North Korea: Retrospect and Prospect
Hyun-Sik Kim

Said’s Orientalism and the Study of Christian Mission
Herb Swanson

Beyond Bosch: The Early Church and the Christendom Shift
Alan Kreider

The Religious Worldview of the Indigenous Population of the Northern Ob’ as Understood by Christian Missionaries
Anatolii M. Ablazhei

John Howard Yoder as Mission Theologian
Joon-Sik Park

Pre-Revolution Russian Mission to Central Asia: A Contextualized Legacy
David M. Johnstone

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