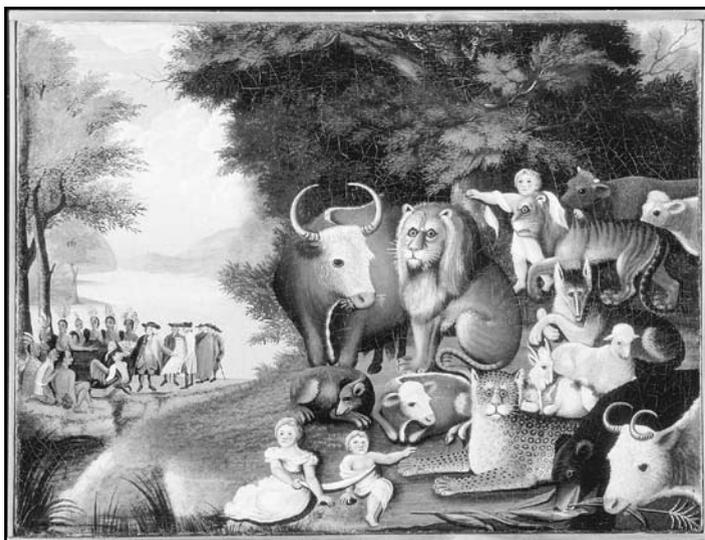

International Bulletin

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Mission and the Peaceable Kingdom

What went wrong? Why would intelligent, well educated young men in their prime willingly obliterate themselves by crashing passenger jets into New York's famous Twin Towers—arch symbols of this nation's commercial virility? How could they have been convinced that the incineration of ordinary Americans both compelled and justified their carefully executed



mass murder by suicide? What religious or ideological wellsprings animated them and thousands like them? A plausible and much repeated response to these perplexing questions was soon offered by Bernard Lewis in his bestselling book, *What Went Wrong? The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2002). Once proudly superior Muslim civilizations, he observed, had fallen behind the West in virtually all categories of human endeavor: cultural, social, economic, political, scientific, and military. They perceived their societies inching inexorably toward irrelevance and extinction. Devotees using revealed antiquity as the standard against which modernity should be measured believed that only the most desperate actions could salvage the integrity of their religion and its civilization from the fatal toxicity of the decadent West. That's what had gone wrong.

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of Missionary Research

Paging through the November 2006 issue of *Religion in Eastern Europe* last February, I found my attention drawn to an article written by Gerald Shenk, whom I had met in Osijek, Croatia, two decades earlier. Entitled "What Went Right: Two Best Cases of Islam in Europe—Cordoba, Spain, and Sarajevo, Bosnia," the essay served as a gentle counterbalance to the vast discourse of despair that has engulfed us since 9/11 and the subsequent invasion of Iraq.

We badly need such perspectives. But even with voices like Shenk's, it is difficult to imagine how states with their competing economic interests and antithetical religious or political ideologies can ever achieve genuine shalom. Numbed by the savagery and carnage inflicted upon the world by its "most civilized" and "most Christianized" nations during the first half of the twentieth century, Reinhold Niebuhr concluded that while human beings are *moral*, the societies that define them can only be *immoral*. Perhaps this is why Jesus urged his followers to be leery of their society's assessment of "the other." "Love your enemies," he said, "and pray for those who persecute you" (Matt. 5:44).

Among the most universally recognized paintings by an American artist is *The Peaceable Kingdom*. The artist, Quaker preacher Edward Hicks (1780–1849), is known to have produced more than 100 versions of this painting. He must have been utterly captivated by Isaiah's vision of shalom—of a day when "the wolf shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the calf and the lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. . . . They will not hurt or destroy on all my holy mountain; for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the LORD as the waters cover the sea" (Isa. 11:6–9 NRSV).

This issue of the *IBMR* is marked by a hopeful yet realistic tone. David Shenk's lead article—the most heartening piece of its kind that I have read in recent times—tells how *devoutly*

militant Muslims and *evangelical Christians* have come together in common cause. Who could have imagined that Hizbullah in Central Java—whose 10,000-strong militia proudly flaunt their destruction of church property and murder of Christians—would recently (February 2007) host an international group of some thirty Christians? And that the occasion of this meeting would be the joint launching of a Christian-Muslim book, the newly translated *Islam and Christianity: A Muslim and a Christian in Dialogue?* And who could have foreseen twenty-seven years ago—when two young colleagues at Kenyatta University College, one an American Mennonite and the other a Ugandan Muslim, published their co-authored book with the Uzima Press—that *this* humble book would help reconcile Muslim and Christian enemies an ocean away and almost three decades later?

Also found in this issue are two articles on Christians in India, our annual statistical update on the state of world Christianity and mission, a thoughtful analysis of shifting North American Protestant missionary numbers, and a cautiously hopeful essay by Hyun-Sik Kim, formerly a professor at North Korea's Pyongyang University and personal tutor for family members of Kim Il Sung's wife.

Kingdoms at peace still seem to be little more than a faintly visible mirage on the constantly receding horizon of human longing. But the articles in this issue will have served at least one worthwhile purpose by reassuring readers that the Peaceable Kingdom is indeed no mirage. It is already here. The mustard seed is planted everywhere, and the yeast is hard at work.

—Jonathan J. Bonk

Front cover: Edward Hicks, *The Peaceable Kingdom*, oil on canvas, 44.5 x 60.2 cm, about 1833, courtesy of Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, museum purchase.

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The Gospel of Reconciliation Within the Wrath of Nations

David W. Shenk

The Hizbullah command center in Solo, Central Java, hosted an international group of about thirty Christians in February 2007.¹ Armed militia dressed in military uniforms welcomed us. We sat on the floor in a circle, the Hizbullah members on one side and the Christians on the other. Our hosts opened the meeting by saying, "We are Hizbullah, and our mission is to kill our enemies and fight to defend Islam!"

A few months earlier I had heard a similar exhortation from a leading North American evangelical leader, who exclaimed on a Christian radio talk show, "The only way to deal with the Muslim terrorists is to kill them!" The Christian preacher was counseling disciples of Jesus to vote for the most militant congressional candidates in the November 2006 election.

There was surprising convergence between the North American Christian radio speaker and these Indonesian Muslim militants. Both sidestep the astonishing Gospel proclamation that Christ crucified is the power of God (1 Cor. 1:23–24). Both nourish the wrath of nations with their commitments. Within the wrath of nations, however, there are communities of believers who confess that God and his kingdom are most fully revealed in a vulnerable baby in a manger in Bethlehem, in a refugee in Egypt, in a carpenter from Nazareth, in the man who, when he was crucified, cried out in forgiveness for his enemies. Their witness to reconciling love is urgently needed, for that witness is healing for the nations and for people wounded by and in the wrath of nations.² This article presents narratives bearing witness to the Gospel of reconciliation, especially within the context of conflict between an American mission to spread democracy within Islamic societies and a Muslim vision to extend the nation of Islam throughout the earth.

Jesus also lived in an exceedingly conflictual time. Nevertheless, in one of his resurrection appearances Jesus met the disciples and showed them the wounds in his hands and side and proclaimed, "Peace be with you. As the Father has sent me, so I send you. . . . Receive the Holy Spirit" (John 20:21–22).

Indonesia: Peacemaking in a Hizbullah Context

The call to living and proclaiming the peace of Christ is beyond human capability; it demands the fullness of the Holy Spirit and an unencumbered commitment to Jesus Christ. One example is the Christian engagement with Hizbullah in Central Java mentioned above.³ This movement comprises 10,000 militia who have burned churches and sometimes committed violence against Christians. Local realities might contribute to the violence, but global geopolitics are equally pertinent. When a church burning is planned, signs bearing the word "Israel" are occasionally posted, pointing in the direction of the church to be destroyed. The simple village churches of Indonesia bear no responsibility for the conflict in the Middle East. Yet they are caught in the recoil of those Muslims who believe that the worldwide Muslim community should join in the struggle for liberation of the Palestinian people and who feel that the church, especially in the West, is opposed to that liberation struggle.

The command center of the Hizbullah of Central Java is

David W. Shenk, Global Missions Consultant with Eastern Mennonite Missions, is the author of over a dozen books on themes related to Islam and missiology.

located within the city of Solo. For 600 years Solo has been the meeting place of Indonesian cultures and religions. It is a place of both intercommunal peace and occasional conflict. In 1998 much of the center of the city was gutted in conflict between the Chinese and Javanese, Christians and Muslims, business interests and proletariat. This conflict sent shock waves throughout Indonesia, for conflict in Solo affects the whole Indonesian nation. Leaders of religious communities consequently formed an interreligious peacemaking committee, which gave leadership to trust-building.

Four years ago the committee invited me to meet with Muslim and Christian leaders in the central mosque to break the fast on a Ramadan evening. They asked for counsel on peacemaking; I told them of a dialogue I had written with a Muslim, Badru Kateregga, which some Muslim-Christian peacemaking dialogue groups have found helpful.⁴ They decided on the spot to jointly translate and publish that book. The meeting with the Hizbullah was for the launching of that book.

The book, however, is only one dimension of the reconciliation movement. The young self-effacing pastor who leads the reconciliation movement formerly led prayers in a mosque in his youth. He cultivates good relations with the moderate peace-inclined Muslims, and his congregation has released him for full-time reconciliation ministry. He uses that platform of trustful relations with moderates to engage the militants. His first visit to the Hizbullah was three years ago. The commander greeted him gruffly, "You are a Christian and an infidel, and therefore I can kill you!" Unfazed, the pastor returned again and again to the commander's center to drink tea and converse.

Then the pastor invited the commander and his officers to fly with several Christian leaders to Banda Aceh to work with Christian teams in the post-tsunami reconstruction. Prior to the tsunami Banda Aceh had acquired notoriety as a center for Islamic militant fervency. Much of the reconstruction efforts, however, have come from Christian philanthropy. Remarkably, the Hizbullah leaders accepted, and for two weeks they worked with the Christian teams in rebuilding projects. The commander slept in the same room with the pastor, and they became friends! One evening around the evening meal, the commander began to weep. He said, "When I think of what we have done to you, and how you reciprocate with love, my heart has melted within me!" He confided to the pastor, "I have discovered that you Christians are good infidels."

The official launching of *A Muslim and a Christian in Dialogue* was within this context of energetic peacemaking engagement with Islamic militancy. The launching had two venues. First was an assembly of eighty peace-committed Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Zoroastrian, and Christian leaders. A Muslim imam who had written one of the forewords spoke of the significance of conflict-transformation training in helping to form his understandings of peacemaking in a pluralistic world. After him I spoke on Christian peacemaking centered in the cross.

Then came the first question, "If Jesus reveals love for the enemy, why did your Christian president go to war in Iraq and Afghanistan?"

I responded, "A characteristic of nations is that they occasionally go to war, and civilizations are sometimes in violent conflict. But that is not the universal kingdom of Jesus the Messiah that

I want to represent. Nations rise and fall, but the kingdom that followers of the Messiah participate in is eternal. I admit that there is much diversity in the Christian church in North America, just as there is diversity among the Muslims of Indonesia. Christians struggle with how to be responsible citizens while committed to the kingdom of God that is centered upon Jesus the Messiah. As for the Christian community that I represent, we sent a letter with 7,000 signatures to the president urging him not to go to war. While the war goes on, groups such as Christian Peacemaker Teams have been seeking to build bridges of reconciliation within Iraq."

The book launch and my comments on Christ-centered peacemaking were broadcast on national television and were well received by the Muslim communities. From there we went to the Hizbullah command center for the second book launching. After the Hizbullah explained that their mission is to kill their

The Hizbullah commander is now calling Christians "my infidel friends!"

enemies, I responded, "However, when you kill your enemies, you create more enemies. Jesus the Messiah commands us to love our enemies and forgive them. In that case you do not have an enemy!"

They were astounded. Then the pastor gave the commander a copy of *Dialogue*, and the commander broke down. The pastor was sitting beside the commander and placed his arm on the shoulders of this militia commander. When he regained his composure, he said, "I am overcome, for this book is revealing another way, the way of peacefully sharing faith instead of violently confronting one another." He requested fifty copies of *Dialogue* for all his officers.

I asked the pastor, "How do you explain this transformation?" With a twinkle in his eye, he said, "Many cups of tea—and the Holy Spirit!"

The Hizbullah commander is now calling Christians "my infidel friends!" Remarkably, the transformation of the Hizbullah means that church and Hizbullah in some circumstances work together for peace; in fact, the Hizbullah are sometimes advocates for the churches that are requesting permits for church construction.

As a further step toward reconciliation, the Christian leadership in Solo working with Hizbullah is now developing relations with Jamaah Islamiah, a radical movement engaged in atrocities such as the Bali bombings in October 2002. The commitment of the Christian leadership is to build bridges: first with moderate Muslims, who open the door to the militant Muslims, who then open the door to the terrorists. The prayer and plan is to season the leadership centers of terrorist Islam with the salt of the reconciling Gospel.

What about evangelism? The pastor says, "My calling is to bear witness, mostly through praxis, to the reconciling love of Christ. I give account of my faith in Jesus to all who ask. Conversion is not my responsibility; that is the work of God." Remarkably, his church has grown from 40 to 250 in the last dozen years, and with the advocacy of Hizbullah, they are planning to build a second church in Solo.

It is noteworthy that the Christian leadership intentionally woos peace-loving Muslims as their companions in the peace-

making overtures to militant Islam. The efforts are permeated with prayer. Within the gracious and peaceful gathering to launch the book, several led out in prayer, both Muslim and Christian. There is keen awareness that in the conflict between Muslims and Christians, only the intervention and blessing of the God of Abraham can bring forth peace between adversarial communities.

Algeria: Redemptive Suffering

Jesus said that the greatest human love is to die for one's friend (John 15:13). But Jesus reveals a new command—to follow his example and love, even our enemies (John 13:34; Matt. 5:44). This command motivates the witness of the Trappist monks of Tibhirine, Algeria, as described by John Kiser in his book *The Monks of Tibhirine: Faith, Love, and Terror in Algeria*. The book narrates the pilgrimage of the prior, Christian de Chergé, who served as a young military officer in the mid-1950s fighting against the National Liberation Front in its war for independence from France. He led one of the village-based teams commissioned to rebuild trust after French war planes had bombed thousands of villages and displaced 2.6 million people.

An Algerian Muslim, Muhammad, was Christian's associate. This devout Muslim nurtured the quite secularist Christian into faith in God. During an ambush to kill Christian, Muhammad saved his life by stepping between Christian and the assailants. The freedom fighters subsequently executed Muhammad in retaliation for his nonviolent intervention.⁵

Thereafter, Christian felt indebted to Algerians as represented by Muhammad. He therefore left the military and became a Trappist monk, joining a small monastery in the mountains sixty miles from Algiers. The mission of this community was the "powerlessness" of love, prayer, presence, and service in a context where the Muslims of Algeria had experienced the often arrogant and violent face of "Christian" France. These Trappist monks discovered that they had much in common with the Muslim Sufi mystics, who believed that one "who thinks about God constantly . . . can be neither arrogant nor violent."⁶

The independence struggle (1954–62) and then revolution (1988–94) devastated Algeria, as the country struggled to resolve the tensions between the Western and Islamic values that permeated their society. The struggle descended into hell in 1992, when the secularist establishment annulled elections won by the Islamic Salvation Front. To identify with any side, or even not to identify with any, was a kiss of death. The monks sought to glorify Jesus and his kingdom within the mayhem. It seemed increasingly likely that the monks might be martyred, but they chose to stay.

Christian proclaimed, "If redemption is the motive for the coming of Christ, then Incarnation is the method."⁷ Therefore, they could not abandon their calling to incarnational presence within a milieu where all sides in the conflict searched the Qur'an for justification for their engagement in violence. As the cancer of violence spread through the society, several nuns and monks were killed in different locations.

The youngest to die was Christian Chessel, who wrote just prior to his death, "Our mission in the Muslim world is marked by weakness. . . . To be weak is to be neither passive nor resigned; rather, it supposes courage and pushes us to struggle for justice and truth while resisting the elusive seduction of force and power."⁸

Martyrdom was not in the vocabulary of the Trappist Order, only faithfulness so that God may be glorified.⁹ On March

27, 1996, the monks at Tibhirine were kidnapped and shortly thereafter killed. This sacrifice for the glory of God, and for the Algerian people, transformed the nation. The violent wing of the Islamic Salvation Front began to unravel, partly through resignations of over a thousand militants appalled at what had transpired. Hugh Johnson, a Methodist pastor for many years in Algeria, wrote, "I think the killing of the monks was a turning point. . . . People were affected not only by the way they lived, but also by the way they died."¹⁰

Kiser comments, "In retrospect, there were many signs that the monks' death had indeed been a turning point. For a country that seemed drunk on violence, their assassination in God's name was, for many Algerians, like hitting rock bottom. It was the final and highly publicized insult to an already-abused Islam."¹¹ It could also be said that it was an insult to a secular establishment that was not amenable to the cries for justice across the country. In September of that year, Algeria had a peace referendum, and 85 percent of the eligible voters turned out, with 98 percent approval of clemency, forgiveness, and reconciliation. The foundations were being laid for a more civil Algerian society.

Israel/Palestine: Salt and Light

Eastward across the Mediterranean from Algeria, the Palestinian Intifada (rising) has also been "salted" by Christian presence. A Palestinian, Mohammed Abu-Nimer, describes Palestinian society as "Islamicate," wherein Islamic values dominate, but Christian presence helps to cultivate a pluralist and peacemaking ethos.¹²

One such peacemaking voice is that of Bishara Awad, president of Bethlehem Bible College. Bishara's father was killed in cross fire in the war of 1948 when the State of Israel was formed. Neighbors helped the family bury him in a shallow grave in their courtyard without even a grave marker. His mother could not support her seven children, so they were put into orphanages. It was terribly hard, and there was never enough food. Yet in Bishara's monthly visits to his mother, she urged, "Always show the Lord to everybody. It is never right to take revenge."¹³

Within the cycles of violence and retribution that strangle the political peace processes, Bethlehem Bible College equips emerging Palestinian leaders to follow the counsel of Bishara's mother to follow the Lord and never take revenge. Complementing the mission of the college is *Musalaha* (which means making up or reconciliation), led by Salim Munayer. This is a reconciliation movement among Palestinian and Jewish followers of Jesus. One of the reconciliation forums is desert camel safaris. They ride camels on their desert trek, make camp, pray, argue, study the Bible, and seek to know what it means to be followers of Jesus amid the injustice and violence that afflict their societies. These safaris are transformational; the young people return to their communities committed to salting their context with the reconciling love of Jesus Christ.

Reconciliation must characterize the fellowship of believers in Jesus, yet there is also the calling to transform society. "You are the salt of the earth. . . . You are the light of the world," Jesus announced in his Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:13-14). In that spirit, Bishara Awad's brother, Mubarak, established the Center for the Study of Nonviolence in Jerusalem and reached beyond the Christian communities in cultivating these commitments. A noteworthy step was the publication in Arabic of the account of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who led a nonviolent Islamic movement in Pakistan against British colonialism in the 1930s. The center, according to Mubarak, undertook "to distribute the book free in

the Palestinian villages to mobilize people and illustrate that the concept of nonviolence is not strange to Islam."¹⁴ In due course Mubarak's nonviolent approach was perceived to be dangerous by the Israeli political establishment, and his residency visa was terminated. Yet it was voices like that of Mubarak that helped to keep Hamas on a nonviolent course in the early years of its confrontation with Israel.¹⁵

This invitation to a nonviolent, respectful approach toward the opponent was also directed to the Jewish people. Palestinian Christians remind their Jewish compatriots that God provided land for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob because they were good neighbors. "Are you good neighbors to the Palestinian people?" is their probing question.

The Bethlehem team is committed to the practice of reconciliation. For example, 415 Palestinian Hamas leaders were deported from Gaza and the West Bank to a cold hillside in Lebanon on December 17, 1992. Most were professionals, and most were detained for a year. When I visited Bethlehem shortly after their release, Bishara Awad told me of Brother Andrew (known by many as God's Smuggler), who, in partnership with Christians in Lebanon and Palestine, marshaled resources in Holland to take to the stranded members of Hamas on that hillside. They also visited the families in Palestine, bringing letters, news, and pictures.¹⁶ When the men were released to return home twelve months later, these Bethlehem Christians wended their way through fields, avoiding roadblocks, to get to the Hebron mosque, where a huge assembly had gathered to welcome its heroes home.

When the Bethlehem team appeared at the mosque, they were welcomed as brothers who had shown compassion to the

The young people return to their communities committed to salting their context with the reconciling love of Jesus Christ.

Hamas detainees when the world seemed to have forgotten their plight. In the meetings that followed in a variety of venues, they were occasionally invited to distribute New Testaments, for the Hamas leaders knew that it was the Jesus of that book who had inspired this team of Christians to minister to their need in their time of extremity.

The church as a people of compassion and reconciliation in the midst of the impasse within Palestine/Israel is salt and light within the conflict. Raymond Bakke has told me that King Hussein of Jordan once told him, "Middle Eastern Christians are the glue that holds this region together." He went on to say that he had bought 5,000 copies of the book *Blood Brothers*, by Abuna Elias Chacour, a Palestinian bishop in Ibilin, Galilee. The king had distributed these books to his parliament, to officials in his government, to his family, and to Middle Eastern political leaders.

In his book Bishop Chacour describes the destruction of his Christian village in Galilee as the State of Israel was formed in 1948. In the midst of their suffering he describes his father's unshakable insistence that because of Jesus their family must never harbor hate or resentment in their souls; their calling was to forgive.¹⁷ This is the message the former king of Jordan wanted the political leaders throughout the region to hear, for he believed

that this message of forgiveness and reconciliation was the light of hope in a troubled region.

Kosovo: Healing for a Wounded Nation

Kosovo is also a land of wounded people. In the wars of ethnic cleansing in the late 1990s, Serbs would sometimes kill Kosovari families, burn their homes, and place a cross in the charred ruins. The Kosovari Muslims are also responsible for atrocities against the Serbs. The small evangelical community of about thirty congregations has mostly emerged since the war of 1999, largely because of the compassion and witness of evangelical churches in the refugee camps in nearby countries, especially Albania. Muslims make up 80 percent of the population; 10 percent are Catholic, 10 percent Orthodox, and there are only several hundred evangelicals. Kosovo is struggling to become a whole nation. Yet destructive bitterness permeates the society like cancer.

That is the context in which I was invited to a public dialogue on peacemaking with a leading Muslim theologian from the Islamic Department of the University of Kosovo in April 2006.

They responded, “Because you have no political power, and you are a people of peace.”

The 600-seat hall was filled, with most of the key Muslim and Christian leaders present. My Muslim companion insisted that peace can come only when justice prevails.

I then commented, “I suppose every person gathered in this room has lost a loved one in the tragic violence that touched this nation only seven years ago. For real healing to happen, don’t we need to receive and extend forgiveness?”

“That is unnatural,” my Muslim colleague rejoined. “Where can the supernatural gift of forgiveness be found?”

That question opened the door to consider Christ, who on the cross absorbs the violence and hate, and he forgives. Muslims do not believe that Jesus was crucified, for there is no space in Islamic theology for God who suffers with us or who comes down to save us. As an Iranian Shi’ite theologian once explained to me, “The Messiah is anointed with the glory of God, and God’s glory can never suffer.”

It was a remarkable event in Kosovo that evening; we explored in a public forum the core of Islam and the Gospel as these messages relate to justice, forgiveness, and peacemaking.

The next day the most widely read weekly magazine interviewed me. The interviewer began, “Because this is a Muslim magazine, we will not write about Jesus. Why are you committed to peacemaking?”

“Because of Jesus,” I responded.

My interviewer was intrigued. The interview went on for over an hour, as she probed the meaning of the cross for justice, forgiveness, reconciliation, and healing. The magazine ran the interview in a centerfold double spread with the title “Who Is Jesus?”

About that time the United Nations convened a conference on the role of religion in an independent Kosovo. The head of the Islamic community subsequently met with the leader of the Evangelical Alliance to explore more about the forgiveness and

healing offered in Christ. That meeting helped to open the way for the constitutional recognition of Evangelical, Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim communities; all would be welcomed to the table in the nation-building challenges that lay ahead.

Iran: Building Bridges Through Dialogue

The message of reconciliation demands not just words—it also requires action, as the pastor in Indonesia has so well demonstrated. That has been our experience in Iran as well. In 1990 Iran suffered an earthquake, and the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) arranged an airlift of supplies that were distributed by the Muslim Red Crescent Society. Then during the Gulf War of 1991, the MCC airlifted tents for refugees. As trust developed, MCC inquired whether they could move beyond material aid to an exchange of people.

The Guardian Council of Iran responded favorably, with the surprising request that this be a theological exchange. They would place two doctoral students in a North American university to study Western philosophy and Christian theology, and the MCC would place a couple at the Imam Khomeini Education and Research Institute in Qom, Iran. This exchange has gone well.

The first appointees to Qom, Roy and Maren Hange, sometimes had a Bible study with one of the leading professors at the institute. He was intrigued by Jesus as a peacemaker but perplexed as to how to integrate this thought with his own commitment to Islam. He found John Howard Yoder’s *Politics of Jesus* fascinating.¹⁸ The appointees to Qom serve under the overall authority of Ayatollah Mesbahe Yazdi, who is the head of the institute and a member of the Assembly of Experts. He is spiritual adviser to the present president of Iran and a counselor to the grand leader.

The institute, with the encouragement of the Guardian Council, subsequently reached for more substantive dialogues with theologians. Three such events have happened in the last five years. The first dialogue took place in Toronto in October 2002, and its theme was the challenge of modernity.¹⁹ The second event, which convened at the institute in Qom in October 2004, coincided with the twenty-fifth-anniversary celebrations of the Islamic Revolution, with the North American participants as guests at the celebrations in Tehran. The theme was revelation, reason, and authority.²⁰ The third dialogue convened at the Conrad Grebel University College in Waterloo, Ontario, in May 2007. The theme was spirituality.

There was much objection to the May dialogue by a cadre within the Iranian diaspora in Toronto. The objectors charged that these dialogues legitimized the Islamic Revolution. The first meeting was a public event on the theme of dialogue for peacemaking and understanding. Ironically, the demonstrators entered the hall and became increasingly vocal. As a precaution the authorities had arranged for quite a significant police contingent to occupy the quiet campus of pacifist Conrad Grebel College. The demonstrators closed down the public event, so we intermingled and engaged in multiple dialogues.

In one exchange, I asked, “Tell me your story.”

My conversation partner told of atrocities and concluded, “See, the regime includes wolves!”

I responded, “Jesus calls us to be sheep among wolves, so that the wolves become sheeplike. If we are wolves among wolves, we destroy one another.”

The subsequent “by invitation only” days of dialogue on spirituality went very well, with no further disruptions.

The Iranians from the institute in Iran are putting much effort

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Dr. Lalsangkima Pachuau

Associate Professor of History and Theology of Mission, Asbury Theological Seminary

C O M E . Not long after I began teaching in Bangalore (South India), someone asked, "Which institution do you recommend for a Ph.D. in Mission Studies?" My answer was "Asbury Theological Seminary." A decade later, as a faculty member at Asbury, I realize how right I was! What an experience it has been to join the team I so admired where a well-balanced emphasis on both spiritual life and high academic standards distinguishes the quality of this scholarly community.

L E A R N . Even in the midst of school activities, I am learning to see that the love of God is the reason faculty members are here. At Asbury there is a spiritual life experience and an atmosphere which brings the best out of me in my work. It is simply a joy to work here! My wife and I are growing spiritually here and we are so impressed with the openness of the doctoral students.

S E R V E . I certainly believe I am called to a position that expects me to be an academican at the doctoral studies level. I find I serve best when I challenge students to dig deeper, to develop a level of analytical and reflective thinking. I serve at a seminary committed to academic excellence and to missions and evangelism.

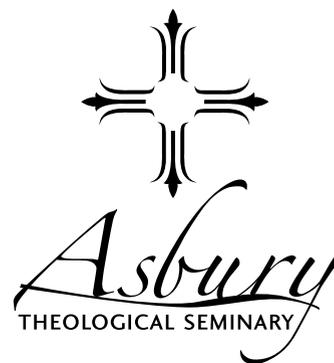
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into making these engagements worthwhile. At the dialogue in Qom I asked why they have invited us into these conversations. They responded, "Because you have no political power, and you are a people of peace!"

When I asked what could be done to improve relations between the United States and Iran, the responses can be summarized in one sentence: Acknowledge and apologize for what you have done to us and respect us.

At the May 2007 dialogue I asked my Iranian dinner-table companions one evening, "Why are you committed to these dialogues?"

They responded, "Our director, Ayatollah Mesbahe Yazdi, says these dialogues are important for two reasons. First, our understandings of God are being transformed. Second, if we had been in dialogue over the years, we would not be in the difficulties we are in now."

A remarkable door opened for me in September 2006. I along with several others was apprised of a conference on Mahdism sponsored by the Bright Future Institute of Qom. The list of

The moderator seemed intrigued by this biblical image of the kingdom centered in redemptive, suffering love.

themes included messianic hope in Abrahamic faith. I offered and was accepted to present on the Christian messianic hope. My hosts even paid all my travel and hotel costs!

I went to Iran early to meet with church leaders and worship with several of the congregations. I wanted the blessing of the church for participating, and I did indeed receive it! In such a context I addressed these Shi'ite theologians on messianic hope in the Bible.

The conference, which convened in Tehran, attracted some 4,000 people for the opening session; there were about 1,500 present throughout. There were 100 guests from abroad, five of whom were Christians. Three of the Christians made presentations, mine included. In the two days we heard nineteen messages on the Mahdist hope that inspires and empowers the Iranian revolution and three presentations on the Christian hope.

President Ahmadinejad opened the conference with a forceful one-hour address. The Iranian revolutionaries believe they are approaching the perfection of political and social life that is necessary for the advent of the Mahdi, who will come with Jesus to establish Islamic peace throughout the world. The struggle against Israel, as he explained it, is not against the people of Israel but against a state that is founded upon injustice. That injustice cannot continue! He spoke of Christians in America who, he said, "go to their churches, but in their lives make the face of Jesus dirty. Our commitment in Iran is to make the dirtied face of Jesus clean again!"

Remarkably, after the president's address I had the opportunity to speak with him briefly. I said, "If there is any way we as church can help to facilitate the dialogue you are inviting with the U.S. administration, let us know."

He responded, "Thank you! When I get to the United States shortly, I hope to meet church leaders at that time."

There have now been three meetings between the Iranian

president and North American church leaders, which included quite serious dialogue on core issues. The eight-page letter that President Ahmadinejad sent to President Bush on May 8, 2006, provides some of the theological background for these dialogues.

I began my address by quoting from this letter, "We believe a return to the teachings of the divine prophets is the only road leading to salvation. I have been told that Your Excellency follows the teachings of Jesus (PBUH) and believes in the divine promise of the rule of the righteous on Earth." President Ahmadinejad then asks whether he and Bush will be found worthy to reign with the righteous in the final judgment.²¹ I said that that was a fundamentally significant question.

I built my presentation around the theme of jubilee (shalom) as fulfilled in the life and ministry of Jesus, and most fully expressed in the suffering, redemptive love of the Messiah, revealed in his cry of forgiveness as he died on the cross. I spoke of his resurrection appearances and his commission to his disciples to go forth living and proclaiming the peace and reconciliation revealed in his crucifixion and resurrection.

The moderator seemed intrigued by this biblical image of the kingdom centered in redemptive, suffering love and counseled the clerics, "We did not know this about Jesus. We must investigate the books Shenk has referred to and find out these matters about Jesus." I am told that comments were heard by the delegates such as, "Shenk seems to be a man of peace. It is amazing that he is a Christian; you would think he would be a Muslim!"

After the September event in Tehran, a colleague and I met with a couple of U.S. State Department officials within the Iran Section. They were astonished that Christians could have serious dialogue with the Iranian theological establishment. We pled with them to open the door for conversation. These are dangerous times, and conversations are urgently needed. As we left, we were assured, "You have been heard."

Sudan: Prayer and Theological Engagement

On the same day that we talked with the State Department officials, Douglas Johnston was addressing a forum within the State Department on faith-based diplomacy. He is the founder and director of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy, in Washington, D.C. He argued in his presentation that Islamic militancy is dangerous indeed and can be realistically encountered only theologically. His mission is to engage the militants as "people of the Book [Bible]," and he gets a hearing. Currently he and his team are engaged in Pakistan helping the directors of the militant madrasas to rethink and reform their jihadist curriculums.

Johnston's team has engaged in the peacemaking efforts in southern Sudan, which has suffered two civil wars between the north and the south since independence: 1955–73 and 1983–2005. The north is Muslim Arab; the south is black and predominantly practices traditional religion but is rapidly Christianizing. The last two decades of wars have devastated the south, with some 2 million dead. The bitterness that such a conflict breeds is like a cancer, making peacemaking efforts seem fruitless.

In this legacy of four decades of wars, Johnston and his team engaged the Islamic, Christian, and political influence-makers in Sudan in a forum imagining what a peace accord between the north and south might look like. The consultation was composed of influence-makers rather than decision-makers; participants thus did not need to be beholden to their constituencies. It was an enormous challenge.

When the forum finally convened on November 12–16, 2000, Christian prayer groups gathered for the duration of the consultation. Some groups came from abroad to join with locals interceding in prayer for reconciliation. These intercessory prayer groups recognized that hostile strongholds have spiritual foundations that need to be addressed at the spiritual level in prayer. This meeting of the Khartoum International Forum for Inter-Religious Cooperation and Peace was composed of Muslim and Christian scholars and theologians who sought to address the core issues robbing Sudan of peace. They developed recommendations that became quite foundational to the peace accord that was finally implemented in January 2005. This engagement demonstrates that peacemaking is hard work; it needs spiritual empowerment and prayer, with creative imagination, and forthright addressing of the issues.²²

The astonishment of Christian peacemaking and reconciliation is that it is centered in the one who is “God with us,” the one who forgives and seeks to embrace the enemy who has nailed him to the cross.²³ Islam finds this understanding of reality incomprehensible; it is likewise incomprehensible for democracies rooted in the philosophies of the Enlightenment. Yet the reconciliatory grace of Jesus crucified and risen indeed offers hope within the

wrath of nations, just as it offers hope in the ashes of forty years of civil war in Sudan. After all the wisdom that has been shared in a forum such as that convened in Sudan, the grace of receiving and extending forgiveness is essential for authentic reconciliation and peace to prevail.

The Mission of the People of the Lamb

In East Africa there are fellowships of Christians known as the People of the Lamb. They are reconcilers. In 1969, for example, when Kenya was at the abyss of intertribal civil war, thousands of the People of the Lamb convened a massive prayer gathering from tribes across Kenya. They proclaimed to the nation that, come what may, they would love one another. That witness pulled Kenya back from the precipice.

In his vision on the island of Patmos, John sees a lamb slain, standing in the center, next to the throne of God, and this crucified and risen lamb is given the book of history (Rev. 5:6–7). Why? Because with his blood he has purchased people for God from “every tribe and language and people and nation” (v. 9). It is this reality of a redeemed people bearing witness to the Gospel of reconciliation that gives hope in these troubled times.²⁴

Notes

1. Hizbullah means “party of God.”
2. This phrasing draws on words spoken by Bishop Kenneth Cragg in a presentation at a reception in his honor at the Hartford Seminary about 1985.
3. Hizbullah in Indonesia is not the same organization as the Shi’ite Hizbullah in Lebanon.
4. Badru D. Katerega and David W. Shenk, *A Muslim and a Christian in Dialogue* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1997).
5. John W. Kiser, *The Monks of Tibhirine: Faith, Love, and Terror in Algeria* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2002), pp. 6–21.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Mohammed Abu-Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam* (Tallahassee: Univ. Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 164–65.
13. Brother Andrew and Al Janssen, *Light Force: The Only Hope for the Middle East* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2004), p. 101.
14. Abu-Nimer, *Nonviolence*, p. 163.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
16. Brother Andrew and Janssen, *Light Force*, pp. 135–68.
17. Elias Chacour with David Hazard, *Blood Brothers* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984).
18. John Howard Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972).
19. For a comprehensive review of that event, see *The Challenge of Modernity: Shi’ah Muslim–Mennonite Christian Dialogue*, special issue of *Conrad Grebel Review*, fall 2003.
20. For a comprehensive review of that event, see *Revelation and Authority: Shi’ah Muslim–Mennonite Christian Dialogue II*, special issue of *Conrad Grebel Review*, winter 2006.
21. “Vasalam Ala Man Ataba’al hoda,” Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, letter to George Bush, president of the United States of America, May 8, 2006, p. 8. An unofficial English translation of the letter can be found, among other places, at http://hosted.ap.org/specials/interactives/_documents/ahmadinejad0509.pdf.
22. Douglas Johnston, ed., *Faith-Based Diplomacy: Trumping Realpolitik* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003), pp. 210–30.
23. Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), pp. 99–166, 275–306.
24. Other works on these topics include Jimmy Carter, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006); and, all published by Herald Press in Scottsdale, Pa., Gordon D. Nickel, *Peaceable Witness Among Muslims* (1999); David W. Shenk, *Global Gods: Exploring the Role of Religions in Modern Societies* (1999); idem, *Journeys of the Muslim Nation and the Christian Church: Exploring the Mission of Two Communities* (2003).

Writing a Social History of Christianity in India

John C. B. Webster

Back in February 1974 the editorial board selected by the Church History Association of India to oversee and publish a multivolume history of Christianity in India prepared a statement on the “New Perspective,” from which this proposed history was to be written. This statement began by saying that “the history of Christianity in India has hitherto often been treated as an eastward extension of western ecclesiastical history.” The editorial board proposed instead to set its history “in the context of Indian history,” a perspective which would both “require a fresh evaluation of existing material” and bring new information to light. This “New Perspective” had four components: (1) the sociocultural, which focused attention on the Christian people in India as an integral part of India’s sociocultural history; (2) the regional, as the basic working unit of study because of India’s regional sociocultural diversity; (3) the national, to highlight common features and interconnections among India’s Christians; and (4) the ecumenical, to explore both common features and denominational diversities within Christianity itself.¹

The editorial board had much to react against. All the early general histories of Christianity in India, as well as the denominational histories, focused on foreign missionaries and their encounters, methods, work, issues, challenges, and accomplishments. The Indian Christian community was largely ignored. The textbook then used in theological seminaries for required courses in Indian church history, C. B. Firth’s *Introduction to Indian Church History*, published in 1961, was basically an institutional history, giving space to the development of the Syrian, Roman Catholic, and Protestant churches as independent entities.² An “Indian social history” framework, the editorial board believed, offered a better vehicle than a missiological or ecclesiological framework for what it wanted to achieve, namely, gaining a better “insight into the changing identity of the Christian people of India through the centuries.”³

It was one thing, however, to propose a “New Perspective” and another to implement it. Teachers and researchers in Indian church history were not trained to write such a history. Moreover, the mission sources on which they were dependent for the information they needed paid little heed to the Christian people of India, concentrating instead upon the missionaries and their work. The authors of this new history thus found themselves operating at almost total cross-purposes with their source materials and did not know quite what to do. The Church History Association therefore conducted special workshops for them on research methodologies that might address this particular problem.

To date, the Church History Association of India has published three large volumes covering all of India for the first eighteen centuries and two shorter volumes on Tamil Nadu and North-east India during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴ The first volume, covering the period from Christianity’s debated beginnings in India with the apostle Thomas in A.D. 52 up to the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in 1542, had to deal with stories embedded in legend, folklore, and very late sources. The next volume, going up to the end of the seventeenth century, posed the first serious challenge to the editorial board’s ecumenical

approach, as it dealt with major conflicts between the Roman Catholic Portuguese and the Syrian Christians in Kerala. The third volume, on the eighteenth century, probably the least-studied period of all, made extensive use of primary sources in a wide range of Indian and European libraries. The author’s draft had to be revised by several scholars following his death. All three volumes were divided into sections that described regional histories separately, with generalizations for the period as a whole being reserved for the concluding section. The board soon found, however, that it was not possible to publish single volumes on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (originally one for North India and the other for South India), as there was simply too much history to be contained in a single volume or to be mastered by a single historian. They therefore decided to assign the regional histories for the last two centuries to different authors and to publish them separately.

I was assigned Northwest India during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Northwest India covers not only the present Indian states of Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, as well as the Union territories of Delhi and of Chandigarh, but also the present Pakistani states of Punjab and the Northwest Frontier Province, as well as the Tribal Areas along the Afghan border. I relate the history of Christianity in the entire region up to Independence and Partition in 1947 and then limit myself to the Indian side of the border for the years after Independence. Since I have been working on the history of Christianity in this region off and on for almost forty years, I had a more detailed story to tell than could be confined within the covers of a 200-page book. This history is thus being published independently of the multivolume project as *A Social History of Christianity: Northwest India Since 1800* by Oxford University Press in New Delhi. A subsequent revision and abridgment will appear later in the Church History Association of India series. The remainder of this essay is devoted to sharing my experience of writing this history, in case others who might be inclined to attempt social histories of Christianity in other parts of the world want to know what may be involved. I confine my observations to sources, conceptualization, and readership.

Sources

Missionaries wrote about “the work,” not about “the community.” This habit has forced social historians to scan huge amounts of source materials—reports, proceedings, minutes, mission magazine articles, missionaries’ personal correspondence with their mission boards—in order to glean enough relevant anecdotes, accounts, descriptions, lists, statistics, photographs, and the like on which to base a history. To make matters worse, if the social history is to be ecumenical, as the “New Perspective” requires, these source materials are apt to be so widely scattered as to be almost beyond reach. In Northwest India there were English Baptists; American, Scottish, and New Zealand Presbyterians; British and Canadian Anglicans; German Moravians; American Methodists; Salvation Army officers from all over; Seventh-day Adventists; and Belgian and Italian Capuchins, no two of which have their archives in the same place! The task of getting to and consulting one’s source materials is thus quite daunting and expensive.

John C. B. Webster served as a missionary and diaconal worker in India of the Presbyterian Church (USA), 1963–81 and 1994–2001. He has written extensively on Christianity in India.

The nature of my Christian sources changed over time. Most of the early mission sources were produced for the edification of supporters both “back home” and in India. By the end of the nineteenth century, missionaries were publishing weekly or monthly newspapers and magazines in India primarily for one another, for example, the *Indian Witness* (Methodist), *Indian Standard* (Presbyterian), *Lahore Diocesan Magazine* (Anglican), and, in South India, the *Harvest Field* (ecumenical Protestant), *Guardian* (Indian Protestant), and *New Leader* (Roman Catholic). Following the 1910 International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh and World War I, not only do reports of international deputations and commissions get added, but so too does an increased amount of survey research. Following World War II and then Independence in 1947, the missionary archive diminishes dramatically without being replaced by anything comparable on the Indian side, although the Christian community does become the subject of some very helpful social science research.

Despite the presence of such diverse sources in so many repositories, I did not get everything I was looking for. Three deficiencies were particularly frustrating. One was the general lack of relevant materials in Indian languages, as so few seem to have been preserved. The second is that the Indian “voice” is so silent in these sources. It does come through at key moments, often after passing through a missionary filter, but it would be much better to have heard more independent Indian voices in the sources consulted. A third frustration arose after reading Susan Bayly’s excellent study of Christianity in nineteenth-century Kerala and Tamil Nadu,⁵ as she was able to focus on such things as Christian shrines, cults of saints, festivals, and disputes over ceremonial honors, which reveal so much about the inner relationships between Christianity and its various sociocultural environments. I could not find parallels in the Northwest, perhaps because Christianity there has been so Protestant for so long, but more probably because in the Northwest there was not the intercaste competition for honor and status within the churches that there was in the South.

Conceptualization

Basic to the social-history approach is the working hypothesis that since the Christian community emerged from within Indian society, the major clues to understanding its history are to be found in Indian social history rather than in the history of Christian missions. In short, Indian Christians have always been Indians. This is not to say that missionary theologies, missiologies, politics, liturgies, perceptions of India, institution-building, charisma, and willpower have been unimportant, but only that they are likely to have played roles subordinate to changing Indian sociocultural realities in shaping the Christian community over the years. Missionary capacity to effect change has long been overestimated, initially by missionaries themselves and more recently by all who blame them for the present ills of the Christian community. One has only to read the expressions of frustration that permeate their reports and correspondence to see the limits of their power.

Northwest Indian society, notwithstanding its religious diversity and all the political changes it has undergone, has been a highly integrated society, based on hierarchies of caste, gender, and age, and held together by kinship ties within each caste and by patron-client relationships between members of castes differently placed within that hierarchy. It is difficult to imagine why anyone in such a society would want to become a Christian. It would be wrong, however, to assume that everyone

was equally happy living in that kind of society; some would already be individually or collectively alienated, even before encountering a Christian evangelist. The early converts in Northwest India were indeed drawn from the ranks of the individually alienated: migrants from other parts of India or men in Western employ or who had received a Western education. Women who converted apart from their families were most often already abused, widowed, or abandoned by their families. The Dalits (those belonging to castes deemed untouchable and ranked at the very bottom of the caste hierarchy) were collectively alienated and later converted in large numbers. The message of God’s love and forgiveness was unexpected good news to the individually and socially alienated.

In this history Christianity is depicted both as a religious movement from within Indian society and as an Indian community defined by religion (rather than by caste or lineage). Both movement and community took decades to develop, and both underwent changes over time. Missionaries provided the initial leadership, organization, and ideology for Christianity as a movement, but there would have been no movement and no challenge to the prevailing sociocultural order had Christianity not attracted significant numbers of Indian inquirers and converts. It was during the period roughly from 1881, when the first census of India recorded almost 4,000 Indian Christians in the region, up through World War I, when their numbers approached 300,000, that Christianity posed its greatest challenge to northwest Indian society and exercised its greatest influence as a movement through its diverse forms of evangelism, its prominent role in the region’s educational system, and its medical work, primarily among women and children. After World War I, however, Christianity quickly lost its momentum as a movement, never fully to regain it again. For one thing, the region turned its attention away from sociocultural concerns to concentrate primarily on nationalist and communal politics. For another, church leaders began concentrating more on “Christianizing” and fully incorporating large numbers of recently arrived converts into the churches than on adding new ones. Only in recent years have evangelicals and Pentecostals revived the earlier evangelistic priority, both winning new converts and provoking a strong backlash.

Christianity as community in Northwest India is, apart from growing numbers, a function of two quite different things. The first is the caste/community structure of Indian society and the way it operates. In the nineteenth century, and even on into the twentieth, a Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh from a “respectable” caste or lineage was outcasted upon conversion to Christianity. The old ties of kinship and sociability were broken for these converts, and Christianity became their community, within which they married and had their social life. Although Dalit castes did not excommunicate converts, thus making community boundaries between Christian and fellow Dalits less rigid, these patterns have continued on into the present, although in less stringent forms, so that Christians are identified as belonging to a separate and distinct community in a caste/community-based society.⁶

Christianity as community is also a function of the internal cohesion and interdependence of its own membership. Converts from a variety of religious and caste backgrounds initially formed a fairly cohesive urban community. The rural Chuhra conversion movement from the 1870s onward changed that demographic dramatically. Since then, increased social mobility, the influx of Christians from other parts of India, emerging class differences, and often competing denominational differences between those in the historic Protestant, Roman Catholic, and evangelical/

Pentecostal forms of Christianity in the region have meant that internal cohesion has been severely strained. Christianity as community is therefore not just a sociocultural “given” in Indian society; it is something that must be worked at and struggled with all the time.⁷

This emphasis upon Christianity as community points to the other major theme running throughout this history, namely, the changing images and identity of the Christian people in Northwest India. Image, self-image, and identity have been very much a product, not just of Christianity’s Gospel, but also of its origins and associations (Jesus was not an Indian, and Christianity was brought to India by foreigners); of the locations within the Indian caste hierarchy from which Christian converts have come; of the community’s relative size, resources, influence, and “clout”; of the patterns of both social and religious interaction with other communities that it has fostered; and of the implicit and explicit political alliances (if any) it has formed. Not all Indians have given the same weight to each of these considerations in their perceptions of Christianity; some considerations are products more of controversy than of “the facts,” and all of them have changed over time. All needed to be examined over the entire period of Christianity’s presence in Northwest India in order (as the editorial board proposed) to gain “insight into the changing identity of the Christian people [there] through the centuries.”

Readership

This history has been written primarily for two sets of Indian readers. One consists of members of the Christian community, particularly in Northwest India. While denominational histories from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries abound, this has been the first attempt to write the history of the whole community in this part of India. My assumption has been that they need as much information as I can provide about their origins and how they got to where they are now. The Christian community there, as elsewhere in India, has been attacked verbally and physically during the past decade of Hindutva (lit. “Hinduness”) ascendancy, and it has been engaged in important internal debates. My hope is that this book will provide some solid historical ground for them to stand on, as well as a clearer sense of their own identity as Christians, as they engage in these struggles.

The other set of Indian readers I have had in mind has been

the members of the academic community, and especially the historians of modern India. They and their Western counterparts have made an indispensable contribution to my history. Thanks to their work, the field has grown tremendously, so that what I know now about the changing regional context in which Christians have lived and interacted—whether social, political, or religious—I could not have known when I first began gathering material for this book. In contrast, Christianity, and Indian Christians in particular, continue to find little or no place in histories of modern India. Christians are a small minority in India and an even smaller one in Northwest India, and so are easy to ignore. Beyond that, however, is the fact that historians of modern India have had few solid monographs on Indian Christianity, especially in the twentieth century, to draw upon when writing their histories. This history is designed to fill that gap in a way that meets their academic standards, and so to make Christianity and Christians better recognized as integral parts of the modern history of the Indian people.

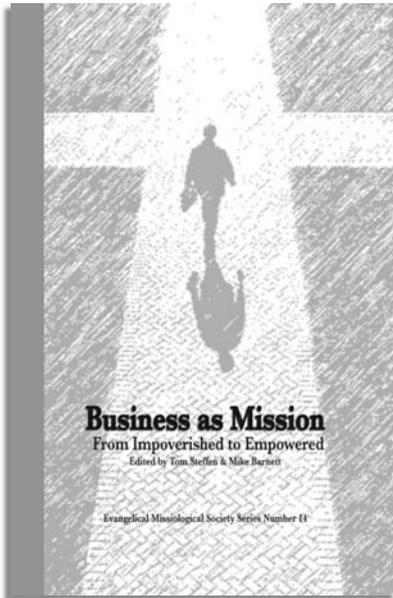
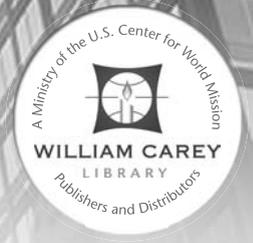
My intentions with regard to the book’s Western readership are less sharply defined. I think that India specialists will find it helpful in the same ways Indian academics might. I expect historians of Christian missions to find not only my perspective complementing their own but also the information this history contains enriching their understanding of Christian missions. Finally, I hope that those whose positions in church bodies require some understanding of their Northwest Indian (and Pakistani) partners in mission or who have associations with the churches there as missionaries or mission supporters will find this history enlightening and helpful, clarifying within a broader historical perspective their parts in the story it has to tell.

Writing the history of Christianity in India (or elsewhere) can be an important missionary vocation if certain conditions are met. Obviously, one’s history must meet the academic standards set by the profession so as to be taken seriously. It should be written in a language relatively free of academic jargon and understandable to the intelligent nonspecialist. It should also be published in a place and at a price that make it accessible to its intended readership. And, as indicated above, its contents should be conceived so as to deepen historical understanding of the Christian people. Writing that meets these goals can perhaps help Christians and their neighbors alike relate better to their past and present, as well as provide a useful resource for interfaith understanding.

Notes

1. “A Scheme for a Comprehensive History of Christianity in India” (mimeographed), pp. 1–2. This statement was reprinted, but with a slight omission in the sentence on the sociocultural component, in *Indian Church History Review* 8 (December 1974): 89–90.
2. A survey of the development of Indian church history as a field of study up to that time is provided in John C. B. Webster, “The History of Christianity in India: Aims and Methods,” published in both *Bangalore Theological Forum* 10 (July–December 1978): 110–48 and *Indian Church History Review* 13 (December 1979): 87–122.
3. “Scheme,” p. 2.
4. The five volumes so far published in *History of Christianity in India* are the following: vol. 1, *From the Beginning up to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century* [up to 1542] (Bangalore: Theological Publications in India, 1984), by A. Mathias Mundadan; vol. 2, *From the Middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century* [1542–1700] (Bangalore: Theological Publications in India, 1982), by Joseph Thekkedath; vol. 3, *Eighteenth Century* (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1997), by E. R. Hamby; vol. 4, pt. 2, *Tamilnadu in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1990), by Hugald Grafe; and vol. 5, pt. 5, *North East India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1992), by Frederick S. Downs.
5. Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses, and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), pp. 241–452.
6. Christians are treated as constituting one community among many in a caste/community-based society in The Anthropological Survey of India’s series, *The Peoples of India*, edited by K. S. Singh, the northwest India volumes of which were published in New Delhi by Manohar. See, in vol. 20, T. K. Ghosh, “Christians,” in *Delhi* (1996), pp. 143–48; vol. 23, B. K. Nagla and J. Prasad, “Christians,” in *Haryana* (1994), pp. 126–31; vol. 24, Vatsala Sarkar, “Christians,” in *Himachal Pradesh* (1996), pp. 158–62; and vol. 37, Virinder Singh, “Christians,” in *Punjab* (2003), pp. 147–52.
7. India has had an especially bad experience with communal history. The historian of Christianity must therefore examine the community’s internal diversity and tensions in relation to those within the wider society so as to avoid inadvertently falling into this trap.

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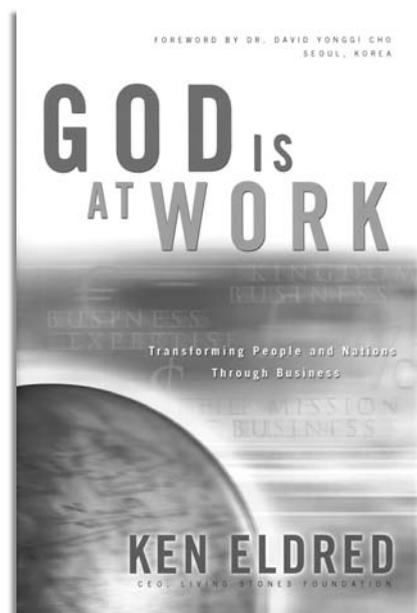
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Āvarna and Adivāsi Christians and Missions: A Paradigm for Understanding Christian Movements in India

Robert Eric Frykenberg

Christian faith, as Lamin Sanneh has commented, transcends “ethnic, national, and cultural barriers” and moves beyond “patterns developed in Europe.” Christian faith is not bound by or restricted to any one culture. It is bound by no single sacred language-in-text, as is Islam within Arabic; nor by any one sacred blood or earth, or language-in-genome, as is Aryan and Brahmanical or Sanskriti and Vedic lore as embodied in ideologies of Hindutva. No one culture is sacred. Yet all cultures can become sacred, to a greater or lesser degree, depending on how much their essentials are transformed so as to reflect everlasting verities that are truly sacred. What happened among Āvarna and Adivāsi communities in India can therefore be seen as manifold instances of the “indigenous discovery of Christianity” rather than mere instances in the “[Western] Christian discovery of indigenous societies.”¹

What follows is a paradigm for understanding Christian movements in India. Some kinds of communities have been much more open to the Gospel and to conversion than others. Missionaries from abroad may have brought initial impetus and new technologies for transmitting new knowledge, both scriptural and scientific, but it was local agents who then took ownership of the Christian message, translating it into indigenously attractive idioms. Only then, and only after a period of incubation and after acculturation of the Gospel message, did explosions of spiritual and social energy turn communities to the new faith. Even so, such developments were uneven, and wholesale transformations occurred among only some Āvarna and Adivāsi peoples.

Varnāshramadharmā and Social Structure

Āvarna and Adivāsi are Sanskritic categories of analysis and classification created by Brahmans in ancient times. As traditional and paradigmatic concepts they still define peoples who, in terms of ritual pollution, lie outside the bounds of Sanskriti civilization. These are peoples who, in moral, social, and ritual terms, are “untouchable.” They are located outside the metaphoric spectrum of “proper colors” (*savarna*); they are beyond the pale and, in many senses, all but invisible.

“Color” (*varna*) metaphorically defines the caste system. The color code, or *varnāshramadharmā*, ranks all bioethnic communities.² An abstract device handed down from antiquity for measuring inherent moral and ritual qualities, it excludes impure or polluted beings. The Sanskriti word for “born” or “birth” is *jāt*. Each life form—bird, butterfly, fish, serpent, or mammal—is a *jāti* and, as such, has its own biocosmic properties, its own genetic code or ritual DNA. Among peoples, each birth group, or caste (*jāti*), possesses its own intrinsic qualities. Within each “color” of the four-color (*chaturvarniya*) system of humankind are hundreds of separate castes. Only castes ranking within the top three categories, or colors, are ritually pure (*savarna*).

Within each category, only males who undergo the

upanāyanā ceremony are “twice-born” (*dvija*). Only males receive sacred and secret knowledge (*veda*) and skills unique to their birth or lineage. These skills, taken together, sum up the substance of each person’s proper duty, function, or religion (*dharma*). Peoples not included within categories of *varnāshramadharmā* are Āvarna and Adivāsi peoples. As such, they are polluted, or untouchable.

The highest category, or set of castes, is the white *varna*. People within such castes are known as Brahmans. The word “Brahman,” meaning “cosmic breath or sound,” signifies ultimate reality and sublime, supreme acuity, intellectuality, perspicacity, rationality, and spirituality. Brahmans have inherent power over words, numbers, and rituals. Just below the white *varna* is the red *varna*. Castes within this *varna* are known as Kshatriyas. Peoples in Kshatriya castes innately possess courage, prowess, valor, and rulership—power of the “sword.” The third *varna* is gold/yellow, and its peoples belong to Vaishiya (or Baniya or Vaniya) castes. These peoples are makers of wealth, with innate aptitudes in commerce and industry. Together, peoples in these top three categories are the “twice-born.” Their sacred and secret knowledge, passed down from generation to generation as their birthright, is for each people a unique religious duty (*dharma/karma*). Each of the three categories of “twice-born” peoples constitutes roughly 5 percent of the population.

The fourth and lowest *varna*, over 40 percent of the population, is black. From a Brahmanical perspective, peoples in such castes are Shudras (*Śudras*). Neither ritually pure nor “twice-born,” such peoples are thought to be descended from *Dasya* (lit. “servile”) peoples who had been conquered by *Arya* (lit. “noble”) peoples in ancient times. Meant to engage in manual labor, they till the soil, cultivate crops, and carry out other similar tasks. (In South India, where Aryan rule never penetrated as deeply and where Brahmanical influences arrived much later, social structures reflect a truncated *varnāshramadharmā*. High-born families of the south resisted being relegated to Shudra status. Thus, while some noble families of South India might claim Aryan or Kshatriya lineages, non-Brahman elites consider themselves equal, if not superior, to Brahmans.)

Below the four classical *varna* categories lies a fifth category. Known as the *Panchamas* (lit. “fifths”), such peoples now label themselves Dalits (lit. “crushed peoples”). Beyond the pale, they are *āvarna* (lit. “colorless” and thus socially invisible). Too polluting to be permitted to mingle in respectable society, viewed as innately subhuman, these peoples are seen as dust, excrement, or filth—hence untouchable. Denied the right to dwell in a *pukka* or proper house, to drink from a common well or metal cup, to receive food service, or to enter a *pukka* or proper place of worship, they are lumped with dirt, disease, drugs, and debt. Nowhere else on earth are so many people, roughly 15 percent of the population, relegated to such perpetual, hereditary, and religiously sanctioned thralldom.

All peoples born outside of *varnāshramadharmā* are innately polluting. They fall into two subcategories: Āvarna (domesticated, or subject, peoples) and Adivāsi (undomesticated, or never-yet-subdued, aboriginal peoples). Āvarnas, in other words, are domesticated Adivāsis—“castes” that were once “tribes.” Āvarna

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peoples, like cattle or goats or horses or elephants, know their lowly place. Taken together, the two categories of peoples, officially designated as “scheduled castes and tribes,” amount to more than 20 percent of India’s population.

Āvarna Christian Movements

Since 1529, and especially since 1799, numbers of distinct Christian communities have proliferated. Each came into being under unique circumstances, and each developed its own character. What began in the south in Tirunelvēli and Travancore was replicated in other parts of Tamil and Telugu country and, eventually, among lowest-caste peoples in the north.

Shoreline Āvarna Christians: Paravar and Mukkavar fisherfolk. In the sixteenth century seafaring peoples of the south turned to Christianity. Paravar fishermen, pearl divers, pirates, smugglers, and traders on both sides of the Palk Strait faced perpetual oppression. Their work was hazardous, requiring courage and resourcefulness, for predatory armies and fleets constantly pilaged or enslaved them. In 1527, after forces of the Samudri Raja (Zamorin) of Calicut attacked them, they turned for help to the Portuguese. A Chettiar Christian merchant, John da Cruz, and fifteen Paravars offered an alliance. A year later, their *jāti thalavan* (chief), Vikrama Aditha Pandya, gave the Portuguese access to the lucrative pearl trade. Families of some 20,000 pearl-fishers were baptized. In 1537 a furious sea battle ended threats from Hindu and Muslim forces, and the entire Paravar community declared themselves Christian.

Francis Xavier visited the “Fisher Coast” in 1542. He went from village to village with three Tamil-speaking Thomas Christian helpers, baptizing and teaching. Exploiting a deeply ingrained indigenous genius for memorization involving rhythmic recitations each morning and evening and reinforced by mnemonic exercises, they drilled bright-eyed boys in imperfectly translated essentials: the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed, Ten Commandments, and other rudiments of Christian faith, as well as condemnations of blood sacrifice and other evils. On palm-leaf records, a designated scribe in each village church was enjoined to keep track of births, marriages, deaths, and family lineages and to foster communal solidarity. Other Āvarna peoples—Karaiyars, Shanars, Kaikolars, Pallars, and Paraiyars—also came to Xavier for baptism. In 1544, ten thousand Mukkuvas, fisherfolk on the west coast, were also baptized.

Paravar Christians remained a *jāti* (ethnic) culture, distinctly Hindu or nativistic. Their Paravar *jāti thalavan* (caste headman) regularly led processions of the Golden Car Festival to the Great-Mother Church. Before the Paravar Virgin Patroness, Our Lady of Snows, like another tutelary avatar of the Great Goddess, the *thalavan* would bow, and below her throne he would perform unveilings, adorning her with garlands and jewels. As early as the 1720s this ten-day festival drew thousands. Devotees would drag the huge-wheeled car bearing her garlanded image on its annual Rath Yatra (lit. “chariot procession or circumambulation”) through the streets of Tuticorin surrounding the Great Church—all to the beating of drums and chanting of hymns.

Tirunelvēli Āvarna Christians: Shanars (or Nadars), Kaikollars, Paraiyars, and others. The first mass movement began in 1797–99. Its roots lay in Halle and the second, or Pietistic, Reformation. Evangelicalism and Enlightenment, twin engines combined and utilized by A. H. Francke, called for universal literacy and numeracy in the mother tongue of each person on earth. This

explosive ideology reached Tranquebar in 1706. Scriptures and scientific texts were translated and printed, schools built, leaders trained, and manuscripts collected. Converts and disciples of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, armed with basic literacy, brought about the first proliferation of Tamil Christian congregations. By the 1730s, Tamil pastors Aaron and Rajanayakam (Rajanayakam had previously been captain of the palace guard) obtained royal patronage for building a model school in Thanjāvur. Forty years later Christian Friedrich Schwartz laid the foundations for an amazing explosion of Āvarna movements. Fluent in Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Persian, Sanskrit, and Portuguese, and himself a locally renowned preacher, teacher, schoolmaster, diplomat, and statesman, Schwartz (the Raja-Guru, or Protector-Regent, of Serfoji Maharaja) sent his “Helpers” far and wide across the country.

In 1769 Sāvarimuthu Pillai, a Vellalar (a dominant caste of agriculturalists of South India and northern Sri Lanka) Christian sepoy stationed in Tirunelvēli, begged for a modern Tamil pastor-teacher. Soon an affluent Brahman Christian widow arrived. Baptized Clarinda, she endowed a pukka chapel-school. Sathiyānāthan Pillai, a Thanjāvur Vellalar, the first fully ordained Tamil missionary in Tirunelvēli, was commissioned in 1785. In 1797 Sundaranandam David, a Shanar Christian trained by Schwartz and by his brilliant disciple Vedanayakam Pillai (or Vedanayagam Sastri), shared his faith with his own people. This lowly Āvarna community of landless hereditary “toddy-tappers”—persons who climbed palm trees for sap, a work deemed so degrading and filthy that they were relegated to hovels on the outskirts of pukka villages—were thunderstruck. Soon families from surrounding villages asked for instruction. By 1799 a chain reaction occurred within the entire Shanar community. Thousands, often whole villages, turned Christian. Some temples were turned into

The first mass movement began in 1797–99. Its roots lay in Halle and Pietism.

prayer-school halls. Such actions provoked violent reactions. Landlords, fearing loss of corvée labor, called in warlords and Marava “club-men” from Ramnad to attack converts. Christians were plundered, confined, and tortured, mud-thatch dwellings torn down, livestock and property taken, women ravished, and books burned. Thousands were beaten, stripped, and driven into the jungle.³

But Sundaranandam was fiery and resourceful. He set up a Village of Refuge for the persecuted. Mudulur (First Village) was extremely successful. Other settlements—Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jerusalem, Samaria, Galilee, Megnanapuram, Sawyerpuram, Anandapuram, Dohnavur, Suveshipuram, and many more—were to follow. These places cared for the fleeing, needy, sick, and poor widows and orphans. Every decade thereafter for a century the number of new converts doubled or tripled.

As numbers of Christians multiplied, missionaries arrived. Christian Wilhelm Gericke and Joseph Daniel Jänicke, both of whom succumbed to disease and exhaustion, were among the earliest. James Hough, an East India Company chaplain, arrived in 1816. A disciple of Charles Simeon, he supported teachers and textbooks out of his own pocket. But what revolutionized the situation was the arrival of Karl Rhenius in 1820. Robert Caldwell, bishop of Tinnevely, later described this charismatic former soldier from Berlin as “one of the ablest, most

clear-sighted and practical, and most zealous Missionaries that India has ever seen.”⁴ His “pilgrims” sent back reports of fresh outbreaks of conversions, even among respectable (varna) Vellalars. Again, whole villages turned Christian; village temples became schools, and persecutions engendered new villages of refuge. A philanthropic society, the Dharma Sangam, was organized (1830) to manage endowments. Dohnavur, endowed by a Swedish-Prussian Count Dohna, later provided refuge for child *devadasis* (lit. “female servants/slaves of god,” i.e., temple courtesans/dancers/prostitutes) rescued by Amy Carmichael. Suvishesha-puram (Gospel Village) was endowed by David Pillai Asirvatam, a prosperous Vellalar. By 1858 the Dharma Sangam had accumulated an endowment of 13,320 rupees (2 rupees then equaled \$1). The Tinnevely Bible and Tract Society (founded in 1822) printed 45,000 tracts and boasted a 1,237-rupee surplus. The Shanti Sangam (Peace Society), Suvishesha-fanam (Gospel Penny, or Poor Fund), Widow’s Fund, and Missionary Society sent “pilgrims” to villages never previously entered. In due course, hundreds of schools and two training colleges, printing presses, dispensaries, and hospitals followed. Voluntary associations, increasingly supplemented by missionary agencies, gave these Āvarna congregations a sturdy sense of dignity, pride, independence, and self-confidence.

Between 1825 and 1845 Tirunelvēli congregations increased their membership from 11,186 to 46,047. (Catholic Tamil Christians in Tirunelvēli villages, including Paravars, numbered roughly the same.) Christian communities in Tirunelvēli country became so

Voluntary associations gave Āvarna congregations a sturdy sense of dignity.

numerous and prosperous that the entire culture, economy, and society were transformed. Formerly despised Āvarna Shanars, transformed into respectable (varna) Nadars, found creative and dynamic expression in Tamil Christian art, architecture, literature, and music. Vedanayagam Sastri’s popular hymns and dramas, as well as H. A. Krishna Pillai’s epic *Rakshany Yatrikam*, a Tamil *Pilgrim’s Progress* of 4,000 verses, drew once-excluded peoples into a dynamic appreciation for the heritage of ancient Tamil culture and classical Sangam (Ānkam) literature.

Travancore Āvarna Christians: Shanars, Izhavas, Kuravars, Pulaiyars, Paraiyars, and others. This paradigm was replicated among scores, if not hundreds, of Āvarna peoples. Maha Rasan, a native of Milaudy, in the princely state of Travancore, became disgusted with idolatry during a pilgrimage to Chidambaram. Stopping in Thanjavur to visit his cousin-sister, he accompanied her to her place of worship. There he heard warm-hearted people singing and praying together: “My heart was rent asunder by the blessed news,” he later recalled. After turning to Christ he took the name Vedamanickam, and after receiving intensive training he returned to his Malayalam-speaking homeland. There his following soon grew to several hundred, and severe persecution came from high-caste landlords. Within the rigid and steeply hierarchical agrarian structure, change was intolerable. Newly converted Āvarna Christian “soil-slaves” (people whose caste limited them to back-breaking, menial agricultural work) were beaten and robbed; their sons were taken for corvée labor, and their daughters for worse purposes. Returning to Thanjavur

and Tranquebar for teachers, Vedamanickam was joined by a young German missionary, William Tobias Ringeltaube. At that time new Christians were not allowed to live, teach, or worship in pukka houses, nor were their Sabbath days free from labor. Āvarna Christians were assaulted and robbed; their thatch dwellings were burned, their teachers imprisoned, and their women publicly flogged for covering their bosoms.⁵

Eventually, after years of incubation and modest growth, explosive movements occurred among Āvarna peoples, attracting both nonslave castes (e.g., Nadars [formerly Shanars], Arrians, Izhavas, and Kuravars) and “soil-slave” castes (e.g., Pulaiyars and Paraiyars). Liberation from dark fears and demons and emancipation from bondage and oppression was usually led by someone from within the same community. Dramatically multiplying conversions brought support infrastructures—schools to bring literacy, trained local teacher-preachers (catechists), voluntary care societies, and missionaries (e.g., CMS and LMS).⁶ Chain reactions of oppression, violent death, protest, and petition did not end, despite the abolition of slavery in 1855. In due course, resentment against missionary paternalism surfaced. It is noteworthy that movements within the Brahman-dominated princely state of Travancore (part of modern-day Kerala) gained momentum before colonial power became firmly established.

Progressive northward trajectory of Āvarna Christian movements. By the 1860s and 1870s new movements to Christianity among Āvarna communities spread northward, reaching across the length and breadth of the land until they covered much of the subcontinent. As Āvarna peoples in northerly Tamil-speaking districts—Chakkriars and Paraiyars, as well as Kallars, Pallars, and Madhavis—turned Christian, Āvarna peoples within districts of the Telugu and Marathi-speaking Deccan, the Hindustan heartlands, and the Punjab began to do the same. Each people—Malas and Madigas; Mahars, Mangs, and Chambaras; Bhangis and Chamars; Chuhars of Punjab, and many more—had its own story to tell.

What happened in Telugu country replicated the same paradigm. A Madiga couple, Yerragunthla Periah and Nagama, heard the Gospel message from a relative. They went to Ongole, where John Clough, an American Baptist missionary, baptized them. The Madiga-Christian movement reached its zenith in 1778, with 2,222 baptized in a single day. A parallel Mala-Christian movement, supported by American Lutherans in Guntur and Rajahmundry, and movements among other Telugu communities, supported by missionaries from many countries (Anglicans, Catholics, Brethren, and others), spread from coastal areas to villages in the interior.

What began in Tirunelvēli, in short, was replicated in almost every movement. The basic elements of this paradigm are as follows: (1) arrival and settlement of missionaries who initiate processes and technologies of study, translation, publication, and schooling; (2) earliest conversions of a few individuals from some more respectable community (usually from some non-Brahman varna or *jāti*); (3) development, after special training, of local evangelists, teachers, or pastors; (4) spread, after initial beachheads, with disciples, often two by two, going into the countryside; (5) a period of incubation in some remote place where Christianity is reproduced by means of indigenous agency; (6) an explosive movement of mass conversions, with whole villages turning Christian and small local temples becoming school halls; (7) a furious local reaction, resulting in persecution, violence, and even martyrdom; (8) building of separate settlements, modeled after biblical cities of refuge (Num. 35:6–34).⁷

Adivāsi Christian Movements

The above report, which highlights Christians from within hundreds of Āvarna ethnic communities, gives only half of the picture. As already indicated, Āvarna peoples were merely Adivāsi peoples who, whether by force, guile, or other means, had been domesticated in order to provide Suvarna (lit. “true color”) peoples with plenty of surplus servile labor. Āvarna peoples had been held to be little better than livestock whose sweat and toil from dawn to dusk helped make possible huge labor-intensive irrigation systems. If such people tried to escape into forested hills, they faced hazards even more fearsome. Lowly people, famished, scrawny, and lacking savvy to survive in jungles, could hardly cope with the wilds.

It was there that Adivāsi peoples had long survived. However nasty, brutish, or short life might be, they preferred the tiger-filled darkness of forests to the snares, toils, and stigmas of varnāshramadharmā. They had long escaped from the grinding wheels of the juggernaut that crushed so many Āvarna peoples. They remained not only free but also powerful enough, within remote fastnesses of forests, to resist conquest. As a consequence, they had never been Sanskritized or Islamicized. Even as they struggled against disease, famine, and war, they never endured the abject brutality and insecurity, oppression, poverty, and thralldom that living under Āvarna stigmatization would have entailed.

Adivāsis lived along the forested slopes and escarpments of frontiers. These frontiers—both interior and exterior—had never been conquered. Logistic difficulties had been too formidable. Badlands and mountains of the interior, wild mangrove deltas, parched deserts, and steep ridges that effectively carved up the continent also enabled fierce aboriginals to fend off Hindu or Muslim rulers. Hence, as indicated, they had never suffered either Sanskriti or Islamic domination.

Dramatic changes occurred among Naga, Mizo, Khasi, and Garos peoples in mountains surrounding the Assam Valley. In each instance, initial efforts by missionaries failed. Only later, after groundwork was laid in the 1830s and 1840s and after inspired Assamese Christians ventured into the thickly forested mountains at the risk of their lives, did circumstances change. Only after small congregations of tribal Christians already existed did missionaries dare to enter dangerous places. Living in primitive houses, they mastered languages, translated Scripture, printed textbooks, and ran schools. Literacy—for children and adults, male and female alike—brought the emergence of teachers, preachers, evangelists, and those with technical skills. Only after multiple conversions brought persecution did separate settlements (villages of refuge) grow, proliferate, prosper, and attract more remote peoples, who in turn asked for schools and teachers of their own.

Naga Christian movements. New Molong (Molong-yimsen) was the first Naga Christian community. Formed in 1876 as a classic village of refuge of the kind previously described, it became a model for later settlements on other hilltops. Its story began years earlier in the river town of Shibsagar. There Subongmeren, an Ao Naga who had come down into the valley to barter, met an Assamese evangelist and teacher named Godhula. Godhula, a convert trained many years earlier by an American Baptist missionary named Miles Branson, had invited the Naga to come and live in his own home. American Baptists such as Branson and Nathan Brown had been invited by British Baptist missionaries to work in Assam, but their attempts to reach Nagas had utterly

failed. After some months in the home of Godhula and his wife, Subongmeren had become a Christian. Then on his own initiative and without permission from tribal leaders, he had invited Godhula to come with him to his home village of Old Molong so that his people could hear the Gospel. At the risk of his life Godhula had allowed himself to be taken up into the darkly forested hills to Old Molong. There, suspected of being a spy, he had been imprisoned. While in prison, not only did he learn from curious children how to speak the Ao Naga language, but he also won the hearts of villagers with his melodious singing of Gospel songs. In due course, after release from prison, after he had led fifteen spear-carrying new converts down to the town of Shibsager for baptism, and after his wife had joined him on the hilltop of Old Molong, his small congregation opened the door for the coming of Edward and Mary Clark. Even as the first missionaries to enter and settle among Naga Christians built up the infrastructure for further conversions by translating, printing, introducing literacy, and training teacher-pastors for the first Naga Christians, persecution and resistance led to the founding of New Molong as a refuge from dangers of hostile headhunters who lurked in the forests around them.

The Clarks were soon followed by other missionaries—the Kings, Rivenburgs, Tanquists, Bengt Andersons, and many others. Throughout the decades that followed, it was Naga preachers and teachers themselves, for whom missionaries had provided basic literacy and numeracy, who carried the Gospel to other Naga tribes. In this way, the process of spreading cultural and technological infrastructures and of carrying the Gospel from Ao Nagas to fierce Angami Nagas and thence to more and more of

Along all cultural and geopolitical frontiers of South Asia, where aboriginal forest peoples turned to Christ, they were led by their own leaders.

the fifty other Naga tribes progressed rapidly. The Sema Nagas, before ever having themselves become Christian, begged for schools and teachers and then, having become literate, became the most evangelizing of all the Naga tribes. Today at least 90 percent, and perhaps as many as 98 percent, of all Naga peoples are Christians. (Interestingly, as if to emphasize their abhorrence of Hindu or Islamic cultures, they insist upon using Roman script for all their literatures, with the result that many of the Naga elites are fluent in English.)

Other Adivāsi movements in the northeast. Similar events happened among the Garo, Khasi, Abhor, Mishmi, Lushai, and other peoples surrounding the Assam Valley. These movements, while different in details, were similar in underlying features. The Ahom-Hindu cultural heartland, where varnāshramadharmā reigned, remained largely impervious to Christianity. But peoples in surrounding mountains became increasingly, and ever more profoundly, Christian. This same pattern, to a lesser degree, was replicated among Adivāsi peoples in the hill regions of Greater Bengal, including Bihar and Orissa, Maharashtra and Gujarat (formerly both in the Bombay Presidency), as well as Andhra Pradesh

and Tamil Nadu (both formerly within the Madras Presidency), hill regions in central and northern India, and, finally, within over 600 princely states. In other words, along all cultural and geopolitical frontiers of South Asia, where aboriginal (adivāsi) forest peoples increasingly turned Christian, they were led by their own leaders. Among Catholics and non-Catholics alike, including evangelicals, support came mainly from non-British and Nonconformist missionaries.

Across a wide belt of frontiers—from Kanya Kumari through central India, into areas surrounding the Brahmaputra Valley, and across Burma to the Thai border—hundreds of separate peoples became Christian. For each—the Badigas, Chenchus, Yerrakulas, Bheels, Khonds (Gonds), Mundas, Santals, Khasis (Mizos), Garos, Nagas, Chins, Kachins, Karens, and many more than can

Christian movements were most successful when least connected to empire.

be named here—a separate story can be told. Fresh generations of research scholars are listening to or unearthing records of these peoples. All Adivāsi Christians—who are concentrated in hill ranges and in valleys dividing one range from another, such as the hills surrounding the Brahmaputra and the Irrawaddy, the badlands of Gondwana and the Deccan, and coastal uplands along the Konkan—were once forest peoples.

Conclusion

The strength of each movement lay in self-governing structures. Tirunelvēli congregations supported hundreds of schools, including female education and voluntary societies. Christian congregations typically assembled every morning and evening for prayer. Christian *panchayats* (lit. “councils-of-five,” including pastors, schoolmasters, and elders) resolved conflicts and enforced standards of conduct. Following the Halle model, each believer was drilled in essentials and was expected to memorize and recite scriptures, doctrines, and duties. Each person was examined in basics, and baptism and Communion could be delayed until the tests were passed.

Christian movements were most successful when least connected to empire. Movements occurred not because of, but in spite of, imperial expansion, in places furthest removed from imperial control. Movements among despised peoples also tended not to be influenced by British missionaries and, even less, by the Anglican establishment or the Church of Scotland. The greatest achievements of Anglican and Scottish Church missionaries lay in institutions of higher learning, which mainly existed for the benefit of privileged elites in such cities as Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, and Madras. Nonconformist and non-British missionaries (from North America, northern and southern Europe, or Australia) helped Christian communities from the lowest strata and in the most remote localities. Most spectacular Christian movements occurred in principalities not directly under Indo-British rule, before they came under British rule, or in Adivāsi-controlled areas, especially in mountains surrounding the Assam.

Conversely, modern revivalist forms of Hindutva were direct consequences, not only of the Indo-British Raj, but also of elite American and British missions at centers of the Raj. Anomalies

and contradictions in relations between Āvarna or Adivāsi peoples and missionaries from America, Britain, and Europe abound. Christian movements, ironically, sometimes fared far better in domains of the Velama Nayakas of Madurai, Marava Tevars of Ramnad, Setupatis of Sivaganga, Kallar Tondaimans of Pudukottai, Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur, and the Nayar Raja Vermas of Travancore, or in tribal domains of the Nagas, Khasis, and Garos, as well as those of the Kachins, Shans, and Karens of Burma, than in areas where high-caste officials of the Raj, coming from within elite communities, could never wholly free themselves from social consciousness or prejudices of purity and pollution that were part of their heritage.

Besides distance from imperial (or national) intrusion, another factor in understanding successful Christian movements is a historical partiality among imperial elites and elite missionaries favoring elite, or “caste,” Christians. For too long the dominant historiography has tended to be a triumphalist concentration on “trophies of grace,” that is, a focus on upper-class Christians. These biases or imbalances inadvertently produced interreligious “dialogues” among elite missionaries and scholars fascinated with Eastern religions. Much Christian literature, consequently, has been focused upon Brahman Christians, such as Krishna Mohan Banerjea, Kali Charan Banerjea, Nehemiah (Nilakantha) Gore, Narayan Vaman Tilak, and Brahmanabandhab Upadhyay. As a result, intellectual, mystical, and spiritual (*bhakti*) issues—along with eclectic, esoteric, literary, philosophical, and theological links with Sanskriti traditions, from which they never entirely escaped—have tended to predominate. Even Pandita Ramabai’s *bhakti* devotionism did not wander far from her Brahman (*sa-varna*) identity until after her third Christian conversion and the “Holy Ghost” revival at her Mukti Mission twenty years later (1905). Indeed, even Sadhu Sundar Singh’s words seem to reflect little understanding of Āvarna or Adivāsi Christians.

Finally, all forms of Christianity in India possess some form of dual, or multiple, identity. Few Christians—high-caste, low-caste, or tribal—have managed to rise above birth, or *jāt*. Nowhere is this clearer than among Thomas Christians. These ancient, high-caste, Malayalam-speaking communities of Malabar, especially Malankara Nazranis, retain such consciousness of birth and lineage, such strict sensitivity to purity and pollution, that their claims to a place within varnāshramadharmā remain strong. But the same can be said for virtually all Christians in South Asia. Christians of South Asia are identified not so much by nationality as by caste. Birth, caste, and community matter as much as church, denomination, or theological outlook.

There is a sense in which Christianity has never existed solely in the abstract. If all Christians have some sense of ethnic identity, such consciousness is magnified in India. “Christian,” David Jeffrey reminds us, is an adjective, a property of something else, a concept that implies some sort of “diminishment” or positional subordination.⁸ Things that are Christian—whether activities, entities, communities, missions, institutions, or individuals—are defined by relationship, by being subject to the person of Jesus Christ.

From this perspective, there never was, nor is, a basic or generic “Indian” Christian. Only earthbound, “hybrid,” or “hyphenated” Christians—Christians pinned to the earth by local culture, ethnicity, and language—can be identified. Within India, as in the rest of South Asia today, there are no Christians that are not hybrid or hyphenated Christians—unable to escape ethnic identity as rooted in birth, family, and lineage.

The Gospel message, in its humanizing universality, has directly challenged such fissiparous tendencies of all religious tradi-

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tions, Christian and non-Christian alike. The basic contradiction between varnāshramadharma—as defined by genomes of birth, blood, and earth, privileged by classical civilization (Sanskriti) and tradition—and the Gospel message of a single *imago Dei* emphasis upon a biologically and theologically affirmed single human nature remains exposed. Since missionaries from abroad were alien and since no movement could happen that was not

conveyed by a local agent in that agent's mother tongue, local Christians never escape encapsulation within ethnic, hyphenated, hybrid identities. This paradox lies between parochial and universal claims. Each Christian community possesses its own hyphenated and hybridized character, its own "dual citizenship"—one on earth, subject to Caesar, and another in heaven, subject to God.

Notes

1. Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), pp. 15–22, 73–74, etc.
2. From Abbé J. A. Dubois's classic *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies* (1817), 3d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), now seen as plagiarized and traced to Gaston-Laurent Cœurdoux, down to Louis Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus: An Essay on the Caste System* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970) and Saidian disciples such as Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001), the literature is vast.
3. See Robert Caldwell, ed., *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevely Mission* (Madras: Higginbotham, 1881), pp. 66–122, and Robert Caldwell, *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely* (Madras: E. Keys, at the Government Press, 1881), pp. 194–230.
4. Robert Caldwell, *Lectures on the Tinnevely Missions* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857), p. 53.
5. Robert Hardgrave, "The Breast-Cloth Controversy: Caste Consciousness and Social Change in Southern Travancore," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 5, no. 2 (1968): 171–87.
6. George Oommen, "Strength of Tradition and Weakness of Communication: Kerala Dalit Conversation," in *Religious Conversion Movements in South Asia: Continuities and Change, 1800–1990*, ed. Geoffrey A. Oddie (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1997), pp. 79–95.
7. See John C. B. Webster, "The Pattern of the Mass Movements," in his *History of the Dalit Christians in India* (San Francisco: Mellen Research Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 49–50, citing *Report of the South Indian Missionary Conference Held at Madras, January 2–5, 1900* (Madras: 1900), pp. 44–45. This lists five motivations: (1) conviction of truth, (2) escape from oppression, (3) education/literacy, (4) improvement of "character and condition," and (5) influence of relatives from within the same ethnic or caste (*jāti*) community.
8. David Jeffrey, *Newsletter of the Institute for Advanced Christian Studies* (Madison, Wis.), November 2000, pp. 1–3.

The Mission to North Korea

Ben Torrey

The article that follows this one is unusual for the depth of insight and direct experience with which its author writes on the religious psychology of North Korea. Ben Torrey has put readers of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH in his debt both by editing George Kap-Hun Kim's translation of Hyun-Sik Kim's article and by supplying an introduction that situates Kim's life and work within the wider context of mission to North Korea.

Torrey himself grew up in South Korea, where he joined with his parents in pioneering Jesus Abbey, a community of prayer high in the Taebaek Mountains of Kangwon Do. Following graduation from college in the United States, he directed a community service organization for over two years and then, with his wife, Liz, spent a year in Korea at Jesus Abbey.

Upon returning to the United States for the second time, the Torreys settled in Connecticut, where Ben served as a self-supporting pastor with the Evangelical Apostolic Church of North America while working in the fields of computer systems development and knowledge management.

Seeing the need for the church and South Korean society to prepare properly for the inevitable opening of North Korea, Torrey, in conjunction with Jesus Abbey, began the Fourth River Project in 2003. He was also given responsibility to direct Jesus Abbey's Three Seas Training Center. The Torreys returned to Korea in October 2005 in order to pursue this work full time.—Editor

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea—North Korea—presents us with a great missiological challenge. It is perhaps the country most closed to missions today, yet, ironically, it shares a relatively small landmass with the nation that, on a per-capita basis, sends out the most missionaries in the world—the Republic of Korea, or South Korea. North Korea controls all access to the country quite stringently and allows very few foreign nationals to live within its borders. Those who do are under constant surveillance, making it extremely difficult to share even casually about the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Even so, a large number of organizations are involved in work for and in North Korea. They run the gamut from Christian-

owned private businesses operating with permission of the government to those who send Scripture balloons from the south when the winds are right. Various well-known humanitarian organizations finance noodle and soy-milk factories, provide medical supplies, and the like. Some, in direct challenge to the government, are overt in their efforts to evangelize and build up the underground church. Others hope that by providing assistance in the name of Christ, they will soften attitudes in the North and pave the way for change. Still others hope that through employing North Koreans in their businesses, they will have opportunities to bless the country, make friends, and share the love of Jesus Christ on a person-to-person basis. These organizations are involved in the present. They provide practical assistance now, seeking to convert and to bring about change in the present.

Ben Torrey is Director of the Three Seas Training Center, Taebaek, Kangwon Do, South Korea, and of the Fourth River Project.

Preparing for Change

Other organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental, have an eye on the future, preparing for the inevitable. For many, it is a foregone conclusion that the day is coming when North Korea will open to the outside world. While there are contradictory ideas about when and how, there is wide agreement that it will happen within the next few years. A five- to ten-year time frame is frequently mentioned.

Preparation takes many forms, from building roads and rail links to developing strategies to prevent economic collapse and humanitarian catastrophe. It also involves building an understanding of the North in those who look to take advantage of the opening to go in and share the Gospel.

South and North Korea have been separated and moving down widely divergent roads for the past sixty years. They have become very different societies, but many people in the South seem to operate on the underlying assumption that the evangelization of North Korea will be a simple task once people are able to move and speak freely—after all, they think, we are the same people, speak the same language, and have the same culture. There is too little understanding that this will be a cross-cultural mission fraught with difficulties. While government and business may well solve many of the potential problems of political and fiscal unification, the problems of social, cultural, and emotional unification loom on the horizon as far more difficult issues. Relatively few are actively engaged in addressing these latter concerns.

Meeting Hyun-Sik Kim

Hyun-Sik Kim is one who is actively engaged. His essay “Reflections on North Korea” is an effort to address this situation. In it, he shares from his own experience and knowledge of North Korea about aspects of the system that controls North Korean society and people. He describes a society in which all people are tightly organized and made to conform to a quasi-religious ideology from infancy to old age. His earnest concern is that those who seek to help North Korea and to evangelize its people understand the nature of this society, whose foundation is laid so deep that it will not change automatically or easily, even if the governing regime is removed.

I met Kim and his lovely, warm-hearted wife in a most unusual way in 2004. At that time I was just getting started with the Fourth River Project, an organization dedicated to preparing for the opening of North Korea.¹ Even though I grew up in South Korea as the son of missionaries, I had spent my life engaged in totally other directions. I spoke conversational Korean but never thought twice about North Korea until a burden and call came that I can only say is from God. In 2003 my wife and I came under conviction that the opening of North Korea was drawing near and that the church was not prepared as it needed to be. Joining with Jesus Abbey, a Christian community in South Korea founded by my parents in 1965, we created the Fourth River Project and took responsibility for developing the Three Seas Training Center at Jesus Abbey’s Three Seas ranch as a place of preparation.

In 2004, still living in Connecticut, I was struggling to move forward and was not sure how to proceed. The step I saw in front of me was to call for an evening of prayer for North Korea among the churches of Connecticut. A friend involved in planning it said we should invite a North Korean to come speak. But who could that be? We had no idea of how to find a North Korean Christian

who could come. All we could do was pray. Shortly thereafter, the pastor of a Korean church in Hartford invited me to address the Connecticut Korean Pastors Association, which I did the following week. There the pastor of a church in New Haven asked me if I would be interested in meeting a North Korean professor who attended his church, Hyun-Sik Kim, who was then staying at the Overseas Ministries Study Center and was a visiting fellow at Yale Divinity School. I was surprised and delighted, and the pastor gave me the professor’s telephone number. I contacted him and his wife, and we arranged to have lunch together.

As we spoke over lunch (mostly in Korean, to their great surprise), we all became even more surprised as we began to understand that we had the same urgency to prepare for the opening of North Korea and for precisely the same reasons. Over the past few years, the Kims had felt that they were voices crying in the wilderness, “Prepare the way!” but no one was listening. I was a rank novice compelled to call out the same message, knowing next to nothing about what to say or how. In the years since, we have worked together closely and have been encouraged to find a ready ear for this message. Kim spoke at our prayer meeting.

I have since learned, first from Kim and then through additional study and through speaking with researchers and North Korean refugees in South Korea, that the gulf between North and South is truly great. In speaking to South Korean audiences, I often use as an example of this gulf something that Kim told me, which has since been confirmed by many other North Koreans. It is often easier for a North Korean to communicate with a native English speaker than with a South Korean, despite stumbling attempts to bridge the language barrier. Many people are aware that the versions of Korean spoken in the North and the South have large vocabulary differences resulting from different ideological and foreign influences. But almost no one is aware of the

Kim’s article provides important background for those who would carry the Gospel into North Korea.

sociolinguistic differences in the languages. Language usage both reflects and influences thought patterns, and North Koreans think and use language much more like English speakers than like South Koreans. For example, North Koreans are direct in their speech, South Koreans much more indirect. This contrast causes a great deal of stress for both in their interactions with one another. The stress is aggravated by the fact that neither recognizes the great linguistic and cultural differences to be negotiated. Moving blindly forward, they often end up being hurt and further isolated from each other, with little understanding of the true reason why. Hyun-Sik Kim and others, including the Fourth River Project, are addressing these types of issues.

Personal Knowledge

These factors provide the context for Kim’s article, which is not so much a missiological treatise as a provider of some very important background needed for those who would carry the Gospel into North Korea when the doors to that nation finally open.

Kim knows whereof he speaks. As a wounded veteran and

therefore automatically a hero of the Korean War, he received the finest education North Korea could provide. Graduating at the top of his class in Russian language and literature from the Pyongyang University of Education, he became a professor in the Russian department and developed teaching methodologies. When North Korean president Kim Il Sung decided that the country needed to add another year of compulsory education but was not sure if it could start the education a year earlier, he called on the university

to send their best to his home to educate his young nephew. Kim was selected and completed the task satisfactorily. Through this experience, he was influential in developing national elementary education curricula. He served as tutor to the household of Kim Il Sung for a total of twenty years. His article comes out of this intimate knowledge of all aspects of North Korean education, ideology, and society. It represents a unique and timely contribution to our understanding of North Korea.

Note

1. The name "Fourth River" comes from the location of Jesus Abbey. An intentional Christian community, Jesus Abbey is located in Korea's Taebaek Mountains in an area called the Three Seas because the area includes the headwaters of Korea's three watersheds. The rivers of

one watershed lead to the East Sea, the second to the South Sea, and the third to the West or Yellow Sea. The Fourth River is the River of Life, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, flowing north from here to North Korea.

Reflections on North Korea: The Psychological Foundation of the North Korean Regime and Its Governing Philosophy

Hyun-Sik Kim; translated by George Kap-Hun Kim and edited by Ben Torrey

Korea is located in East Asia. It is about the same size as Montana and has a total population of some 70 million people: 47 million in South Korea, and 23 million in North Korea. China and Russia border Korea to the north, and the remaining three sides of the Korean Peninsula are surrounded by ocean. One hundred miles across the Korea Strait lies Japan.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Japan invaded Korea and then ruled it until the end of World War II in 1945. The defeat of Japan liberated Korea from Japanese domination, but this liberation also divided the nation into two separate states. The United States military occupied the South, while the Russian army occupied the North. Because of this division, the Koreans developed two totally different political systems. The South, modeled after the United States, chose liberal democracy as its polity, while the North followed Soviet-style Communism.

In 1950 war broke out between the North and the South. North Korea invaded the South in the name of national reunification. The United States, along with sixteen other nations, allied themselves with South Korea. Soviet Russia and Communist China joined forces to support the North. The war lasted three years, resulted in countless human casualties, and left both North and South in complete ruin. It ended without discernible results. No peace treaty was signed, only an armistice that is still in effect. Technically, the war has not ended.

Following the war, South Korea developed into an international trading and industrial power that has become a wonder of the world. South Korea hosted the Olympics in 1988 and, with Japan, the World Cup football (soccer) championship in 2002.

In the North, in contrast, the economy has steadily declined, and the people suffer from poverty and are dying of starvation. Yet the government uses the country's resources and foreign aid to prepare for war and develop nuclear weapons, which has made the North Korean regime a serious threat to global security.

Hyun-Sik Kim was formerly professor of Russian language and literature at the North Korea National University of Education in Pyongyang and spent twenty years as tutor in the household of Kim Il Sung. He is currently visiting professor at George Mason University and lectures widely on North Korea.

The North Korean Regime

In North Korea the Great Leaders—Kim Il Sung (1912–94), the father, and Kim Jong Il (b. 1942), the son—are absolute rulers of the state and are regarded as divine beings. All North Koreans worship them. The late Great Leader, Kim Il Sung, who ruled until his death in 1994, is still regarded as the Father God, like God the Father of Christianity, while the current Great Leader, Kim Jong Il, is regarded as the living Son of God, like Jesus Christ.

North Koreans believe that their purpose in life is to glorify, be loyal to, and give joy to the Great Leaders. It is quite ordinary for North Koreans to cry out slogans such as, "It is glorious to live and die for the Great Leaders!" and "It is glorious to follow and protect the Great Leaders at any cost of our lives!" The entire population of North Korea has become fanatic followers of and believers in the Great Leaders. The people's absolute belief in the Great Leaders is the strange but unshakable foundation of the North Korean regime, as well as the source of its stability in the face of problems.

This single-minded devotion can be seen in countless decisions by the North Korean regime. For one, the North Korean government changed the calendar, basing it on the birth of the Great Leader Kim Il Sung and inaugurating the era of Juche (i.e., self-reliance). In North Korea the year 2008 is the year of Juche 97. This revision shows the regime's systematic effort to brainwash the people into believing that Kim Il Sung was greater than Jesus Christ, whose birth marks the start of the common era.

The greatest national celebration in North Korea is April 15—the Festival of the Sun, Kim Il Sung's birthday. The sun is the source of all life on earth, and the Great Leader Kim Il Sung is the giver of life. The regime makes every effort to counter traditional Western observances of Christmas and Easter by emphasizing this festival, the Great Sun Day. The regime organizes international conferences, sporting events, and music and cultural festivals around Kim Il Sung's birthday to show off the importance of that day to all the world.

The regime has erected an untold number of statues of Kim Il Sung all over the country. The largest statue in the world of Kim Il

Sung was erected during his lifetime in the center of Pyongyang, the North Korean capital. Endless lines of pilgrims from all over the country come every day to pay tribute and to venerate the Great Leader. When foreigners arrive, they are required to visit the statue and pay tribute as well. This is the first order of business conducted in North Korea.

All citizens wear a special badge—a pin inscribed with the image of the Great Leader Kim Il Sung. This badge reminds the people that they are always with the Great Leader and that they are under his unceasing care. Wearing the badge proclaims outwardly that the people are the vanguard and guardians of the Great Leader and the state. It reminds them to reaffirm their commitment and willingness to sacrifice their lives.

Portraits of both leaders are found wherever the people are: in professional offices, schools, homes, public transportation, and so on. These portraits serve the same purpose as the badges.

North Korea also features so-called Precious- (or Sacred-) Name Watches, which are Swiss-made watches inscribed with the name of the late Great Leader Kim Il Sung. Kim Jong Il gives a Precious-Name Watch to those recognized for special achievements within the party, state institutions, and government. This award guarantees the future well-being and security of its recipients well into retirement; special provisions for food and pension come with it.

A grand mausoleum, the Kumsusan Memorial Palace (Kim Il Sung's former residence), stands in Pyongyang to preserve and display the body of the Great Leader Kim Il Sung and to let the people of North Korea and the world know that he is not dead. He lives forever as the Great Leader in the hearts of the people. The mausoleum is not open to the public but only to specially selected persons who have made unusual contributions to the state, and to foreigners who have performed significant works on behalf of North Korea. The party enforces a strict protocol during all such visits.

Policy

The North Korean government has established policies to instill in the North Korean psyche the idea that the Great Leader is absolute and divine. In a multitude of ways, these policies are implemented thoroughly, uniformly, and absolutely.

The Ten Principles of Life. Kim Jong Il came into power as an apprentice under the watchful eyes of his father in 1974. As soon as he was in power, he proclaimed the Ten Principles of Life in order to elevate his father to absolute authority—in fact, to the authority of a divine being. The Ten Commandments of the Judeo-Christian tradition teach belief in one God and one's duty to love and care for one's neighbors. The Ten Principles of Life, in contrast, teach that the Great Leader is divine and rules absolutely.

Introductory remarks explain the great accomplishments of Kim Il Sung and affirm his divine status. The Ten Principles give simple yet strict directives on how North Koreans must conduct their lives:

1. All societies [the whole world] must be governed by the Great Leader's ideologies.
2. The Great Leader must be revered and adored.
3. The authority of the Great Leader is absolute.
4. The ideology and principles of the Great Leader must be the guiding principles of the actions and thoughts of all.

5. Execute the directives of the Great Leader without any questions.
6. Unite and rally all people around the Great Leader.
7. Learn from the Great Leader, his moral character, and strategic planning for the future.
8. Repay the Great Leader's trust in and care for the people through the successful implementation of his vision.
9. Establish stringent organizational rules that follow only the Great Leader's directives.
10. Continue the revolutionary struggles in accordance with the achievements of the Great Leader, and by the succession of his family line forever.¹

Organizational membership. In the overall political organization, all North Koreans belong to cells based on age, profession, and gender. There is the Boy's League, the Youth League, the Farmer's Union, the Women's League, trade unions, and so forth. All organizations are closely supervised by the Korean Workers' Party. North Korea has been a one-party state from the beginning. The party is the highest political organization and controls all other political and social organizations.

Membership in the party is extremely difficult to attain. Only carefully screened and selected men and women over eighteen years of age are appointed to party membership. The

The system of political organization is designed to instill loyalty to the Great Leader and to watch everyone to ensure that they follow the party line.

party expects its members to be loyal, to lead exemplary lives as the vanguard of the Great Leader, and to be willing to sacrifice their lives. North Koreans commonly say, "Becoming a member of the Workers' Party is more difficult than grabbing a star from the heavens."

The system of political organization is designed to instill loyalty to the Great Leader and to watch over everyone to ensure that they follow the party line. All members constantly study the Great Leader's writings. They must emulate his perfect character. Members also participate in mandatory weekly cell meetings known as "the smelter for conditioning the mind." Each member takes a turn in the mandatory individual and mutual self-criticism. These sessions are designed to deepen the cell's commitment to the party. Criticisms based on the Ten Principles are delivered and received by all members, starting with the youngest. There are no exceptions.

Indoctrination. To produce faithful followers, the North Korean government begins instilling the idea of adoration of the Great Leader at an early age. Since 1975, this indoctrination has started with kindergarten and continued through university. The first class in every school must begin with lessons called "The Revolutionary Leadership of the Great Leader from the Past to the Present." In this class, the instructor must teach and emphasize the revolutionary activities of the Great Leader, his wisdom, and his creativity, which were demonstrated through his revolutionary

struggles and his unceasing endeavors. The teacher concludes the lesson by reiterating to the students the absolute greatness of the Great Leader.

The Great Leader's ideology is taught not only in all humanities classes but also in science, mathematics, and engineering classes. All lectures, regardless of subject matter, begin with ideological education before getting to the intended subject matter. To enforce this teaching method, all syllabi are submitted to a board of censors, which must approve each lecture given to students.

Isolation, surveillance, and punishment. The whole population of North Korea is isolated from and ignorant of the world outside. Mass media, including all TV channels and radio stations, are controlled and managed by the state. The people see and hear only

Juche Sasang teaches that people can attain permanent life by sacrificing their lives to the Great Leader and his causes.

what the state provides. The media carry little more than negative news from the world outside—the likes of earthquakes, floods, hurricanes, and plane crashes. All foreign books and photographs are strictly forbidden to the public; any officials who travel abroad must remain silent about their overseas experiences.

The well-organized North Korean surveillance system effectively monitors every individual in the country. If anyone shows signs of disloyalty or speaks against the Great Leaders, he or she is criticized severely and may be punished for his or her "crimes." For example, one can be summarily driven out of job, school, and home and exiled to the remote countryside, where living conditions are harsh. If one is proved guilty of an infraction, he or she will be sent to a camp for political prisoners, from which few ever return.

Juche Sasang

Until the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, the governing ideology in North Korea was Marxism-Leninism. After the demise of Stalin, however, the political climate changed drastically in the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc. The sociopolitical forces that opposed Stalin's personality cult and his absolute dictatorship cautiously began to explore the chance of peaceful coexistence with Western capitalist states.

To prevent this trend from affecting North Korea, Kim Il Sung created a new ideology, Juche Sasang. *Juche* means "self-reliance" (lit. "self-identity"), and *sasang* means "ideology" (lit. "organized thoughts"). Juche Sasang is thus the ideology of self-reliance. Kim Il Sung wrote, "We do not blindly follow foreign ideas, policies, or dogmas. We are our own masters in solving our own problems independently and creatively." Kim Il Sung explicitly rejected the sociopolitical trends of the Communist bloc and the Soviet Union. Instead, he chose his own way to create a unique socialist paradise.

According to Juche Sasang, the Great Leader is the brain

of the body, and the people are its limbs and various parts. The state as a body cannot properly function without its brain. This means, in essence, that the Great Leader *is* the state. Loving and being loyal to the motherland is the same as loving and being loyal to the Great Leader. The most prominent slogans in North Korea are, "Let us be willing to sacrifice our lives for the Great Leader!" and "Death is glorious. Life is glorious. All for the sake of the Great Leader!"

Juche Sasang teaches that there are two types of life: biological life, which we receive from our parents, and political life, which we receive from the Great Leader. While biological life is transitory and limited, political life is permanent and unlimited. People can attain permanent life by sacrificing their lives to the Great Leader and his causes. The rulers of North Korea intend to show the permanence of political life by naming schools and institutions, streets, and even cities after those who sacrificed their lives for the Great Leader during the Korean War. Such individuals thereby attain permanent status in the political life of North Korea.

The Great Leader aspires (1) to govern North Korea in accordance with Juche Sasang, (2) to bring the entire Korean Peninsula under his rule by achieving the liberation of South Korea from the occupying U.S. forces, and (3) to govern the whole world through Juche Sasang. The vision of Juche Sasang is a counterfeit of the Christian vision, which is based on Christ's command to proclaim the Gospel to the ends of the earth. In order to spread their ideology and the gospel of Juche, North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950 (before Juche Sasang was formally promulgated), killed Korean officials during an attempt to assassinate South Korea President Chun Doo Hwan in Myanmar in 1983, blew up a South Korean airliner in 1987, abducted Japanese citizens, and continues to develop nuclear weapons.

Prospect for Reunification

During the past decade North and South Korea have taken a few steps toward reunification. In 2000 a summit between Kim Jong Il and South Korea President Kim Dae Jung was held in Pyongyang with an agreement to ease tensions on the Korean Peninsula, and cabinet-level meetings were held to consider terms for economic aid from the South. At the time of this writing, however, these efforts have stagnated.

The military attempt by North Korea to reunify divided Korea in 1950 ended with no appreciable result. Rather, the war brought about innumerable human casualties and the total destruction of the infrastructure of both North and South.

Even though American pressure, at the time of this writing, on North Korea to consider the possibility of disarmament and peaceful unification has not been successful, there may yet be a workable approach to dealing with North Korea and the problems of the Korean Peninsula—an approach based on religion. With a long-term vision for the evangelization of North Korea, overseas Christians have launched massive relief efforts. Of course, evangelization will take a long time and require great patience. Any attempt to evangelize North Korea will be met with severe reprisals. Considering the antireligious climate in North Korea, evangelistic efforts have little chance of success. Christians in the South and overseas, however, believe and pray that their continued efforts will eventually produce positive results.

A religious approach may be the peaceful solution to Korea's reunification impasse because a majority of North Koreans were Christians before 1945. Following World War II, Christianity was

actively discouraged and ultimately forbidden. The number of North Korean Christians declined dramatically. The Korean War resulted in the massive migration of Christians to South Korea, effectively eliminating the Christian presence in North Korea. This absence of Christianity continued until 1990.

In 1989 North Korea did in fact build two churches: one Catholic, named Jang-Choon, the other Protestant, named Bong Soo. The North Korean government had organized an international student sports festival and competition, and the churches were hastily built to accommodate the spiritual needs of the visiting athletes from various countries. In addition to the two churches, a seminary was also established. These religious institutions were not built to enable North Koreans to worship but to show the world that there was freedom of religion in North Korea. The regime also intended to lure American and South Korean Christians into forming pro-North Korea groups. The government also wanted to secure economic aid from the Christians, but the true purpose of welcoming Christians was to spread the ideology of the Great Leader to the world.

Even so, it is remarkable that the North Korean government changed its attitude and built the churches and the seminary, although they were populated by only a few specially selected party members. The careful selection of these churchgoers and students was based on their lack of Christian commitment, and their participation in Sunday worship services was solely to satisfy the party's strategic necessities. Despite North Korea's political strategy, South Korean Christians have provided aid to their Northern brothers in need—pure expressions of Christian love, with no conditions attached.

Over time, Christians have seen a change in attitude toward Christianity. North Koreans are beginning to realize that Christians are not agents of imperialism attempting to destroy smaller

Christians from the South have generously provided food, medicine, and daily necessities to save North Koreans from starvation and disease.

states, as they have been taught all their lives. They are now beginning to believe that Christians are not enemies but rather brothers. Their positive attitude toward South Korean Christians has even prompted the thought that the Christian God may be as gracious or as good as their Great Leader.

Several factors have influenced North Korean perceptions of Christianity. Christians have been seen variously as threatening enemies or as loving brothers who come to alleviate their suffering. Visiting Christians in North Korea have established hospitals, orphanages, and food factories, and they have also provided cows and goats for dairy production. Christians are also able to provide food, seeds, fertilizers, and other necessities.

These Christians and Christian organizations expect that, through their sharing of Jesus Christ's love, North Koreans may one day become their Christian brothers again. They also see these activities as the crucial path toward reunification. Of course, North Korea strictly prohibits and punishes the conversion of its citizens, and it has practiced summary public execution. While

Christians may not proselytize North Koreans, they understand that the way to touch North Korean hearts is through sharing the love of Jesus Christ, which they accompany with unceasing prayer and great patience.

God's Will for North Korea

As stated, the North Korean people see Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il as deities. The purpose of life for every North Korean is to be loyal to and give joy to the Great Leaders.

Pyongyang was once known as the Jerusalem of the East. Why, then, did God allow North Korea to fall under the spell of Kim Il Sung's personality cult and allow the North Korean people to suffer under such terrible living conditions? Where in North Korea can we discern the will of God? Will God restore Christianity in that land and Pyongyang's former condition as the Jerusalem of the East?

By the grace of God, North Korea may prove to be a fertile ground to train a cadre of the faithful who will once again serve his Great Commission and carry the Gospel "to the end of the world." Also, Christian missions have historically often been more successful in disadvantaged and oppressed societies such as North Korea.

What Should Be Done?

For the last half century North Korea has been an absolutist and atheistic state. Its people have been brainwashed into regarding Christianity as an imperialist tool to invade weaker states and enslave them. They have been taught that Christianity is the opium of the people and that Christians are wolves in sheep's clothing. Regime leaders have attempted to ensure that no Christian Gospel enters North Korea. The government has been forced, however, to accept foreigners and their aid. Christians from the South have generously provided food, medicine, and daily necessities to save North Koreans from starvation and disease. As a result, we are beginning to see some signs of change in their attitude toward Christianity. North Koreans have come to realize that the God of Christianity is, like their Great Leader, a loving parent and a great teacher.

I suggest that we must continue to provide as much food, medicine, and clothing as we can. We must do so because we share the love of God not only through our words but also through our deeds. I believe that in this way we will come to realize God's will in North Korea. I have my own personal aspiration for the students in North Korea. I am compiling, editing, and writing an array of textbooks and dictionaries for them to learn English. I am looking for volunteers who are willing to go to North Korea to teach English.

The Door Begins to Open

A small door has begun to open for the possibility of Christian missions to North Korea. The church buildings and the seminary in Pyongyang are its evidence. Although they were built with propaganda in mind, they represent an astounding policy shift in this notoriously atheistic regime.

I have personally experienced the great and miraculous providence of God in my own life. I was a member of the Korean Workers' Party for fifty years. I was a personal tutor for the children of the family of Kim Il Sung's wife. I taught for nearly forty years in one of the most prestigious universities in Pyongyang. I was selected to be an exchange professor at the Russian State

Teacher's University. Yet I forsook my career and all of my accomplishments in North Korea to respond to the call of God for the evangelization of that land. I believe that God imparted to me special gifts and gave me opportunities to work with the youth of North Korea. I have been able to write down Bible stories in both English and North Korean in order for the Word of God to be spread in the form of texts for learning English.

It is important to know that the Great Leader Kim Il Sung was a Christian from his birth. As a child he attended church

regularly with his parents. His father was a Christian leader, and his mother was also devout. There is now a third church in North Korea dedicated in the name of his mother. I am sure that Kim Il Sung's parents prayed and wished for the independence of a Korean nation free from Japanese domination and for the well-being of the North Korean people. I believe their prayer will be realized through God's grace. I further believe that one day Pyongyang will be restored to its glorious state as the Jerusalem of the East.

Note

1. More lengthy versions of the Ten Principles can be found on the Internet. See, for example, [www2.law.columbia.edu/course_00S_L9436_](http://www2.law.columbia.edu/course_00S_L9436_001/North%20Korea%20materials/10%20principles%20of%20juche.html)

[001/North%20Korea%20materials/10%20principles%20of%20juche.html](http://www2.law.columbia.edu/course_00S_L9436_001/North%20Korea%20materials/10%20principles%20of%20juche.html).

Asian Society of Missiology: Bangkok 2007 Declaration

Preamble: Asian and select non-Asian missiologists gathered at the Grand Hotel, Bangkok, Thailand, from October 30 to November 2, 2007, to hold the first international Conference of the Asian Society of Missiology.¹ The theme of the conference was "Asian Mission: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." The purpose was to consider the challenges of contemporary mission as it emerges out of the past, intersects with the present, and takes us into the future, from the perspectives of history, theology, leadership development, and strategy. At the conclusion of the conference, which included presentations, responses, open forums, and small group discussions, the Asian Society of Missiology adopted the following affirmations.

1. We affirm that our mission as the people of God is the proclamation of the Good News of reconciliation through the atoning death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace.
2. We affirm that people are the special objects of God's reconciling mission, and that those who are reconciled have the privilege and the obligation of living their lives in ways consistent with this Gospel and congruent with their specific cultural contexts.
3. We affirm proclamation of the whole Gospel, including its practical expressions of God's love through medicine, education, community development, and all other endeavors that are biblically sound and contextually appropriate. Although we are aware of both historical and contemporary shortcomings in mission praxis, we

- acknowledge and celebrate those practices that are good. We further affirm the importance of sensitive interaction with people of other faiths and ideologies.
4. We affirm that all human beings are created in the image of God, are of intrinsically equal worth, and have the right to hear and experience the good news of reconciliation with God through his Son Jesus Christ.
5. We affirm our interconnectedness as we face the deep challenges of globalization, and as God's children living in this unique era we acknowledge its remarkable opportunities for mission.
6. We affirm that those who follow Jesus should form local communities of faith and practice which function as salt and light, both influencing their own contexts and serving across ethnic and language boundaries.
7. We affirm that it is the Asian Society of Missiology's obligation to assist and serve Asian churches and mission agencies in carrying out their mission responsibilities effectively. We further affirm that the ASM should encourage the organization of branches to serve as think tanks, organizing consultations, engaging in research and publications, and promoting education for mission.
8. We affirm our commitment and willingness to play an active role in mission conferences and consultations of global import.

—Bangkok, Thailand
November 1, 2007

Note

1. Thirty-nine Asian and five non-Asian missiologists, together with eleven observers, from Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Sri

Lanka, Tanzania, Thailand, Vietnam, and the United States, were in attendance. Full information can be found at www.asianmissiology.com.

Missiometrics 2008: Reality Checks for Christian World Communion

This 4-page report is the 24th in an annual series beginning in 1985. These data continue the enumeration of 16 major global goals in world mission with 79 numerical indicators, set out by means of 3 Tables A, B and C, covering the years AD 1800–2025.

It should be noted here that reports on the world’s global religions too often portray them as somewhat static, boring, unchanging and uninteresting. By contrast, this report avoids that approach and instead portrays religions as enormously complex, even exciting, and constantly changing even in turmoil and upheaval. Statistics play an important role in any such attempt to clarify the situation. To do this, Tables A and C give their statistics as both annual figures and daily 24-hour changes for all 79 subjects. And Table B reports statistics describing 50 major factual statements involving most of the variables of interest to the churches whether trends, successes, failures, or even catastrophes.

An interesting overall comment is that virtually all activities of Christian churches, missions, denominations, and communions are growing numerically and expanding. This is usually interpreted as showing the success of church programs. In fact, however, everybody’s programs are all expanding fast because since AD 1800 populations everywhere have been expanding rapidly and now stand at 372,000 births a day.

In fact, the key to understanding religious trends is the ability to compare growth rates of religious variables with secular ones. This is the only way to know if a religion is growing faster

or slower than the general population (see Columns 7 and 8 in Table C). Note that growth rates can also be compared between religions.

Population, Evangelization, Christianity (Table A)

The first data presented here are in Table A below which arranges its statistics on 2 levels: first, the global status of 3 subjects: world population, evangelization, and Christianity. The second level divides the first level’s statistics into 9 daily increases. Thus world population is increasing each day by 372,000 births and is reduced by 153,000 deaths. Christian converts at 170,000 a day (which is 62 million baptisms a year) are reduced by 91,000 defectors a day (deaths as well as abandonment of membership). This results in church growth (including nonaffiliated believers) of 79,000 a day, which amounts to 29 million a year. And the whole gamut of all evangelistic activity results in (a) 12,500,000 a day termed ‘re-evangelized’ (persons who have become evangelized in previous years but are still being targeted by evangelism), and (b) 166,000 persons a day becoming for the first time evangelized. Nonetheless, the 1,871 million unevangelized persons—unaware of Christianity, Christ, and the Gospel—are themselves expanding at 53,000 a day.

Table A illustrates the overall dynamics of religious change for any religion among any human population segment. Although this table depicts Christianity in the whole world, it is possible to use this grid for examining other religions in other segments. For example, growth trends in Buddhism in Myanmar are determined by these variables. On the positive side, one has births and conversions while on the negative side there are deaths and defections. At the country level, one has to also add in Buddhist immigrants and subtract Buddhist emigrants. The complexity at the country level is shown then by applying these 6 variables to 19 major religious categories in 239 countries.

This four-page report, which is also available as a separate offprint, was prepared by David B. Barrett, a contributing editor, Todd M. Johnson, and Peter F. Crossing, who publish widely in the field of missiometrics. Most subjects mentioned in this report are expanded in detail in their World Christian Encyclopedia (1982, 2001) and World Christian Trends (2001), and updated in www.WorldChristianDatabase.org. Detailed footnotes for Table C can be found at www.globalChristianity.org/ibmrnote.php.

Table A. World population, evangelization, and Christianity: global status and daily change.

1. POPULATION			2. EVANGELIZATION		3. CHRISTIANITY	
GLOBAL STATUS in mid AD 2008 m = millions	WORLD POPULATION	6,691 m	UNEVANGELIZED	1,871 m	NON-CHRISTIANS	4,460 m
			EVANGELIZED	4,820 m	CHRISTIANS	2,231 m
DAILY CHANGE every 24 hours	Births	372,000	Re-evangelized	12,500,000	Converts	170,000
	Deaths	153,000	Evangelized	166,000	Defectors	91,000
	Net growth	219,000	Unevangelized	53,000	Church growth	79,000

Columns 1, 2, and 3 are not arithmetically related, but represent 3 differing ways of analyzing the world and its populations.

Column 1. Population as enumerated in *World Population Prospects, 2004* (New York: United Nations, 2005)

Column 2. Data from *World Christian Database*:

Re-evangelized: persons who have become evangelized in previous years but in 2008 are still being targeted by organized evangelism.

Evangelized: persons formerly unevangelized who become evangelized for the first time in AD 2008.

Unevangelized: persons unaware of Christianity, Christ, and the Gospel.

Column 3.

Converts: persons who have become Christian through baptism or dedication or similar commitment in the course of a day.

Defectors: persons previously professing to be Christians but each day no longer so professing, and deaths among Christians.

Church growth: converts (including nonaffiliated believers), minus defectors.

Fifty major reality checks (Table B)

This second table sets out statistics of 50 lines each describing a major reality check—a surprising or even startling factual statement concerning one of 50 such recent occurrences. These are arranged as a single list numbered from 1 to 50, where No.1 = a very good situation, down to No. 50 = a very bad situation. Its material could help the reader to analyze the fortunes of his or her own church, or mission, or denomination, or communion.

Table B offers several means for this analysis. The 1–50 listing itself forms a commentary on the whole range of current church history, commenting on failures as well as successes in

Out of the global increase of 77,000 affiliated Christians every day, 70,000 (or 91%) can be found in Africa, Asia, or Latin America.

Christian ministry, from Good News to Bad News. But one can go further. Choose and name your own church, or denomination, or mission, or communion. Draw up a method of augmenting the 1–50 listing by analyzing each with a different measuring instrument. For example, one could utilize the well-known medical doctor's question to his patient 'On a scale from 1 to 10 how would you describe your pain at the moment?' (1 = very slight, to 10 = excruciating pain). One could add all 50 numbers or multiply by the actual number 1–50, then form a descending score of church inner conflict.

More significantly, mission agencies and churches have to face the continuing challenges in world evangelization represented here in Table B as a corporate body. Starting with line 42 there is a proliferation of plans to evangelize the world set forth by churches and agencies to deal with the reality of the unevangelized in line 39. Even though there are encouraging signs of progress (lines 1–9) there appears to be a continuing shortfall in world evangelization strategy that has resulted in lines 33 and 34. How this has come about seems to be found in lines 30 and 45 where the deployment of Christian resources is examined. The result is located in lines 43–44 where the fundamental lack of contact between Christians and non-Christians is uncovered. One has to wonder if the root of all these problems is that even Christians committed to the Great Commission are largely unaware of the unevangelized (line 40)?

For world evangelization strategy, a church or mission agency could closely examine positive factors (lines 1–22) and ask whether or not they could do more to participate in these. At the same time, negative factors (lines 23–50) could be looked at

with an eye for improvement. Questions could be asked such as 'How can we mitigate the effects of poor deployment' or 'How can we increase our direct involvement in World A'?

Status of Global Mission, AD1800–2025 (Table C)

This last table describes religions and global mission for the 16 major areas of interest with their 79 different subjects, and at 6 different years over the 225-year period. These 632 numbers form the background for any analytical approach to ecclesiology and missiology. This year we add a new variable, column 8 '24-hour change', derived from the previous figures in column 7 and 9. Note that in cases where the figure in column 9 is already a 'per-year' statistic, the 24-hour change in column 8 is calculated by dividing the column 9 figure by 365 days. These new figures provide a vivid set to portray the massive religious changes going on all the time—from 480 Christian leaders and their families murdered every day to \$70 million in church funds embezzled every 24 hours.

Our 24-hour change figure is helpful in highlighting important trends. For example, last year for the first time in history, urban dwellers outnumbered rural dwellers. For mid-2000, line 2 (urban dwellers) divided by line 1 (total population) yields 47.2% whereas in mid-2008 it had risen to 50.3%. By 2025 it will likely be over 58%! The 24-hour change shows the relentless move in this direction. As we have just seen, approximately 50% of the world is urban and 50% rural. But each and every day the urban population grows by 185,000 while the rural population grows at only 34,000. Unfortunately we can see that, at the same time, the urban poor increase by 153,000 and urban slum dwellers by 83,000. On a parallel trend, urban Christians are increasing at a rate of 53,000. What impact will they, and Christians who have traditionally abandoned the cities, have in the future?

The 24-hour change column also reveals in a stark way the continuing shift of global Christianity to the south. Lines 37–42 divide the world into 6 continents. Here we see that out of the global increase of 77,000 affiliated Christians every day, 70,000 (or 91%) of these can be found in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This one statistic, a trend since the middle of the 20th century, has profound implications for world evangelization in the following ways, (1) global plans are increasingly initiated and led by Christians of the Global South, (2) the worldview of these Christians is often more in line with that of the unevangelized, (3) the perception of Christianity as a Western religion is disintegrating, and (4) new forms of Christianity, particularly insider movements (e.g. Muslims following Christ in their own cultural context), are emerging. While the majority of facts in Tables B and C are a result of the expansion of Christianity in the 20th century, the global Christian community now faced with the challenges enumerated at the bottom of Table B is fundamentally different than that a mere 50 years ago.

Our hope is that these tables and the meaningful figures presented in them will assist church and missions in their strategic planning, especially as it relates to the unevangelized world.

Table B. An AD 2008 reality check: 50 new facts and figures about trends and issues concerning empirical global Christianity.

VERY GOOD SITUATIONS

1. Heads of the 21 major Christian World Communions, with 1.8 billion members, have since 1957 met annually for serious 3-day dialogue.
2. A huge new Christian nonconfessional megabloc, Independents/Postdenominationalists, numbers 19% of all Christians, growing rapidly.
3. From only one million in AD 1900, Pentecostals/Charismatics/Neocharismatics have mushroomed to 602 million affiliated believers.
4. 10 million Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims have opted to remain within those religions to witness for Christ as believers in Jesus as Lord.
5. 95.6% of people have access to Scripture in 6,600 languages, leaving 286 million in 7,000 languages with no access at all.
6. Everywhere on Earth can now easily be targeted with at least 3 of the 45 recognized varieties of effective evangelism.
7. 690 million Christians today (called Great Commission Christians) are active in Christ's world mission; 1,540 million Christians ignore it.
8. The country with the fastest Christian expansion ever is China, now at 16,500 new converts (including births) every day.
9. Books primarily about Jesus in today's libraries number 187,000 different titles in 500 languages, increasing by 4 newly published every day.

GOOD SITUATIONS

10. Despite predictions of collapse of religion, trends indicate Christians and other religionists in AD 2200 are likely to number over 87% of the world.
11. UBS global goals for Bibles distributed p.a. are over 200% achieved in 106 countries, over 100% in 47 others, but under 100% in 86 others.
12. Regular listeners to Christian programs over secular or religious radio/TV stations rose from 22% of the world in 1980 to 39% in 2008.
13. 88 countries each have Great Commission Christians whose personal incomes exceed US\$1 billion a year.
14. From only 3 million in AD 1600, Evangelicals have grown to 255 million worldwide, 70% being Non-Whites.
15. Per hour of ministry, the 4 megapeoples most responsive to Christianity, Christ, and the Gospel are Jinyu Chinese, Pathan, Bihari, Maithili.
16. Every year the churches hold a megacensus costing \$1.3 billion, mailing 12 million questionnaires in 3,000 languages, on 180 religious subjects.

FORTUITOUS SITUATIONS

17. Non-Christian countries have been found to have 257 million Bibles in place in their midst to serve readers but are poorly distributed.
18. At a steady rate over the last 20 centuries, in all 239 countries, 71 million Christians have been martyred—killed, executed, murdered—for Christ.
19. The 3 most cost-effective countries over 1 million in population for Christian outreach are Sierra Leone, Congo-Zaire, Ethiopia.
20. Mainland China's Christians have thousands of trained workers poised to begin evangelizing the world.

PARTLY GOOD SITUATIONS

21. Since AD 1900, Christian urbanites have exploded from 100 million in 500 cities to 1,316 million in 5,000 cities.
22. Every person in the world belongs to, on average, 10 distinct and separate (and often conflicting) religious categories.

SOMEWHAT BAD SITUATIONS

23. Christian communicators largely ignore the huge potential of the globe's 1,100 lingua francas, each with over 100,000 non-native speakers.
24. The 423 million Independents in 222 countries have no interest in and no use for historic denominationalist Christianity.

UNFORTUNATE SITUATIONS

25. The 5 most dangerous of all Christian vocations (over 3% murder rates) are bishops, evangelists, catechists, colporteurs, foreign missionaries.
26. As in all scientific research, 70% of all new Christian books and published articles will never be quoted in print by their peers, ever.
27. Most Christian bodies insist on full accountability to the last cent in finance, but ignore or even decry statistics about workers and ministries.
28. The 3 least cost-effective countries over 1 million in population for Christian outreach are Belgium, Austria, Switzerland.
29. The total cost of Christian outreach averages \$345,000 for each and every newly baptized person.

BAD SITUATIONS

30. 40% of the church's global foreign mission resources are being deployed to just 10 oversaturated countries with strong citizen-run home ministries.
31. It costs Christians 1,800 times more money to baptize converts in Belgium (World C) than in Cambodia (World A).
32. Per hour of ministry, the 4 megapeoples least responsive to Christianity, Christ, and the Gospel are Levantine Arab, French, Czech, Russian.
33. 136 million new souls begin life on Earth each year, but Christianity's 4,550 foreign mission agencies baptize only 5 million new persons a year.
34. Organized Christianity has total contact with 4,315 religions but no contact at all with 377 other religions and their over 34 million adherents.
35. Christians spend more on the annual audits of their churches and agencies (\$970 million) than on all their workers in the non-Christian world.
36. 200 major ethnolinguistic peoples each have over 100,000 unevangelized ethnoreligionists in their midst.
37. Christian triumphalism—not as pride in huge numbers, but as publicized self-congratulation—is rampant in most churches, agencies, ministries.
38. Some 250 of the 300 largest international Christian organizations mislead the public by publishing incorrect or falsified progress statistics.

VERY BAD SITUATIONS

39. Despite Christ's command to evangelize, 66% of all humans from AD 30 to the present day have never even heard of his name.
40. Out of 690 million Great Commission Christians, 70% have never been told about World A's 1.9 billion unevangelized individuals.
41. Ethnoreligionists (animists, polytheists, shamanists) number 262 million in 7,100 tribes or peoples, mushrooming rapidly by 3 million a year.
42. Over 20 centuries Christians have announced 1,870 global plans to evangelize the world; 250 plans focused on AD 2000 fell short of goals.
43. 1,192 unevangelized ethnolinguistic peoples have never been targeted by any Christian agencies ever.
44. Measures of personal evangelization by Christians indicate that 86% of all Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims do not personally know a Christian.
45. 91% of all Christian outreach/evangelism does not target non-Christians but targets other Christians, many in wealthy World C countries and cities.
46. Each year, 600,000 full-time clergy, ministers, missionaries reach retiring age; 150,000 then discover their employers provide no old-age pensions.
47. Each year, 210 million Bibles and New Testaments are wasted—lost, destroyed, disintegrated—due to incompetence, hostility, bad planning.
48. Emboldened by lax procedures, trusted church treasurers are embezzling each year \$25 billion from church funds, but only 5% ever get found out.
49. Annual church embezzlements by top custodians exceed the entire cost of all foreign missions worldwide.
50. Criminal penalties against clergy in sexual abuse cases now exceed \$2 billion, forcing a number of churches and dioceses into bankruptcy.

Table C. Status of global mission, presence, and activities, AD 1800–2025.

Column: 1 2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Year:	1800	1900	1970	mid-2000	Trend % p.a.	24-hour change	mid-2008	2025
GLOBAL POPULATION								
1. Total population	903,650,000	1,619,625,000	3,696,595,000	6,085,572,000	1.19	219,000	6,691,484,000	7,905,234,000
2. Urban dwellers (urbanites)	36,146,000	232,695,000	1,336,655,000	2,873,249,000	2.01	185,000	3,368,561,000	4,616,329,000
3. Rural dwellers	867,504,000	1,386,930,000	2,359,940,000	3,212,323,000	0.42	34,000	3,322,923,000	3,288,905,000
4. Adult population (over 15s)	619,000,000	1,073,621,000	2,315,771,000	4,257,127,000	1.58	208,000	4,824,675,000	5,995,477,000
5. Literates	123,800,000	296,146,000	1,478,532,000	3,263,248,000	1.69	172,000	3,730,397,000	5,053,723,000
6. Nonliterates	495,200,000	777,475,000	837,239,000	993,879,000	1.21	36,000	1,094,278,000	941,754,000
WORLDWIDE EXPANSION OF CITIES								
7. Metropolises (over 100,000 population)	40	300	2,400	4,050	1.88	0.2	4,700	6,500
8. Megacities (over 1 million population)	1	20	161	402	1.97	0.03	470	650
9. Urban poor	18 million	100 million	650 million	1,400 million	3.12	153,000	1,790 million	3,000 million
10. Urban slum dwellers	3 million	20 million	260 million	700 million	3.33	83,000	910 million	1,600 million
GLOBAL POPULATION BY RELIGION								
11. Total of all distinct organized religions	700	1,000	6,000	9,900	1.67	0.5	11,300	15,000
12. Christians (total all kinds) (=World C)	204,980,000	558,153,000	1,233,135,000	2,013,132,000	1.30	79,000	2,231,421,000	2,670,312,000
13. Muslims	90,500,000	199,914,000	549,687,000	1,226,046,000	1.78	69,000	1,412,301,000	1,861,186,000
14. Hindus	108,000,000	203,003,000	464,384,000	798,610,000	1.33	32,000	887,991,000	1,065,370,000
15. Nonreligious	300,000	3,024,000	532,810,000	764,483,000	0.05	1,000	767,470,000	803,645,000
16. Chinese universists	310,000,000	380,007,000	231,848,000	367,967,000	0.65	6,900	387,448,000	429,381,000
17. Buddhists	69,400,000	127,077,000	233,079,000	366,625,000	0.81	8,700	391,122,000	456,705,000
18. Ethnoreligionists	92,000,000	117,537,000	165,389,000	241,554,000	1.00	7,200	261,566,000	279,010,000
19. Atheists	10,000	226,000	165,391,000	145,375,000	0.20	800	147,766,000	147,659,000
20. New-Religionists (Neoreligionists)	0	5,951,000	78,324,000	101,044,000	0.69	2,000	106,730,000	117,573,000
21. Sikhs	1,800,000	2,962,000	10,677,000	20,484,000	1.48	900	23,040,000	28,440,000
22. Jews	9,000,000	12,292,000	15,097,000	14,035,000	0.87	360	15,044,000	17,287,000
23. Non-Christians (=Worlds A and B)	698,670,000	1,061,472,000	2,463,460,000	4,072,440,000	1.14	140,000	4,460,063,000	5,234,922,000
GLOBAL CHRISTIANITY								
24. Total Christians as % of world (=World C)	22.7	34.5	33.4	33.1	0.10	0.0	33.3	33.8
25. Affiliated Christians (church members)	195,680,000	521,664,000	1,124,035,000	1,901,543,000	1.33	77,000	2,113,199,000	2,549,094,000
26. Church attenders	180,100,000	469,303,000	885,777,000	1,359,420,000	1.04	42,000	1,476,690,000	1,760,568,000
27. Evangelicals	25,000,000	71,726,000	98,314,000	217,874,000	1.96	14,000	254,538,000	344,641,000
28. Great Commission Christians	21,000,000	77,917,000	277,153,000	639,672,000	0.95	18,000	689,980,000	852,881,000
29. Pentecostals/Charismatics/Neocharismatics	0	981,000	68,272,000	505,001,000	2.21	36,000	601,652,000	798,299,000
30. Average Christian martyrs per year	2,500	34,400	377,000	160,000	1.13	480	175,000	210,000
MEMBERSHIP BY 6 ECCLESIASTICAL MEGABLOCKS								
31. Roman Catholics	106,430,000	266,568,000	665,478,000	1,052,924,000	0.89	28,000	1,130,401,000	1,331,080,000
32. Independents	400,000	7,931,000	92,301,000	345,679,000	2.55	29,000	422,659,000	576,415,000
33. Protestants	30,980,000	103,024,000	210,972,000	344,211,000	1.46	16,000	386,644,000	485,489,000
34. Orthodox	55,220,000	115,844,000	139,950,000	238,481,000	0.74	5,000	252,891,000	261,111,000
35. Anglicans	11,910,000	30,571,000	47,409,000	75,117,000	1.21	3,000	82,708,000	107,696,000
36. Marginal Christians	40,000	928,000	11,096,000	30,421,000	2.13	2,000	36,001,000	51,444,000
MEMBERSHIP BY 6 CONTINENTS, 21 UN REGIONS								
37. Africa (5 regions)	4,330,000	8,756,000	116,538,000	350,091,000	2.41	28,000	423,675,000	627,557,000
38. Asia (4 regions)	8,350,000	20,781,000	92,497,000	292,443,000	2.45	24,000	355,008,000	474,745,000
39. Europe (including Russia; 4 regions)	171,700,000	368,209,000	467,922,000	550,729,000	0.13	2,000	556,359,000	537,144,000
40. Latin America (3 regions)	14,900,000	60,027,000	263,549,000	479,137,000	1.27	18,000	530,187,000	634,354,000
41. Northern America (1 region)	5,600,000	59,570,000	168,942,000	208,282,000	0.71	4,000	220,374,000	245,693,000
42. Oceania (4 regions)	100,000	4,322,000	14,587,000	20,858,000	1.11	1,000	22,788,000	26,595,000
CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS								
43. Denominations	500	1,900	18,700	33,700	1.84	2.0	39,000	55,000
44. Congregations (worship centers)	150,000	400,000	1,453,000	3,191,000	1.81	180	3,684,000	5,000,000
45. Service agencies	600	1,500	14,100	23,000	2.02	1.5	27,000	36,000
46. Foreign-mission sending agencies	200	600	2,200	4,000	1.62	0.2	4,550	6,000
CONCILIARISM: ONGOING COUNCILS OF CHURCHES								
47. Confessional councils (CWCs, at world level)	20	40	150	310	1.53	0.01	350	600
48. International councils of churches	0	10	36	59	1.10	0.002	64	80
49. National councils of churches	0	19	283	598	1.50	0.03	670	870
50. Local councils of churches	0	70	2,600	9,000	2.20	0.6	10,700	15,500
CHRISTIAN WORKERS (clergy, laypersons)								
51. Nationals (citizens; all denominations)	900,000	2,100,000	4,600,000	10,900,000	1.07	347	11,866,000	14,000,000
52. Men	800,000	1,900,000	3,100,000	6,540,000	0.84	161	6,994,000	8,000,000
53. Women	100,000	200,000	1,500,000	4,360,000	1.40	185	4,872,000	6,000,000
54. Aliens (foreign missionaries)	25,000	62,000	240,000	420,000	1.09	14	458,000	550,000
55. Men	21,000	47,000	160,000	240,000	0.46	3	249,000	270,000
56. Women	4,000	15,000	80,000	180,000	1.88	11	209,000	280,000
CHRISTIAN FINANCE (in US\$, per year)								
57. Personal income of church members, \$	40 billion	270 billion	4,100 billion	15,230 billion	2.23	50 billion	18,170 billion	26,000 billion
58. Giving to Christian causes, \$	1 billion	8 billion	70 billion	270 billion	4.70	1.1 billion	390 billion	870 billion
59. Churches' income, \$	950 million	7 billion	50 billion	108 billion	4.19	410 million	150 billion	300 billion
60. Parachurch and institutional income, \$	50 million	1 billion	20 billion	162 billion	5.04	660 million	240 billion	570 billion
61. Cost-effectiveness (cost per baptism, \$)	7,500	17,500	128,000	330,000	0.56	5	345,000	380,000
62. Ecclesiastical crime, \$	100,000	300,000	5,000,000	16 billion	5.77	70 million	25 billion	65 billion
63. Income of global foreign missions, \$	25,000,000	200,000,000	3.0 billion	15 billion	5.70	60 million	23 billion	60 billion
64. Computers in Christian use (numbers)	0	0	1,000	328 million	5.67	79,000	510 million	1,200 million
CHRISTIAN LITERATURE (titles, not copies)								
65. Books about Christianity	75,000	300,000	1,800,000	4,800,000	3.66	600	6,401,000	11,800,000
66. Christian periodicals	800	3,500	23,000	35,000	4.30	5.8	49,000	100,000
SCRIPTURE DISTRIBUTION (all sources, per year)								
67. Bibles, p.a.	500,000	5,452,600	25,000,000	53,700,000	4.96	216,000	79,081,000	180,000,000
68. Scriptures including gospels, selections	1,500,000	20 million	281 million	4,600 million	1.07	13 million	4,790 million	6,000 million
69. Bible density (copies in place)	20 million	108 million	443 million	1,400 million	2.00	90,000	1,640 million	2,280 million
CHRISTIAN BROADCASTING								
70. Total monthly listeners/viewers	0	0	750,000,000	2,150,000,000	2.31	163,000	2,580,000,000	3,800,000,000
CHRISTIAN URBAN MISSION								
71. Non-Christian megacities	1	5	65	226	1.14	0.01	247	300
72. New non-Christian urban dwellers per day	500	5,200	51,100	129,000	1.73	7.0	148,000	200,000
73. Urban Christians	5,500,000	159,600,000	660,800,000	1,160,000,000	1.59	57,000	1,316,000,000	1,720,000,000
CHRISTIAN EVANGELISM								
74. Evangelism-hours per year	600 million	5 billion	25 billion	165 billion	3.66	600 million	220 billion	425 billion
75. Hearer-hours (offers) per year	900 million	10 billion	99 billion	938 billion	6.22	4.2 billion	1,520 billion	4,250 billion
76. Disciple-opportunities (offers) per capita p.a.	1	6	27	154	4.97	0.6	227	538
WORLD EVANGELIZATION								
77. Unevangelized population (=World A)	674,350,000	879,672,000	1,638,575,000	1,722,254,000	1.04	53,000	1,871,208,000	2,160,412,000
78. Unevangelized as % of world	74.6	54.3	44.3	28.3	-0.15	0.0	28.0	27.3
79. World evangelization plans since AD 30	160	250	510	1,500	2.79	0.1	1,870	3,000

Our Pilgrimage in Mission

Paul A. Rader and Kay F. Rader

A passion for mission is in the spiritual DNA of our families. Paul carries the name of a great uncle who succeeded A. B. Simpson as president of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. After a time as pastor of Moody Church in Chicago, the older Paul Rader founded the Chicago Gospel Tabernacle, which helped birth a plethora of parachurch mission organizations in the days before the postwar boom of independent mission structures. Paul's father, Lyell, imbibed this fascination with mission, confirmed in an extended visit to the Middle East in his twenty-first year. Though Lyell did not commit to a missionary vocation, his younger brother, after whom Paul is named, did. Sadly, he was struck by lightning and died days before he and his young family were to embark for service in India. His daughter later served for many years in Central America. As it turned out, Lyell Rader's five children all, in turn, were commissioned as Salvation Army officers and served abroad—in Zimbabwe, Zambia, India, Sri Lanka, and Korea.

Soon after Kay's parents came to faith, her father was exposed to mission in a visit to Mexico. After that experience she was surrounded by missionaries in her home and church. Growing up, she was deeply influenced by the annual Wesleyan Holiness camp meetings, with their urgent missions appeal. In high school she came under the influence of the Luce family, whose scion, George, was serving in Kenya. With a heart desire to reach out to needy children, Kay offered herself to serve God wherever he might choose. By the time we met, Kay's father, Rev. J. O. Fuller, and Paul's, Lt. Col. Lyell M. Rader, were active evangelists. Kay's father for a time was also the regional representative for World Gospel Mission. Her brother, Jim, served in Honduras with World Gospel Mission and later spent a decade in Korea with his wife and family.

College and Seminary Training

Paul was born in New York City in 1934 and grew up in the Northeast. Kay's roots are in the deep South, born in Ocilla, Georgia in 1935. We met at Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. Asbury, an independent, Christ-centered liberal arts college in the Wesleyan Holiness tradition, has always been a setting in which students responded readily to the call to global mission. There we were confirmed in our calling to cross-cultural missionary service. A remarkable company of missionaries expanded our vision to embrace the need of the world: E. Stanley Jones, Dwight Ferguson (who had been a protégé of Uncle Paul Rader and later founded Men for Missions under the aegis of OMS International), Dick Hillis, Ellsworth Culver, the Kilbourne brothers, Bill and Joe Davis, and others. Providentially, our hearts were drawn toward Korea. Bob Pierce, who told us of his spiritual debt to the older Paul Rader, was an influence, as was Paul Chung, a fellow student at Asbury Theological Seminary who subsequently served as president of Seoul Theological University. In January 1956, while still at Asbury, we were deeply impacted by the tragic martyrdom of the five bold missionaries to the Aucas (Wadani) in Ecuador.

*Paul A. Rader and Kay F. Rader are the former international leaders of the Salvation Army. They live in retirement in Lexington, Kentucky. Their story is told in *If Two Shall Agree*, by Carroll F. Hunt (Beacon Hill Press, 2001).*

During Paul's senior year at the seminary, J. T. Seamands returned from service in India to join the Asbury faculty in missions studies. Robert Coleman, who had also recently joined the faculty, passed on to us his passion for evangelism. Coleman was the supervisor of Paul's B.D. thesis, "The Doctrine of Sanctification in the Life and Ministry of Charles G. Finney." Finney had been a formative influence on William and Catherine Booth as the Salvation Army emerged out of the Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, becoming what J. Edwin Orr called its most enduring result.

We decided to move on to Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, where Paul pursued a master of theology with a concentration in mission studies and Kay taught in an inner-city elementary school. Herbert Cross Jackson had recently come to Southern from the Missionary Research Library in New York. His major expertise was in Buddhist studies, and having begun to focus our attention on Korea, Paul had expected to profit from courses on Buddhism. He was not disappointed, though Jackson elected instead to teach a course in Islamics during our stay, a course that proved to be of benefit in the years that followed. Paul's master's thesis dealt with missionary expansion in the postapostolic era.

Salvation Army Service in Korea

We finished the thesis in New York, where we had entered the Salvation Army School for Officer Training, graduating *absentia* from Southern in January 1961. For the previous five years we had served three Methodist congregations in Paris, Wilmore, and Louisville, Kentucky. In the year before we married, however, Kay, who had moved her letter from a Nazarene congregation in Georgia, was given a "baptism of fire" in the Salvation Army corps at Frankfort, Kentucky, where she was "sworn in" as a soldier, affirming, as Paul had earlier, that "the love of Christ, who died to save me, requires from me this devotion of my life to His service for the salvation of the whole world, and therefore [I] do here declare my full determination, by God's help, to be a true soldier of The Salvation Army till I die."

A commitment to officership in the Salvation Army puts one at the movement's disposal for deployment anywhere in the world. Soon after entering the officer training college, we made known in writing our sense of calling to overseas service, indicating our availability to serve at the pleasure of the Army, but mentioning an inclination toward service in East Asia. Kay was pregnant with our second child during her training experience. Our son, James Paul, was born in July. By December we were on our way to Korea, with an assignment to serve on the staff of the officer training college in Seoul. We traveled aboard the *S.S. President Wilson*. Our Edie was then not yet three, and J. P. just five months. Our daughter, Jennifer, was born in Korea three years later.

Paul had been given a few months of language study at Berlitz before we embarked for Korea. Kay was caring for a newborn; after we arrived in Korea, she discovered to her dismay that there was no arrangement for her to study the language. She raised the money herself and employed a tutor. Later she completed studies at the Korean Language Institute of Yonsei University, where Paul had already enrolled. Early

on, a veteran Presbyterian missionary, Harold Voelkel, who had taken us under his wing, warned us against dependence on translators. After a year and a half we began to teach in halting Korean. By the end of the first five-year term we were beginning to feel comfortable in the language. One doubts we would have stayed the course for more than two decades had we not laid that foundation in language together. It opened the way for a level of cultural engagement we would otherwise have found impossible. In fact, we had little choice. Our work in the officer training college, living in a Korean community, without the support of translators, required us to take hold of the language as a survival skill as much as a vehicle for ministry.

We were, however, supported by a remarkable missionary community: a small company of Salvation Army missionary officers, British, Australian, Canadian, German, and American, but also a much larger ecumenical mission community, including a wide range of denominational missionaries from Pentecostals to Anglicans and representatives of a growing number of faith

McGavran's teaching and example were formative influences in our lives.

missions. We worshiped together, engaged in cooperative mission initiatives, and found our lives and those of our children intertwined in an enriching fellowship that continues to bless the lives of our children and grandchildren. It is not surprising that more than 200 former missionaries to Korea and their children meet triennially at Lake Junaluska Assembly in North Carolina for reunion. Our own diverse experience enabled us to enter comfortably into this unique community.

In addition to her teaching responsibilities at the college, Kay became active in the KNCC Drama Committee, at Seoul Union Church, and in the Seoul Christian Women's Club. For a number of years she taught a large Bible class made up of both Korean and expatriate women meeting in a high-rise apartment. During a period when she was without an Army appointment, she offered her services to Campus Crusade for Christ in Korea, which was preparing for EXPLO '74, a mass training program that would bring together over 300,000 believers from virtually all denominations for training in evangelism.

We were living through a period of incredible growth in Korea, economically, politically, and spiritually. The church was on the move. There was much talk of revival in Korea, and virtually every denomination was experiencing growth. The Salvation Army, however, which had long since established itself as an evangelical denomination in Korea, was not growing. At this point Paul was introduced to the church-growth writings of Donald McGavran. His *How Churches Grow* seemed to us to glow with the passion of the founders of the Salvation Army. We were persuaded that the Army could grow—and must, if its God-given mission was to be fulfilled and its future secured.

We were due for furlough in 1971, soon after McGavran's Institute of Church Growth had moved to Fuller Theological Seminary. We decided that Paul would enroll in the seminary in the doctor of missiology program. Fuller and especially McGavran's teaching and example of passionate engagement were formative influences in our lives and missionary service.

Paul's thesis at Fuller, written under the guidance of Arthur Glasser, was entitled "The Salvation Army in Korea After 1945:

A Study in Growth and Self-Understanding." It outlined a strategy for growth that, upon returning to Korea in 1973, we were able to work together with our Korean colleagues in implementing. We were blessed with visionary and competent Korean leadership under whom we served. We conducted seminars and workshops up and down the peninsula, engaging Salvation Army personnel in creative and courageous reflection on the challenges of growth. We had the exhilarating sense that the wind of the Spirit was at our backs. Still, we began to understand more personally Paul's reference to the many adversaries who so often accompany open doors. Growth is energizing, but it is famously uncomfortable and rarely neat. It was an exciting and rewarding period of ministry. During our final years in Korea we were involved in organizing church-growth seminars for missionaries and in establishing the Asian Center for Theological Studies and Mission under the leadership of Samuel Hugh Moffett.

For a number of reasons, 1974 was a critical year. It was a year in which Kay entered into a transforming experience of the Holy Spirit that propelled her into a whole new level of spiritual leadership and authority and that prepared her—and us—for the challenges that lay ahead. It was also the year in which Paul was a delegate to the International Training Principals Conference in London and to the International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne. Both were critical to the direction of God's unfolding purposes for us. Later Kay was a translator/ delegate at the International College for Officers in London. We both were involved in the 1980 World Evangelization Crusade in Korea, during which Kay led a weeklong prayer seminar for 3,000 women.

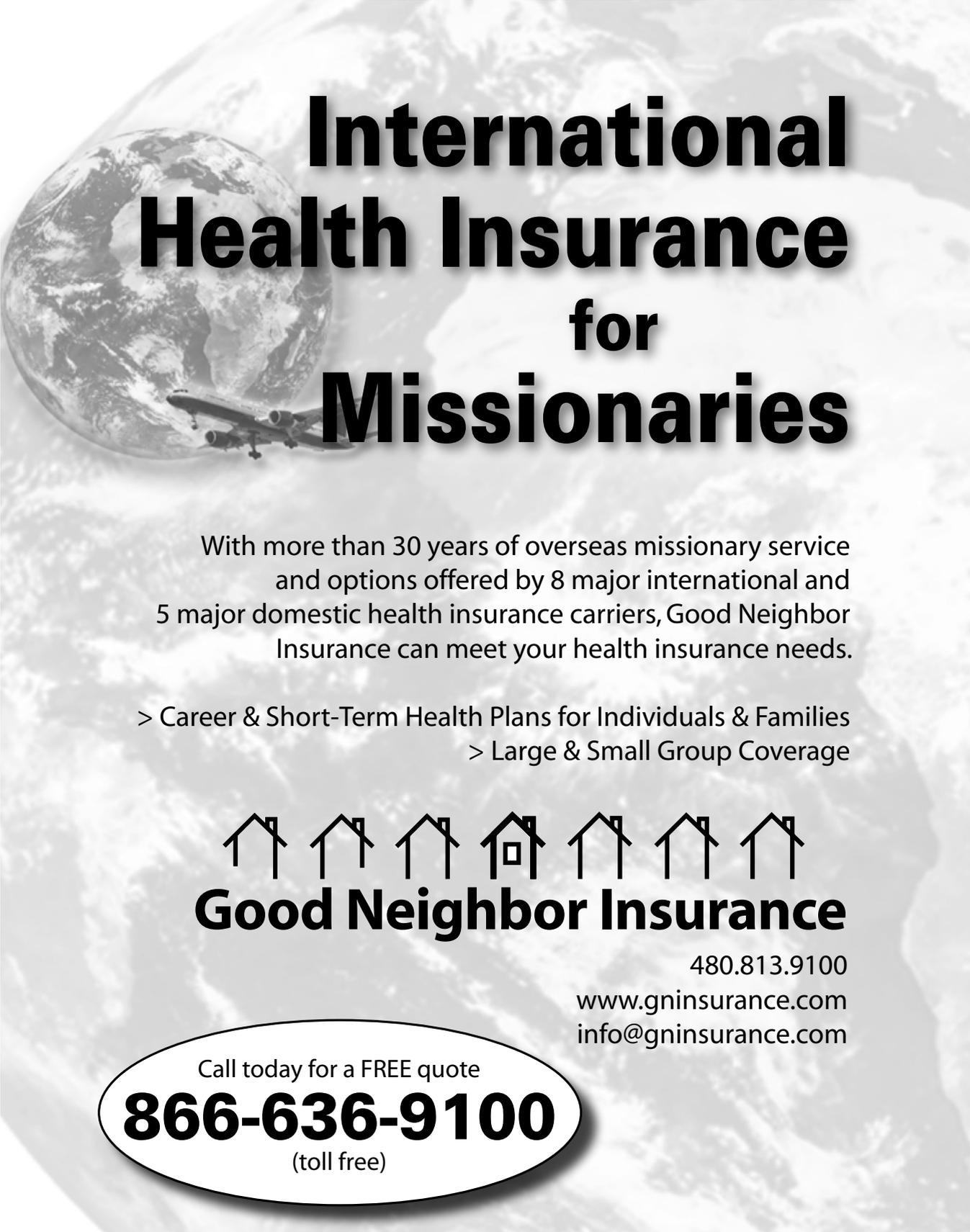
Ministry in the United States

We returned to the United States in 1983, somewhat reluctantly, to a series of administrative roles that led to our promotion to the rank of commissioners and, in 1989, our appointment as territorial leaders in the Western USA Territory, with responsibility for the work of the Salvation Army in thirteen western states and out into the Pacific to Guam. Our cross-cultural experience prepared us for the rich kaleidoscope of cultural diversity we engaged in this district. An aggressive MISSION2000 growth initiative was mounted that resulted in significant advances and provided opportunity for generating creative ventures that subsequently were replicated elsewhere across the country. A remarkable staff of visionary and creative officers and lay Salvationists formed a stimulating "imagineering" environment, producing positive growth outcomes. Our role was to keep the green lights on throughout the process from dream to reality.

Kay had long been an advocate for the rights and dignity of women. During this period she began championing a "full force" of both women and men to advance the mission of the Army. As president of Women's Organizations in the West, she provided training and leadership development opportunities for women officers, married and single. Her purpose was to fully activate women leaders, drawing them into the administrative process and preparing them for the major roles that would later become available to them.

Worldwide Service

After five years in the Western USA Territory, Paul was elected the fifteenth general of the Salvation Army in July 1994. Concurrently, Kay assumed the role of world president of Salvation Army Women's Organizations. Based in London and as the



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Army's international leaders, we commenced a five-year period of virtually nonstop travel to Salvation Army centers around the globe, visiting our work in seventy-five countries. "Partners in Mission" became the watchword of our administration. For the first time we convened an international conference of leaders outside of Britain, meeting in Hong Kong under that banner. Meanwhile, Kay traveled to Rwanda in support of the Army team we had deployed following the genocide there. It was the first of a number of solo engagements. Normally we traveled together, fully sharing in the preaching and speaking assignments. Kay was indispensable with her special gift of perception and ability to relate comfortably to persons of all ranks and stations, putting them at ease and eliciting their understanding and support. Asked early on what she saw as her task, she responded, "Keeping Catherine Booth's dream alive!" As cofounder of the Salvation Army, Catherine Booth played a key role in the early development of the Army and established a reputation as one

Kay encouraged initiatives to assist women toward self-reliance and dignity.

of the most gifted women preachers of her day. Her vision was for women and men to serve together in equality and mutual dignity. Kay set to work to ensure that the structures and procedures of the Army supported that vision, resulting in a number of historically significant and substantive administrative changes for the empowerment of women officers.

As world president of Army women's organizations, Kay encouraged initiatives to assist women toward self-reliance and dignity, particularly in economically depressed areas through capacity-building programs of microenterprise, fair trade, and education. She was able to use her position to speak out against the victimization of women and children. On a visit to Ghana, Salvationists saluted her as "Commissioner of Hope."

At our welcome in London's Westminster Central Hall, Paul called for a million Salvation soldiers marching into the new millennium. That vision was fulfilled and announced to great rejoicing six years later at the International Millennium Congress in Atlanta. The heart of our concern, however, was the heart of the Army—its inner life and how it was being nurtured. To explore this issue an International Spiritual Life Commission was summoned, meeting in London. Sessions of the commission were marked by a vigorous exchange of opinions within a prayerful openness to Spirit and Word. The commission report addressed a wide range of critical issues relating to the worship life and personal and corporate holiness of the movement. In a sense it was a response to the urgent query, What kind of Christians are we making? Our commitment has always been to authentic growth of the body of Christ and the *militia Christi*.

An Officership Commission was convened to explore the meaning of commissioning and ordination for Salvation Army officers within a context of a growing acceptance of the Army's ecclesial nature and function. For a million and more Salvationists in 111 countries, the Army is their church home, their place of participation in the body of Christ, and the platform for their service and witness in the name of Christ—"preaching the Gospel and meeting human need in his name without discrimination," in the words of the Army's international mission statement. General John Gowans (Ret.) has captured the essence of the Army's mission

in a pithy triad: to "save souls, grow saints, and serve suffering humanity." Paul had explored these issues in his doctoral thesis, believing that only as the Army saw itself as a vital and authentic expression of the New Testament understanding of the church would it summon and sustain the will to grow.

A third international commission was convened to explore issues of faith education within the movement, identifying strategies for effective integration of faith-educational programs, from Sunday school through lay and officer training and opportunities for further theological education.

Advances were facilitated in more effectively coordinating global emergency disaster response, communications, community-based health care services, and integrated mission programs addressing the global HIV/AIDS crisis.

In addition to supporting further expansion in eastern Europe, we established "beachhead" programs in Viet Nam and laid the groundwork for launching initial service ventures in North Korea. Only in recent years, with Kay's membership on the board of Christian Friends of [North] Korea (CFK), have we seen some of the fruit of those ventures. Paul accompanied Kay and a team from CFK to North Korea in 2004 during one of the regular visits sanctioned by the government to oversee the distribution of assistance to hospitals and rest homes. We continue to intercede for every effort to bring about a reduction of tensions and open dialogue that will lead to reconciliation and a recovery of freedom for the Word once again to "spread rapidly and be glorified" (2 Thess. 3:1) in the North.

During our years in London, Roberts Wesleyan College, Greenville College, and Asbury Theological Seminary conferred honorary doctorates on us both. Kay was honored for her contribution to mission and to the empowerment of women for life and ministry. But for Kay, the deepest sense of fulfillment came with an expression of gratitude by a Kenyan officer speaking before 9,000 Salvationists gathered for an Easter Sunday service in the Bomas Centre, Nairobi. "Thank you," he said, "for the new sense of dignity and mission you have given to our women officers." It was an unforgettable affirmation of what she had worked unstintingly to achieve.

Back to Asbury

Within months after retiring in July 1999 to Lexington, Kentucky, through a totally unexpected providence, Paul was recruited to serve as the fifteenth president of Asbury College, our alma mater. Kay was already serving on the board of Roberts Wesleyan College and as a trustee of Asbury Theological Seminary. Later she was invited to teach a course in the Asbury Seminary E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission as an adjunct. Six rewarding years in the Asbury community afforded us both the opportunity to further our priorities in mission. Apropos of those priorities, the board of the college was persuaded to amend the mission statement to conclude with these words: "equipping students . . . to engage their cultures and advance the cause of Christ at home and around the world." We believe we left the college better positioned to confront the urgent challenges to Christian higher education in a new era.

The years ahead now hold opportunity for lecturing, preaching, writing, and mentoring and being available to our family. All of this will be at our own pace, though, and always with deep gratitude for the rich privilege of receiving "a commission in his name to lead to faith and obedience men [and women] in all nations . . . who have heard the call and belong to Jesus Christ" (Rom. 1:5-6 NEB).

The Statistical State of the North American Protestant Missions Movement, from the *Mission Handbook*, 20th Edition

Michael Jaffarian

The time has again arrived when we can get a fresh understanding of important aspects of the North American missions movement. The *Mission Handbook*, updated every two to four years, is a directory of mission organizations in the United States and Canada, with statistics. The 20th edition, *Mission Handbook, 2007–2009: U.S. and Canadian Protestant Ministries Overseas*, is now with us, reporting on 822 mission organizations—giving names, contact information, e-mail and Web addresses, descriptions of affiliations and ministries, purpose statements, and statistics on income, personnel, and countries of service.¹

Hearty thanks to the Evangelism and Missions Information Service (at the Billy Graham Center of Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois) and the editors for the gift of this essential reference tool. Their task requires untiring perseverance, unending attention to detail, and unflagging diligence. This continental missions movement is a sprawling, diverse, chaotic enterprise—no small challenge to keep track of. With each edition the editors are careful to warn us that different mission agencies answer the same questions in different ways, and that the same mission agencies answer the same questions in different ways at different times. New agencies appear constantly, old agencies change constantly, many agencies give only partial information, and some refuse to give any information at all. Still, the *Mission Handbook* is the best we have; it is accurate enough to provide important facts and trends that can guide our understanding and action. Consider three major points that stand out from the findings.

1. Before, most North American Protestant missionaries went overseas for a career. Then, most went for a few months or years. Now, most go for a few days.

From the start of the North American missions movement until the mid-1970s, almost all missionaries were appointed with the expectation of career, or lifelong, service. In the 1970s the editors of the *Mission Handbook* recognized the need to monitor a different, growing trend: that agencies were also appointing missionaries for limited, planned terms of only a few months or years. Many of these, who were then called short-termers, were students or young adults, though some were midcareer people or retirees.

By the 12th edition the editors were reporting remarkable growth in this category. For that edition and the two that followed the questionnaire basically asked, “How many short-termers do you have?” and “How long do your short-termers serve?” Thus the category was described by the agencies contributing information instead of by the researchers gathering it. The 15th edition tightened that arrangement, defining what is now called middle-term as from two months to four years, and short-term as two weeks up to two months. From the 17th edition onward

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the definitions have stayed firm, with middle-term at from one to four years and short-term at two weeks up to one year. At any rate, the numbers still reflect what the mission agencies that

Table 1. Protestant Missionary Personnel Sent from North America, as Reported to the *Mission Handbook*, 1972–2005

Edition	Data year	Long-termers ¹	Middle-termers ²	Short-termers	Non-North Americans ³
10th	1972	31,863	—	5,000	—
11th	1975	31,292	—	7,000	4,099
12th	1979	35,673	—	16,949	7,034
13th	1985	39,309	—	21,830	—
14th	1988	44,574	—	31,519	—
15th	1992	38,103	8,306	37,828	50,932
17th ⁴	1996	38,370	6,978	66,465	31,110
18th	1998	41,391	7,351	100,458	76,298
19th	2001	41,669	8,367	349,665	66,873
20th	2005	41,839	8,126	147,852	88,500

1. Long-term missionaries are those whose length of service is expected to be more than four years. Before the 15th edition they were referred to as career missionaries. This column includes bivocational associates (or tentmakers) from the 14th edition onward, and also nonresidential mission personnel from the 15th edition onward.
2. Before the 20th edition, middle-termers were referred to as “short-termers.” Thus the 15th to 19th editions had (longer) short-termers and (shorter) short-termers.
3. Non-North Americans are Christian workers fully or partially supported from funds raised in the United States and Canada.
4. The 16th edition consisted of a directory only, without personnel or financial statistics.

contributed data understood short-term missionaries to be, as that changed through the years. (See table 1.)

Before drawing conclusions from the numbers in table 1, consider some of the facts of reporting that affected these statistics:

- Youth With A Mission (USA), one of the largest sending agencies in the country, is radically decentralized. Its leaders find it difficult to give confident statistics. They reported 817 long-termers in the 18th edition and 1,056 in the 19th, but none in the 20th. YWAM did not suddenly call hundreds of missionaries home; this unexpected omission reflects simply a change in their reporting. This large change, however, mars the U.S./Canada total. The number for total long-termers in 2005 should therefore be higher by more than 1,000.
- In the 18th edition YWAM reported 10,057 short-termers, and in the 20th edition estimated 20,000, which is a credible progression. Between those two figures, however, someone in the organization reported 100,000 for the 19th edition. Maybe the 100,000 figure was a global estimate instead of continental. At any rate, this reporting detail in this category accounts for much of the spike in the North American total for the 19th edition. The actual

trend certainly moved more smoothly from 100,458 (in 1998) to 147,852 (in 2005).

- A similar suspicious spike appears in the column for non-North Americans. On this point, consider the statistics supplied by Christian Aid Mission. They reported 2,333 workers in this category for the 17th edition and 3,873 for the 19th edition, but a spike of 18,809 for the 18th edition, much higher than the other two numbers. It is not likely they added, and then subtracted, more than 14,000 workers from their rolls in such a short span of time. Evidently something was calculated and reported differently. Thus the more accurate progression on this column should be more even from 1996 to 2001 and beyond.

Despite these reporting anomalies, and smaller ones like them, we can confidently draw several conclusions: (1) the sending of long-term missionaries reached a peak in the late-1980s, dropped in the early 1990s, and has seen only slight growth since; (2) the sending of middle-term missionaries grew through the 1990s but is now starting a slight decline; and (3) the sending of short-term missionaries grew dramatically in the 1970s and 1980s and continues to grow, though the pace of growth has slowed.

For every long-term missionary serving overseas there are more than sixty mission-trip participants, nearly all of them untrained.

Since the mid-1990s the churches of North America have sent far more short-term missionaries than long-term missionaries. There are now more than 3.5 short-termers for every long-term overseas. Remember that here “short term” means serving for two weeks to one year, and doing so under the direction of a mission agency, since these *Mission Handbook* numbers all come from reports turned in by agencies.

All of the above numbers are dwarfed by the explosion of lay short-term mission teams sent overseas directly from churches or Christian schools, most serving for two weeks or less. Some of these teams are supervised by mission agencies, but by far most are not. To distinguish this huge group of Christian volunteers from those counted in table 1 (admitting there is some overlap), I will call them mission-trip participants. The serious study of this phenomenon on a national scale is only beginning, but one good estimate is that “more than one and a half million U.S. Christians travel abroad each year on ‘short-term mission trips.’”² Note that this enormous figure would be much larger yet if it included Canadians. Nor does this estimate include the huge number of volunteers who serve on mission trips within North America.

So the North American missions movement is sending well more than sixty times as many mission-trip participants as long-term missionaries. Put another way, for every long-term missionary serving overseas there are more than sixty mission-trip participants, nearly all of them untrained or lightly trained

laypersons. The missions movement of the United States and Canada has experienced a radical shift. It follows that its impact around the world must be experiencing a radical shift as well.

Some might question the idea that most North American Protestant “missionaries” now go overseas for only a few days. Is it right to use the word “missionary” for these church-sent lay volunteers? Consider that (1) usually these groups are “commissioned” by their sending churches through the laying on of hands and prayer, following the pattern of Acts 13:3; (2) usually these groups report back to their sending churches, following the pattern of Acts 14:26–27; (3) almost always the word “mission” is used to describe these experiences; (4) huge sums of money from the mission budgets of churches are given to these efforts; and (5) no small amount of traditional missionary rhetoric is employed to inspire, encourage, and describe these efforts. At present, the total of North Americans who travel overseas in the service of Christ, who seek to proclaim the Gospel to people of other nations and cultures, and who are commissioned by their churches for international ministry certainly includes this huge number of mission-trip participants.

How are mission agencies responding to this powerful trend? Many North American mission agencies are devoted entirely to the sending of short-termers and mission-trip participants, with many among them devoted entirely to nothing but facilitating mission trips. Nearly all agencies that have historically emphasized the sending of long-termers now aggressively advertise their short-term and mission-trip opportunities. From the *Mission Handbook*, 20th edition, we learn that mission agencies are appointing more and more long-termers to the specific task of facilitating short-termers and mission trips. In the four-year span between 2001 and 2005, the number of full-time mission organization staff devoted to supporting short-termers nearly tripled, to about 1,400, with about the same number working part-time on that task.³ In fact, “fifty-one [mission organizations] reported at least one staff member giving part-time or greater focus on short-term missions but with zero short-term missionaries reported.”⁴ Why are mission agencies so eagerly and extensively supporting and promoting short-term missions and mission trips? Maybe they looked at the needs of the world and the exhortations of the Bible and concluded, “The best way to obey Christ and serve the world we live in today is through short-term lay volunteer teams.” Or maybe (as I rather suspect) they recognized short-term missions as the overwhelming trend it is and decided there was no future in fighting it. I suspect they saw the wave and decided they had better ride it instead of being left behind in the wake.

Part of this response is also driven by the hollow hope, expectation, and rhetoric about the impact of short-term missions activity on long-term missions commitment. The myth says that growth in short-term missions and mission trips leads to growth in long-term missions. The facts, however, say that growth in the one has not led to growth in the other. The *Mission Handbook* statistics regarding the overall U.S. and Canadian trends are clear: the short-term boom has not produced a long-term echo.

2. Does the North American Protestant missions movement set heavy emphasis on evangelism/discipleship to the neglect of relief/development? Yes and no.

It is no simple matter to determine mission emphasis. Almost no agencies are devoted 100 percent to a single group of tasks. Few agencies, even few missionaries, do only one thing. Still, it is not unusual to hear the accusation that the North American missions movement is devoted too exclusively to evangelization

alone, concerned too much with saving souls and not enough with healing bodies, communities, and nations. In three ways the statistics of the *Mission Handbook* address factually this group of accusations and questions.

First, how many mission agencies are more devoted to the one family of tasks or the other? For the *Mission Handbook* survey, American and Canadian mission organizations were presented with a list of fifty-nine typical mission activities and asked to indicate up to six “primary activities” of their work. They were then asked, “Which *one* of the activities above is most commonly associated with your organization?”⁵ These specific *activities* were organized into broader *areas* of ministry attention.⁶ So the broader area of evangelism/discipleship covers such activities as “church establishing/planting,” “evangelism, personal and small group,” “national church nurture/support,” and “Bible distribution.” Similarly, the broader area of relief/development covers such activities as “development, community,” “medicine, including public health,” “justice and related,” and “agricultural programs.”

Of the 820 mission agencies reporting on this item, 502 (or 61.2 percent) reported their primary ministry to be in the area of evangelism/discipleship. In contrast, 100 (or 12.2 percent) reported their primary ministry to be in the area of relief/development.⁷ So on this first measure, evangelism/discipleship dominates over relief/development by a ratio of about 5 to 1.

Second, how many individual missionaries are assigned to work in the one set of tasks or the other? The 502 agencies that declared their primary ministry identity to be in the area of evangelism/discipleship accounted for 38,466 full-time North American workers overseas, or 87.6 percent of the total. In comparison, the 100 agencies that declared their primary ministry identity to be in the area of relief/development accounted for 2,167 workers overseas, or 4.9 percent.⁸ So on this second matter of personnel resources, the number of workers in the agencies emphasizing evangelism/discipleship dominates over the number of workers in the agencies emphasizing relief/development by a ratio of almost 18 to 1.

Third, how much money is donated to the one cause or the other? Here a very different picture appears. The North American Protestant missionary enterprise can be described as a \$6 billion industry (actually \$5,879,775,196).⁹ In terms of the amount of income received for overseas ministries, the largest mission organization in North America is World Vision, with a combined (United States plus Canada) income of more than \$1 billion per year.¹⁰ Thus, one agency alone receives more than one-sixth of the total income given in the continent for overseas missions, and that agency is almost entirely devoted to relief/development. Among the ten largest agencies by income, seven (and four of the top five) are devoted mainly to relief/development.

Overall, the mission agencies that work primarily in the area of evangelism/discipleship received \$2,649,522,956 for overseas ministries, or 45.1 percent of the North American total. This compares with \$2,888,004,341, or 49.1 percent of the North American total, received by agencies that work primarily in the area of relief/development.¹¹ More money is thus given to agencies focused on relief/development than to agencies focused on evangelism/discipleship.

Here we also have important statistics on trends. The total income given for overseas ministries reported in the *Mission Handbook* series grew by more than \$1.27 billion between 2001 and 2005, or 27.5 percent in this span of four years.¹² Most of that growth took place in the relief/development area. American agencies focused on evangelism/discipleship saw their

combined income grow by 2.7 percent during those four years; those focused on relief/development saw theirs grow by a whopping 74.3 percent.¹³ Income for evangelism/discipleship is barely growing at all, while income for relief/development is growing dynamically. The Indian Ocean tsunami of December 2004 made a major impact on this trend, but even aside from this exceptional event, the income growth of agencies devoted to relief/development far exceeds that of agencies devoted to evangelism/discipleship.

3. More spending than sending: the number of non-North American Christian workers supported is now far greater than the number of North American Protestant missionaries sent.

In the mid-1970s the *Mission Handbook* survey first included a question about non-North Americans supported through North American mission organizations (see col. 6 in table 1 above).¹⁴ Western mission leaders were starting to realize that the support of “national workers” (or “native missionaries” or “indigenous evangelists”) by North American churches and Christians was an important and growing reality.

After a gap when the question was not asked, statistics since the early 1990s have shifted up and down in ways that raise questions about consistency in reporting. Nonetheless, it is clear that the number of non-North Americans partially or fully supported through North American mission agencies is now far greater than the number of North American missionaries (long-termers plus middle-termers)¹⁵ sent and supported from the churches. If a broader term is used, say, “total workers,” to describe all those supported by North American agencies in full-time ministry outside of the United States and Canada, we can see that the proportion of non-North Americans in this combined force has

One agency alone (out of 822 total) receives more than one-sixth of the total income given in the continent for overseas missions.

shifted from close to zero (in the 1960s), to about one-tenth (in the mid-1970s), to about half (in the early 1990s), to almost two-thirds (most recently)—a very strong trend indeed. Again, such an extreme change in the profile of workers is causing an extreme change in the global impact of the North American Protestant missions movement.

Before the 20th edition it was customary in each *Mission Handbook* to include a list of the “forty largest U.S.A. agencies ranked according to their overseas career personnel”¹⁶ or the like. For almost twenty-five years, from the 10th edition through the 17th, only seven agencies ever appeared among the top five: Southern Baptists, Wycliffe, YWAM, New Tribes Mission, Assemblies of God, Christian Churches/Churches of Christ, and Seventh-day Adventists. Again and again, from edition to edition, the same names kept appearing at the top of the list. Then for the 18th edition (data year 1998) the editors decided to change the criteria for the list and added “Non-U.S. Workers” and “National

Workers" to the number of U.S. missionaries, so that the table's new title declared a ranking by "Total Workers." With that, only one mission from that prior group of seven remained in the top five (Southern Baptists). The other places (including first and second) were taken by newcomers: three agencies that focused on supporting non-North Americans (Christian Aid Mission, Gospel for Asia, and Partners International), plus one that made the list only because of its support of thousands of non-North Americans (Campus Crusade for Christ).

Why this change? First, K. P. Yohannan has been enormously influential.¹⁷ In the nine years between the 17th and 20th editions of the *Mission Handbook* his ministry, Gospel for Asia, reported the number of Asian "native missionaries" (his term) supported by their one mission as expanding from 6,439 to 16,377, a dynamic growth of 154 percent. In comparison, the number of North American long-termers plus middle-termers during the same period grew by only about 10 percent.

Second, the idea of supporting local workers instead of foreign missionaries fits well with some typical North American cultural patterns of thinking. Those who advocate supporting non-North American Christian workers have generally based their case on two simple, pragmatic points: (1) national workers already know the language and culture and thus serve with greater effectiveness, and (2) it costs far less to support a national worker than a North American missionary. This argument has a great appeal to many no-nonsense, business-minded, efficiency-loving, bottom-line, North American donors. To put it bluntly, if nationals cost less and do a better job, why waste good money in any other direction?

Other aspects of this situation apparently receive less attention. Consider just one among many questions that could be raised: When unbelievers hear the Gospel of Jesus Christ from local evangelists who they know are paid by wealthy North Americans, how does it affect their understanding of the Christian message?

Notes

1. Linda J. Weber and Dotsey Welliver, eds., *Mission Handbook 2007–2009* (Wheaton, Ill.: Evangelism and Missions Information Service, 2007); hereinafter cited as *MH*. Thanks to Stanley H. Skreslet of Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond, Virginia, for reading an earlier draft of this article and giving many helpful suggestions.
2. Robert J. Priest, Terry Dischinger, Steve Rasmussen, and C. M. Brown, "Researching the Short-Term Mission Movement," *Missiology* 34 (October 2006): 432.
3. *MH*, p. 29. These numbers are estimated from figure 13, which is not supported by a corresponding table of statistics.
4. *MH*, p. 27.
5. *MH*, pp. 610, 614.
6. This was done by Scott Moreau in "Putting the Survey in Perspective," *MH*, pp. 35–47, 59–69.
7. The balance were in the areas of education/training (73, or 8.9 percent), mission agency support (124, or 15.1 percent), and other (21, or 2.6 percent) (*MH*, pp. 37–38, 61–62).
8. "North American workers" here includes long-term missionaries (expected to serve more than four years) plus middle-termers (expected to serve from one to four years), but does not include bivocational associates or nonresidential missionaries—following the pattern given in the summary statistics in *MH*, pp. 44, 65. The other workers served under agencies with primary activity in education/training (838, or 1.9 percent), mission agency support (2,229, or 5.1 percent), and other (199, or 0.5 percent).
9. This is the total income for overseas ministries of all agencies, American plus Canadian, for one year, as reported to *MH*, pp. 13, 50. Note that this amount would be enormously greater if it included all the money spent on mission trips by churches, schools, and individual Christians.
10. Reported as \$1,030,103,000 (*MH*, pp. 22, 54).
11. Funds received for the other areas: education/training, \$71,976,422 (1.2 percent); mission agency support, \$241,039,692 (4.1 percent); and other, \$29,231,785 (0.5 percent) (*MH*, pp. 44, 63).
12. *MH*, pp. 13, 50. These numbers and those following are adjusted for inflation.
13. *MH*, p. 21.
14. Edward R. Dayton, ed., *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 11th ed. (Monrovia, Calif.: MARC, 1976), p. 585.
15. This specific comparison (non-North Americans vs. North American total long-termers plus middle-termers) is chosen because few, if any, of the non-North Americans supported from North America are short-termers or mission-trip participants.
16. Thus it was worded in the 14th edition (W. Dayton Roberts and John A. Siewert, eds., *Mission Handbook: USA/Canada Protestant Ministries Overseas* [Monrovia, Calif.: MARC, 1989], p. 54).
17. Notably through his two books *The Coming Revolution in World Missions: God's Third Wave* (Altamonte Springs, Fla.: Creation House, 1986) and *Why the World Waits: Exposing the Reality of Modern Missions* (Lake Mary, Fla.: Creation House, 1991), but also through his extensive speaking and other writing.

Conclusion

The North American Protestant missions movement has changed and is changing—sometimes in dramatic ways. Not long ago, few gave much thought to any pattern of missionary tenure other than long-term service. Now the scene is dominated by mission-trip participants, most of whom serve for two weeks or less at a time. Not long ago, very few non-North American Christian workers were listed in the missions budgets of American/Canadian churches and families. Now their number far exceeds the number of North American missionaries supported. Not long ago, few would have anticipated the reality we now see of more money given to ministries of compassion than to ministries of evangelism, church planting, and the like.

The *Mission Handbook* reports on important aspects of the American/Canadian Protestant missions movement from the sending side. It is an entirely different matter—but, in fact, more important—to consider what happens on the receiving side. What has happened in Latin America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and Oceania as a result of this massive sending of workers and money from North America? As the North American missions movement has changed, how has its impact changed, around the world?

Trend is not destiny. Decision-makers in the world of missions could take action that would move any of the above numbers in different directions in the years to come, if they will. Now we see that there has been significant change on the sending side, from North America. It has certainly brought change also on the receiving side, in the rest of the world. In the future, there will likely be further change, led either by various natural and societal forces or by informed, deliberate, prayerful action on the part of mission leaders, local churches, and missionaries. That change will also bring change yet again on the receiving side, on the global impact of this huge, dynamic, and ongoing investment of personnel and money, of prayer and devotion, and of Holy Spirit power.

The Legacy of Marcello Zago, O.M.I.

Willi Henkel, O.M.I.

Marcello Zago combined in an ideal way missionary experience in a Buddhist milieu with the study of Buddhism and missiology, which had been updated by the Second Vatican Council. Marcello was born on August 9, 1932, at Villorba, a province and diocese of Treviso, Italy. He was the youngest child of a farming family and had three brothers and two sisters. After his primary school (1939–44), Marcello received his secondary school training in the minor seminary of Treviso (1944–52) and in the major seminary of Treviso up to the second year of theology (1952–55).¹

A conference of the Oblate missiologist Albert Perbal awakened Marcello's interest and enthusiasm for the missions. He entered the Italian Oblate novitiate Ripalimosani in 1955. Then he completed his theological studies at St. Thomas University, Rome (1956–59), living in the Oblate International Study House.

Missionary in Laos

After his priestly ordination, Zago left for Laos in December 1959.² As a student, he read in Romano Guardini's *The Lord* of the importance of Buddha for Christianity: "No one has really uncovered his Christian significance. Perhaps Christ had not only one precursor, but three: John the Baptist for the chosen people, Socrates from the heart of antiquity, and Buddha, who spoke the ultimate word in Eastern religious cognition."³

Arriving in Laos, Zago studied both the language and Buddhism. He found out, however, that Buddhism in Laos was different from what he had studied in Europe. "It appeared to me no longer as a philosophy, but a way of life with multiple religious facets. During six years I assisted at rites, ceremonies and feasts of people with Buddhist consciences. My observations paid attention to the lived practice, the results of exchanges and dialogues with people of all levels, the study of the written sources: they constituted the basis for my doctoral dissertation."⁴

Student of Missiology

As a student in the Faculty of Missiology of the Gregorian University in Rome from 1966 to 1970, Zago paid special attention to missionary methods for non-Christian religions, especially Buddhism. His doctoral dissertation was published as volume 6 of *Documenta Missionalia* of the same university.⁵ Professor Joseph Masson, a specialist in Buddhism, judged that the dissertation was built on two extremely solid bases: "on the one side, many years of contact in the field with the population concerned, which assures a realistic experience of actual situations; on the other, several years of missiological and anthropological studies, during which the author became immensely erudite, to which his bibliography witnesses in an eloquent way."⁶ Masson concluded

Willi Henkel, O.M.I., is the former director of the Pontifical Missionary Library.

that Zago's work was indispensable for anyone who desired to study the unique Buddhism of Laos.

Teacher and Writer

In 1968 Zago accepted an invitation to give a course of missiology at St. Paul University, Ottawa. He returned there every year until he was elected assistant general of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.) in 1974.

From 1981 to 1983 he taught at Urban University, Rome. One of his courses was missiography, in which he dealt with mission statistics, the growth of the local churches, local clergy, evangelization today, and the missionary.⁷ During the same period he taught Buddhism at Lateran University, Rome. Students appreciated his clarity and open-mindedness.

Between 1973 and 1986 Zago published more than seventy articles on Buddhism in well-known international periodicals. He also contributed to *Buddhism in the Modern World*,⁸ a multiauthor work edited by Heinrich Dumoulin and John C. Maraldo.

On various occasions Zago studied the inculturation of Buddhism in Asia. He explained that Buddhism had needed centuries to become a popular religion and that it had

the support of political authorities, but it also developed through creativity and its own internal dynamism.⁹

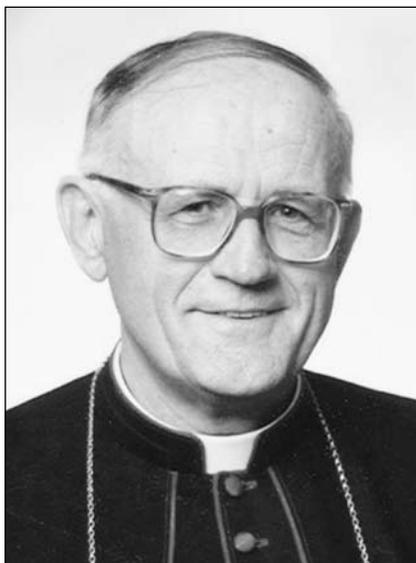
Zago was a good observer. More than one hundred of his articles dealt with the present-day situation in mission countries. Many articles are dedicated to the missionary renewal envisioned by Vatican II, and others show how mission has changed. They show mission as communion, mission as service, and mission in countries with Christian minorities.

Dialogue with Buddhist Authorities

In 1971 Zago was put in charge of a desk for the study of Buddhism, which was instituted by the Conference of Bishops of Laos and Cambodia. In this role he accompanied His Eminence Dhammayana Mahatera, the Buddhist patriarch, and a delegation to Rome, where they were received by Pope Paul VI, who expressed the wish for a continuing and friendly dialogue with them.¹⁰ In 1974 Zago participated in the first meeting of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC) in Taipei. The bishops asked for an ongoing dialogue with living cultures, religions, and people, especially with the poor, underlining the need to promote justice.

Pontifical Council for Non-Christian Religions

In 1983 Pope John Paul II appointed Zago as secretary of the Pontifical Council for Non-Christian Religions. In this charge he made a special contribution to the document *Dialogue and Mission* (1984).¹¹ He also contributed to another document of



Marcello Zago, O.M.I.

the same pontifical council, *Dialogue and Proclamation* (1991).¹² Some guidelines of these documents were also included in the encyclical *Redemptoris missio* (1991) of John Paul II.

John Paul II asked Zago, together with others, to organize the Great Day of Prayer in Assisi on October 27, 1986. The pope himself had taken the initiative to invite leaders of the world religions to pray for peace and justice. In the pope's mind this event was to be a "council in miniature and a visible sign for all." Assisi remained a symbol indicating a common road of world religions. Some reporters considered that this event left a deeper impression than had any encyclical on dialogue.¹³

Superior General of O.M.I. (1986–98)

On September 13, 1986, Zago was elected superior general of O.M.I. Accepting this office, he inaugurated a program on how to be a missionary in today's world. His first visits to missionary oblates were to the units that were living in difficult situations, namely, in Madagascar and elsewhere in Africa. Then followed visits to the missions in Asia, the Americas, and Europe. During his term, new missions were opened in thirteen countries: Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia, Cuba, Nigeria, Botswana, Angola, Kenya, Korea, Turkmenistan, Belarus, Ukraine, and the Czech Republic.¹⁴ Zago was considered "a great Superior General, mis-

sionary, spiritual animator, formator, the Congregations' living bond of unity, a father of the extended Oblate family."¹⁵

In 1983 the pope appointed Zago to be consultor of the Secretariat for Non-Christians,¹⁶ and in 1989, a member of the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life. He was also nominated to be a member of the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews.

Zago took part as a member in the following synods of bishops: Synod on the Laity (1987), Synod on the Formation of Priests (1990), the Special Synod on Africa (1994), and Synod on Consecrated Life (1994), for which he was a special secretary. All of his interventions were dedicated to missionary topics.¹⁷

Encyclical *Redemptoris missio*

The encyclical *Redemptoris missio* was presented to journalists accredited by the Vatican on January 22, 1991; the press conference was presided over by Cardinal Jozef Tomko, prefect of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, and by Marcello Zago, superior general of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate.¹⁸

Zago wrote more than thirty articles on this encyclical. Some of them were published in Italian in the periodical *Omnis terra* and were translated into English, French, Spanish, and Portu-

Noteworthy

Announcing

The **American Society of Missiology** has chosen "Envisioning Apostolic Theology: As the Father Sends . . ." for its 2008 annual meeting theme. The meeting will be held June 20–22 at Techny Towers, Techny, Illinois. For details, visit www.asmweb.org or contact Arun W. Jones at ajones@austinseminary.edu. The **Association of Professors of Mission**, meeting June 19–20 at the same location, will focus on the topic "The Gospel Beyond Mere Words: Issues in Contextualizing Liturgy, Music, and the Arts." Visit www.asmweb.org/apm for details, or contact Bonnie Sue Lewis at bslewis@dbq.edu.

The 2008 **Yale-Edinburgh Group on the History of the Missionary Movement and Non-Western Christianity**, July 3–5 at the University of Edinburgh, will have "Perceptions and Portrayals: Heroes and Villains in Mission Historiography" as its theme. The conveners are **Lamin Sanneh** and **Andrew F. Walls**. The seminar is cosponsored each year 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. For details, visit www.library.yale.edu/div/yaleedin.htm.

The fourth **International Interdisciplinary Munich-Freising Conference on the History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America** (Freising IV) will be held February 15–17, 2008, in Freising (near Munich), Germany. Its theme will be "The Year 1989/1990 as a Turning Point in the European and Non-European History of Christianity." Those present will discuss how the collapse of socialism, the end of the cold war, and the start of a "bipolar world order" in 1989–90 affected the churches and Christians not only in Eastern Europe but also in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. A new attempt will also be made to develop a global perspective on the history of Christianity in different parts of the world and its interde-

pendencies. The speakers are leading experts from various regions and backgrounds. For details, visit www.kg1.evtheol.uni-muenchen.de/veranstaltungen/freisingiv/index.html.

"**Exploring Religious Spaces in the African State: Development and Politics from Below**" is the theme for a conference being planned by the Centre of African Studies at the University of Edinburgh and the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. The gathering will be held April 9–10, 2008, in Edinburgh. For details, contact Barbara Bompani, School of Social and Political Studies, University of Edinburgh, b.bompani@ed.ac.uk.

The Henry Martyn Centre and the African Studies Centre of the University of Cambridge will cohost a conference titled "**East African Revival: History and Legacies**" in Cambridge, April 25–26, 2008. The conference is being held to mark the opening to researchers of the private papers of Joe Church (1899–1989), the Anglican medical missionary "who was deeply involved in this movement which has so profoundly shaped the character of Protestant Christianity in much of East Africa," says Brian Stanley, director of the Henry Martyn Centre at Westminster College, Cambridge. For details, visit www.martynmission.cam.ac.uk/cafrican%20conf.html, or e-mail Polly Keen, pk262@cam.ac.uk.

The summer 2008 issue of the *Journal of American–East Asian Relations* will feature a special issue entitled "Christianity in China as an Issue in the History of the United States–China Relations." Associate editor **Dong Wang** is associate professor of history at Gordon College, Wenham, Massachusetts.

An international conference will be held September 26–28, 2008, on the theme "**Empire, Slave Trade, and Slavery: Rebuilding Civil Society in Sierra Leone, Past and Present.**" The conference, which will mark the bicentenary of the

guesse. Some articles consider the encyclical as a whole, while others explain particular parts of it. Several articles focus on the permanent validity of mission, thus echoing John Paul II's cry for mission. Zago also paid special attention to explaining its significance for the missions in Asia.

Zago wrote what is perhaps the most important English commentary on *Redemptoris missio*, which appeared in *Redemption and Dialogue*, published by Orbis Books in 1993.¹⁹ In it he considers the situation of missions in the world today, the encyclical's continuity with other encyclicals and its distinctive features, its place in the pontificate of John Paul II, and its relationship with the dynamics of Vatican II. Zago explains how the encyclical integrates various aspects of mission: dialogue and proclamation, human promotion and inculturation, justice, and missionary spirituality. Missionary activity is seen in an ecumenical perspective, as a matter concerning all Christians. Zago comments on the aims and objectives of the encyclical, which include the renewal of missionary commitment by all. It encourages younger churches both to send and to receive missionaries.

Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples

On March 28, 1998, John Paul II appointed Zago secretary of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (CEP).²⁰ Then

on April 25 he was ordained bishop by Cardinal Tomko in St. Peter's Basilica.²¹ In this role he was the pope's special envoy to Angola (October 15–22, 1999) to express his solidarity with its suffering people; there he inaugurated the Catholic University of Angola (Luanda). Again as the pope's special envoy, he went to Peru from January 29 to February 8, 2000, for the celebration of the first apostolic prefectures in the Peruvian Amazon.²²

During his three short years as secretary of the CEP, Zago impressed Cardinal Tomko, the officials, and employees with his missionary spirit. In the various meetings of the congregation he sought to promote an atmosphere of fraternity, service, and family spirit. He believed that the leadership of the congregation must be "characterized by a priority of animation over administration. The latter has a role—which one cannot forget—but it is animation which must get priority."²³ As secretary of the CEP, he chose to live in a small apartment in the Propaganda Palace, continuing his simple missionary lifestyle. He invited officials, missionaries, and Oblates for meals. He practiced what he had written on dialogue, sometimes under difficult circumstances. He liked walking with guests, listening to them, and asking them questions, and he knew how to put them at ease. As their superior general, he was close to the Oblates in many ways, receiving them, writing to them on special occasions, and thanking them for their faithful and generous missionary service. After talks,

establishment of Sierra Leone as a British Crown colony in 1808, will be held at the Wilberforce Institute for the Study of Slavery and Emancipation, University of Hull, Hull, U.K. Liverpool Hope University and the Harriet Tubman Institute for Research on the Global Migrations of African Peoples, York University, are cosponsors. For details, visit www.hull.ac.uk/WISE/Conferences/Callforpapers/sierra_leone_2008_call_for_papers/index.html.

On June 19, 2007, one of the oldest mission agencies, the **Church Mission Society**, led by general secretary Tim Dakin, opened new offices in Oxford, marking the first time the CMS office has moved outside of London since its founding on April 12, 1799. Initially the society had no designated offices, but by the end of the nineteenth century a row of houses had become a large headquarters with a complex administration and numerous staff. The CMS office now hosts the new **Crowther Centre for Mission Education**, where Cathy Ross is manager. Visit www.cms-uk.org for details.

Some important documents on the history of Christianity in Asia that are not otherwise available may be accessed online at www.aecg.evtheol.lmu.de/cms/index.php?id=10, a Website of the church history department at the **University of Munich**, Germany. One of the first such documents is the "Minutes of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church in Colombo Held at the Wolvendaal Church, Colombo, 1735–1796."

Personalalia

Appointed. **Kirsteen Kim**, honorary lecturer in theology, University of Birmingham, U.K., as an INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH contributing editor. Her latest book, *The Holy Spirit in the World: A Global Conversation*, was published by Orbis Books in October 2007. A former chair of the British and Irish Association for Mission Studies, she is vice-moderator

of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches.

Died. **Charles R. Taber**, 78, a contributing editor and a past president of the American Society of Missiology and of the Association of Professors of Mission, Johnson City, Tennessee, October 26, 2007. Born in Neuilly, France, to Brethren United States missionaries, he spent his youth in France and French Equatorial Africa. Taber met his wife of fifty-six years, Betty, at Bryan College, Dayton, Tennessee. After a year at Grace Theological Seminary, Winona Lake, Indiana, he taught school in Oubangui-Chari, 1953–61, when a medical emergency forced the family's return to the United States. He was invited to do studies on the Sango language at Hartford Seminary Foundation, in Connecticut, where he completed his doctorate in anthropology and linguistics. Taber was hired by the American Bible Society, and one of his projects became *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (1969), coauthored with Eugene Nida. In 1969 the family returned to Africa, where Taber served as translations consultant for the United Bible Societies for nearly three dozen projects in twelve countries and edited *Practical Anthropology*. In Johnson City since 1973, he taught missions at Milligan College and then at Emmanuel School of Religion. He published *The World Is Too Much with Us: "Culture" in Modern Protestant Missions* (1991) and *To Understand the World, to Save the World: The Interface Between Missiology and the Social Sciences* (2000).

Died. **James H. Kraakevik**, 79, director of the Billy Graham Center (1984–96) and former chair of the science division, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, September 26, 2007. Previously he was education secretary for West Africa for SIM and was involved in rehabilitation work during and after the Nigerian civil war in the 1960s. From 1981 to 1984 Kraakevik was SIM director of research and ministries.

instead of leaving meetings, he would remain to the end of the proceedings and then freely mingle with the attendees. "This, in itself, spoke . . . to them about his commitment to the Gospel and evangelizers."²⁴

As secretary of the CEP, Zago was invited to give a position paper at the Plenary Assembly of the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue (1998) on the spirituality of dialogue. After having clarified both concepts, spirituality and dialogue, Zago explained how the Vatican II document *Nostra aetate* offered a basis for a new approach to non-Christian religions.²⁵ Every religion has its own spirituality and values that can foster dialogue. Dialogue requires the acceptance of one's own identity and openness to others. Referring to Paul VI's encyclical *Ecclesiam suam*, he said: "Dialogue takes on the very qualities of charity: it is universal, gradual, solicitous, fervent, and disinterested,

Mission and dialogue are not primarily human programs but the work of the Holy Spirit.

without limits and calculations, understanding and adapted to everyone (cf. ES 40–48)."²⁶ Applied to missions, this means that the missionary must love people as Jesus loved them. However, discernment is also a necessary attitude, which means discovering how the Spirit works in people. Zago affirms that mission and dialogue are not primarily human programs but the work of the Holy Spirit, who is the main agent of mission and the main force of salvation.

Zago was also invited to give the keynote address for Mission Congress 2000 in Chicago on September 28, 2000. He spoke with skill and clarity about the United States being a leader "in racial integration, welcoming immigrants of every extraction, and giving them citizenship; in the exercise of personal and group

freedom, including that of religion; in the economy, producing wealth and work, spreading worldwide; in scientific and technical progress, attracting the greatest experts of the world . . . in social communications."²⁷ Zago challenged the U.S. Catholic Church "to be more committed to the mission *ad gentes* and to have a missionary approach in all her activities within the country and elsewhere." A new evangelization revitalizing the faith of regular believers is not sufficient to achieve this goal, but the U.S. church "must strive as well to proclaim Christ, where he is not known" (John Paul II, *Ecclesia in America* [1999], sec. 74). Zago presents mission as a model for every ecclesial activity. He sees the challenges to which every particular church must respond: to harmonize the courage of proclamation and the path of dialogue; to be committed to mission at home and universally; to promote social justice and reconciliation between all peoples; to work toward enculturation and preserve a universal spirit; to promote vocations of special consecration and commitment of laity, especially in social and political life; to intensify ecclesial communion and respect the different charisms with their own identity.²⁸ The formal response to Zago's comments by Gerald Anderson is significant. Anderson called the presentation of the U.S. church "informed and tactful." He sees a "tendency of American Catholics to retreat into themselves," notes the "low missionary impact," and is aware of the decline of American missionaries serving outside North America. Anderson agrees with Zago that "proclamation of Christ is the first duty of the Church" and "the greatest gift that we can give."²⁹

Zago received an honorary doctorate in theology from St. Paul University, Ottawa, on October 27, 1989. He contributed particularly to the understanding of the nature of dialogue, and he promoted dialogue at many levels, including the highest level of the Catholic Church. His study of the spirituality of dialogue also offers useful guidelines for further developments. His studies of Buddhism in Laos and other parts of Asia will long serve scholars in this field. Missiologists appreciate his contribution to updating the nature of mission and missionary service in the modern world. His commentaries on the encyclical *Redemptoris missio* will also serve as a work of reference.

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IFMA and EFMA Announce Name Changes

Two North American mission associations have changed their names, seeking to sharpen their identities to reflect their current perspectives.

IFMA, the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association of North America, is now known as **CrossGlobal Link** (www.crossglobalink.org). Association leaders accentuated their focus on "internal networking" among current mission agency members and announced a "deliberate new effort to link with North American churches, especially churches bypassing agencies as they do mission directly," said executive director Marv Newell.

He added that the name change came about because "it no longer seems important to peg our identity in relation to denominationalism" and because the word "foreign" is outdated. "Missions is no longer a matter of going the distance geographically, but rather going the distance culturally," he noted. The word "cross" carries "the concept of the cross of Christ—the means of humanity's redemption"—and "link" emphasizes connectivity.

Churches may now join CrossGlobal Link as associate members. "We have dramatically retooled ourselves for the present and into the future in the face of current mission and world realities," Newell commented.

Steve Moore, president and CEO of EFMA, the Evangelical Foreign Mission Association, said his organization changed its name to **The Mission Exchange** (www.themissionexchange.org) because "we believe it captures the sense of dynamic, interactive relationships between missional entities . . . that is at the heart of our vision and identity."

He noted that EFMA started its "journey of organizational

self-awareness" nearly three years ago to better "reflect changes we have already made." These changes include a "shift from a purely credentialing identity to a developmental identity. . . . We are still a credentialing body; however, the leading edge of our mission is now focused on helping members, and the Great Commission Community, accomplish their God-ordained purpose more effectively."

Moore added that The Mission Exchange recognizes that "while local churches have always been the primary stakeholders in the Great Commission, globalization has enabled them to take more aggressive action." To this end the association has developed an affiliate membership for churches and small organizations.

He said that The Mission Exchange will continue to emphasize external relationships with mission movements, including the India Mission Association, the Nigeria Evangelical Mission Association, and others through the Mission Commission of the World Evangelical Alliance.

Moore added that The Mission Exchange will also "field-test virtual roundtables that bring mission leaders together electronically in affinity groups to exchange ideas."

CrossGlobal Link and The Mission Exchange will continue to cosponsor events on leadership, personnel, and similar mission-related issues. The two associations, along with the Evangelical Missiological Society, cosponsor a conference every three years. The next is the 2008 North American Mission Leaders Conference, to be held September 24–28 in Broomfield, Colorado. Without merging into a single entity, the two associations plan additional venues for cooperation.

—Daniel J. Nicholas

Book Reviews

Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity.

By Lamin Sanneh. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008. Pp. xxii, 384. £60 / \$99; paperback £11.99 / \$19.95.

John Carman's review of Lamin Sanneh's Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity introduces both this volume and the significant series of which this work is the inaugural volume. Published by Oxford University Press and edited and directed by Sanneh, Professor of Missions and World Christianity, Yale Divinity School, and Professor of History at Yale University, the Oxford Studies in World Christianity is a series of volumes currently under production that will address world Christianity in light of its non-Western appeal and development. Each volume in the series has been assigned to a leading authority in the field, Carman among them. The Overseas Ministries Study Center supports this seminal project on World Christianity and looks forward to its publications. Additional information can be found at www.omsc.org/oxfordstudies.html.—Editor

This book is about two major transitions now taking place in the history of Christianity. The first is a shift from a Western to a post-Western church, where the increasing majority of Christians live outside Europe and North America. This shift is the result of a dramatic increase in the last fifty years of the number of Christians outside the West and of a marked decline, both in church membership and in Christian observance, in the former Christian heartlands. "In 1950," Sanneh writes, "some 80 percent of the world's Christians lived . . . in Europe and North America. By 2005 the vast majority of Christians lived in . . . Asia, Africa, and Latin America." The change in the figures for Africa is even more striking, from 9 million in 1900 (most of them in Egypt and Ethiopia) to 60 million in 1960, and 393 million in 2005 (p. xx). The change is not only one of population shift. Sanneh maintains that "the current awakening had occurred without the institutions and structures that define Western Christendom . . . monasteries, theological schools, and hierarchical agency"; furthermore, political power, instead of being of assistance, has been "a problem and a burden to overcome" (p. x).

The second transition is less marked and may be less obvious: the recognition of the first transition by Christian theologians, historians, and church leaders. Lamin Sanneh, originally from Gambia, taught at the University of Aberdeen and at Harvard University. Since 1989 he has been the D. Willis James Professor of World Christianity at Yale Divinity School. He is not simply an observer of this second transition, for he has taken a leading role in appealing to scholars not to resist but to accept gratefully this new view of a new chapter in Christian history.

Because the book is concerned both with a major historical change in Christianity and with the implications of this change for Christians, its organization is partly chronological, partly geographic, moving from region to region, and partly thematic, dealing with many important

aspects of Christianity, especially in its present post-Western phase. Sanneh notes at the beginning that the current simultaneous expansion of Christianity in one part of the world and its contraction in another repeats earlier patterns in Christian history. He observes that "the religion is now in the twilight of its Western phase and at the beginning of its formative non-Western impact" (p. xx). His introduction deals with the growing consciousness of Christianity's world mission as attested in the New Testament and with the spread of Christianity in the Greek-speaking Hellenistic world beyond the boundaries of the Jewish synagogue. The first chapter deals with the expansion of the Christian movement during the following centuries. Within an empire under increasing attack, Christians developed a culture that was distinct from Hellenistic culture and yet borrowed much from it. Beyond and subsequent to Roman rule, the church established itself as a minority in non-Christian societies (examples from the Middle East and India) and gained cultural dominance in tribal societies to the northwest (examples from England and Iceland).

The second chapter provides a brief history of the relations between Christianity and Islam, illustrating with many examples the negative views of the other religion on both sides. After the first few centuries of Islamic military success and the decline of Christian populations under Islamic rule, the last thousand years have been, in Sanneh's opinion, an unproductive stalemate, with each religion finding in the other "an insurmountable barrier" (p. 57). The third chapter treats the first part of the transatlantic exchange initiated by Portugal and Spain, which led to the colonization of the Americas and the slave trade. Sanneh discusses the relation of Western Christian missions to colonial power and goes on to relate the ending of the slave trade and the return of former slaves in North America to Sierra Leone and Liberia, a return with important consequences for the nineteenth-century Christian mission in West Africa. The

fourth chapter focuses on the ambivalent relation between Christian missions and Western colonial rule since 1800, with particular reference to Africa.

The fifth chapter, "Charismatic Renewal," starts with the eighteenth-century Pietist movement that began Protestant missions in many parts of the world before the nineteenth-century colonial empires. This movement regarded the Gospel as opposed to much in Western culture, including colonial rule. This Pietist heritage encouraged new converts in Africa and elsewhere to interpret the Gospel in terms of their local culture and sometimes to establish churches independent of Western missions, churches that sometimes engaged in philanthropy "without foreign aid or government subsidy" (p. 171). The revivals characteristic of Pietism now took place within these independent churches as well as within mission churches. Much support for the development of a Christianity free of mission control came from the translation of the Bible into many vernacular languages, about which Sanneh has previously written extensively.

The sixth chapter relates the development of indigenous Christianity in West Africa, highlighting the way in which "charismatic prophets" incorporated beliefs and practices of traditional religion and sometimes sharply challenged them. Sanneh gives special attention to the preaching of the Prophet Harris, who brought thousands to convert, while Protestant and Catholic missionaries competed to enroll the converts in their own churches and refused to acknowledge African leadership.

The seventh chapter discusses two Western missionaries, one Protestant and one Roman Catholic, who out of their own experience and reflection became highly critical of prevailing approaches in Western missions. One was the Anglican Roland Allen, who because of ill health served as a missionary in China for only eight years (1895–1903) but spent much of the next twenty years writing about missionary methods and principles. "Without realizing it," Sanneh comments,

“Allen had set out to delineate the nature of post-Western Christianity at a time when the church and his contemporaries thought almost exclusively in Eurocentric, Christendom terms” (pp. 218–19). Sanneh’s second example of missionary self-critique is Vincent Donovan, a Spiritan Catholic missionary who served among the Maasai from 1955 to 1973. Donovan discovered in Allen’s writings a solution for problems that troubled him deeply, leading him to conclude that “Western missionaries must renounce the view that civilization was required to disinfect indigenous people and render them tidy enough to receive the gospel” (p. 236). “God enabled a people, any people, to reach salvation through their culture and tribal, racial customs and traditions” (p. 237). Moreover, Donovan learned from those he came to teach, taking to heart what he heard from a Maasai elder that “it was not the Maasai who had searched for God, but God who had searched for the Maasai” (p. 238).

This seventh chapter thus personalizes the second transition with which the book is concerned: recognizing that Western culture does not and should not define world Christianity. The eighth chapter returns to the objective, historical transition, coming to the present and to the unknown future, as exemplified by the dramatic development of Christianity in Communist China. Cut off from Western missions but still denounced and oppressed as a foreign religion, Christian churches have multiplied. Current estimates of the total number of Christians vary widely, from 25 to 89 million. “The real question for the church in China,” Sanneh holds, “is not about succeeding in winning converts, for that seems assured on present trends, but about what role the church might and should play in a reawakened China” (p. 266). Such a church and such a China could play a leading role in the next phase of post-Western Christianity.

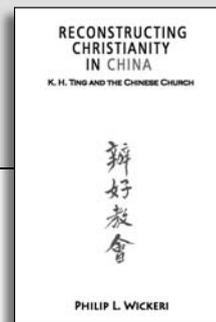
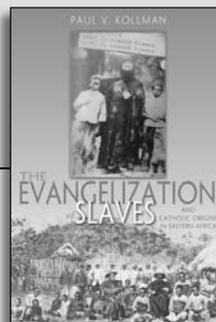
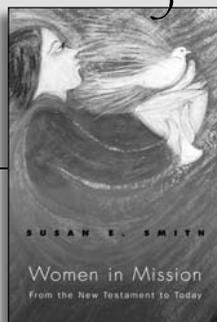
Through this introduction to world Christianity, Lamin Sanneh is also introducing his readers to a series of more specific volumes that are not yet written. It remains to be seen how closely they will follow his approach. “Post-Western” could suggest that there may soon be as many local “Christianities” as there are distinct cultures. Sanneh believes that diverse local developments are part of the genius of Christian “awakening,” but he is equally concerned with encouraging the unity of Christians around the world: first, their solidarity in the face of so much variety and diverse involvement in their various cultures, and second, their willingness to learn from one another.

The volumes planned can deal in greater detail with the topics treated in this introduction, along with other subjects that are here but briefly discussed. One of these topics is the situation of Christians

when they are in a small and vulnerable minority, which is the case not only in most countries with Islamic leadership but also in many countries with strong Buddhist or Hindu elites who provide religious and cultural leadership for a majority Buddhist or Hindu constituency. In some cases Christian influence on modern thought and social institutions seems greater than the percentage of the population who are Christians. In many countries, including India and Japan, we need to learn more about those who worship

God in Jesus Christ but are not members of any Christian congregation. We need also to gain a greater understanding of those who are church members but share many of the beliefs and practices of their non-Christian neighbors, including those who are immersed in an avowedly secular culture. Whether in a majority or a minority, Christians are now often one community among others in a religiously and culturally diverse society. These modern situations may look quite different to us in the light of Lamin Sanneh’s

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perspective. We should be grateful to him, both as author and general editor, for helping us recognize Christianity's present and future state as a worldwide community.

—John B. Carman

John B. Carman served as an American Baptist missionary in South India (1957–63) and taught comparative religion at Harvard Divinity School (1963–2000), where he was also affiliated with the Center for the Study of World Religions.

This Side of Heaven: Race, Ethnicity, and Christian Faith.

Edited by Robert J. Priest and Alvaro L. Nieves. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007. Pp. xiv, 356. £54 / \$99; paperback £19.99 / \$35.

Twenty social scientists and theologians from all over the United States have contributed to this valuable symposium on racism in American society from a Christian perspective. They share the conviction that “while Christians claim

‘citizenship in heaven’ (Phil. 3:20 NIV), we live ‘on this side of heaven,’ where we find ourselves enmeshed in realities that are anything but heavenly” (p. 323). The editors state clearly their intention to diagnose and analyze “the nature of racial and ethnical problems in our churches, our society and our world” (p. 323), and they have succeeded in this effort.

In Part 1, “Thinking Critically About Culture, Race, and Colour,” the authors describe the problem of racism in U.S. society, clarifying concepts and using adequate analytic tools (pp. 19–94). The researchers in Part 2, “Encountering the Other in Ethnic and Racialized Worlds,” report surprising and embarrassing data about the racist practices of various Christians, especially of evangelical groups (pp. 97–161). Part 3, “Using and Abusing the Bible in Ethnic and Racial Contexts,” offers a rich and seminal reading of biblical material relevant to race issues, with new hermeneutical keys (pp. 165–240). Finally, in Part 4, “Engaging Racial and Ethnic Realities in Congregational Settings,” the authors explore promising case studies that show a way forward from the dilemmas and contradictions presented (pp. 243–333). Appendix 1, a timeline about

race and ethnicity in the United States, starts in 1619, though it actually should have begun with the arrival of Hernando de Soto in Tampa in 1539.

Editor Robert Priest is director of the Ph.D. program in intercultural studies and professor of mission and anthropology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School (Deerfield, Ill.), from which five other scholars have contributed chapters. Editor Alvaro Nieves is department chair and professor of sociology at Wheaton College (Wheaton, Ill.), a school that is also represented in the book by five other scholars. The other contributors come from a wide variety of Christian and secular universities. The editors have managed to produce a volume that has unity and clarity, combining the realistic double edge of social analysis with a courageous rereading of biblical texts and a hopeful attitude in spite of discomfiting facts. In short, this book represents missiology at its best.

—Samuel Escobar

Samuel Escobar, a contributing editor, is Professor of Missiology Emeritus at Palmer Theological Seminary, Wynnewood, Pennsylvania. He presently teaches at the Theological Seminary of the Spanish Baptist Evangelical Union in Madrid.

La Congrégation du Cœur Immaculé de Marie (Scheut). Édition critique des sources. Vol. 2B: La correspondance de Théophile Verbist et de ses compagnons, 1866–1869.

Edited by Daniël Verhelst, C.I.C.M., Hyacint Daniëls, C.I.C.M., and Nestor Pycke, C.I.C.M. Leuven: Catholic Univ. of Leuven, Ferdinand Verbiest Stichting, 2007. Pp. 912. €50.

This volume is the final part of a two-volume series on the letters and documents penned by Théophile Verbist and his companions from 1861 to 1869. Verbist, who died from typhoid fever in February 1868, was the cofounder and first superior of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (C.I.C.M., also known as Scheut).

The first volume, published in 1986, describes the origins of the congregation in Belgium and its preparation for foreign mission work from 1861 to 1865. Volume 2A, published in 2003 and reviewed in the *IBMR* 28 (2004): 188–89, covers the period from August 1865, when the first CICM group left for China, until October 1866. Volume 2B begins in November 1866 with the arrival of the second CICM party and ends in 1868 plus an additional three letters dated 1869.

The entire series owes much to CICM

editors Daniël Verhelst and Hyacint Daniëls. They fell ill, however, and their colleague Nestor Pycke took over to complete volume 2B. This last book introduces 341 documents in addition to the 438 presented in volumes 1 and 2A. It is the first publication of all of Verbist's writings.

Since parts A and B of volume 2 both deal with the first years of the CICM missionary presence in China, the editors opted to number consecutively both the pages and the documents in these two halves. All documents are reproduced in full in their original French, Flemish, or Latin, but those in Flemish and Latin are also followed by a French translation.

Volume 2B is a treasure trove of information on the life and work of missionaries in Inner Mongolia during the second half of the nineteenth century, including the material and spiritual

organization of the mission, seminary formation, orphanages, expenses and revenues, language learning, and many observations on local crops, climate, famine, and so forth. It also details the complexity of the relations the CICM missionaries maintained, not only among themselves, but also with Propaganda Fide, French Vincentians, native priests, Chinese authorities, and French representatives in charge of the protection of Catholic missionaries. The 100-page introduction provides a detailed and most useful background analysis of the main themes and types of information found in the documents.

Readers will appreciate the photographs of CICM missionaries, the foldout map of the Inner Mongolia mission, the extensive bibliography, and the several indexes. One glaring mistake is the replacement of page 1,014 with a duplicate of page 1,824. Overall, however, the entire series represents a valuable contribution to the history of nineteenth-century Roman Catholic missions in China.

—Jean-Paul Wiest

Jean-Paul Wiest, Research Director of the Beijing Center for Chinese Studies and Distinguished Fellow of the EDS-Steward Chair at the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco, writes extensively on the history of the Roman Catholic Church in China.

Empire in Africa: Angola and Its Neighbors.

By David Birmingham. Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, 2006. Pp. ix, 190. Paperback \$22.

David Birmingham is a British scholar of African history. His well-researched *Empire in Africa* is filled with vignettes and insights about colonial and postcolonial Angola, a part of Africa too often neglected in English-language studies. From the grim ironies of promoting Portuguese fortified wines as a way to combat alcoholism (and to replace locally produced rum and gin) to the centuries-long tradition of Carnival in Luanda, a curious reader will not be disappointed, and naive assumptions will be overturned. Racism became much more acute in the mid-twentieth century than it had been earlier. In postindependence conflicts, church membership may have been as significant as tribalism.

Birmingham gives the social and political influence of missionaries and churches due weight. Special (and deserved) prominence is given to the enterprising Swiss pioneer Héli Chatelain, who founded the Kalukembe Mission as a refuge from slavery and called it Lincoln.

However, no overarching narrative provides coherence for this book. Its eleven chapters originated as articles written over a period of twenty years. In addition, the "empire" of the title is a vague concept and, ultimately, ineffective as an organizing principle. A reader new to Angolan history will be baffled by unexplained allusions.

Unfortunately, the overall impression given is one of Angolans as victims, most recently of the oil wealth that funds a governing elite without accountability. The voices of courageous Angolans coping with oppression and finding their courage in the Gospel are not found here.

The book concludes with an excellent guide for further reading, which helps make up for its deficiencies.

—Stuart J. Foster

Stuart J. Foster has served in Mozambique with SIM (Serving in Mission) since 1986. He is part of the Lomwe whole-Bible translation project.

The Westminster Dictionary of Theologians.

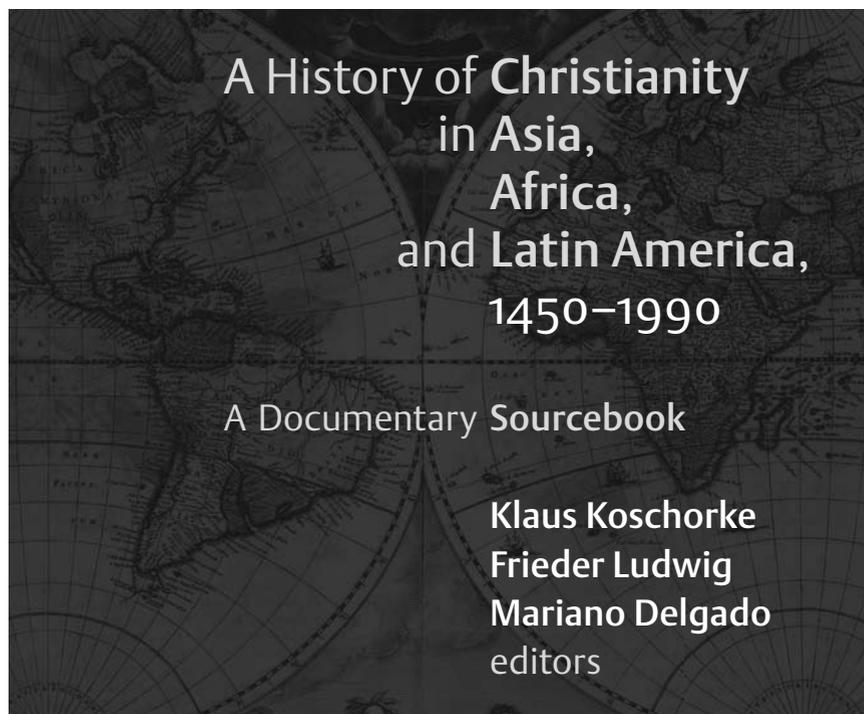
Edited by Justo L. González. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006. Pp. 440. \$44.95.

This dictionary is a translation of the original Spanish version, *Diccionario de teólogos y teólogas* (Barcelona, 2004), written by over sixty Latino scholars around the

world. The 1,500 theologians covered are chosen from the whole of Christian history from the first century to the contemporary period, from various Christian traditions (Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Coptic, and Ethiopian), and from all regions of the world. There is a conscious attempt to be inclusive in choosing the entries, but understandably, greater representation of Latin America and of Catholic tradition is noticeable. The contents of the dictionary are very concise and give good explanations of key aspects

of the background, theological thinking, and major works of the theologians. This dictionary will be very helpful for undergraduate students and for people in theological training.

Though the entries on the more well-known theologians are extensive and well written, most of the articles are too short for any substantial discussion of the various persons' theologies. The theologians selected from the non-Western world are well known to the West because of their audience in the West rather than



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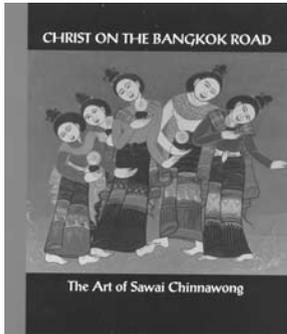


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Think on These Things: Harmony and Diversity

by Wisnu Sasongko

"I paint what I can see, what I can touch, what I can feel—a utopia of love expressed in the reality of life. All of that inspires me in my artistic way," says Wisnu Sasongko, a graduate of the Faculty of Fine Art, Institut Seni Indonesia, Yogyakarta. This book includes "All Dreams Connected," a 28-minute DVD about Sasongko and his art. 96 pages and a DVD, \$29.95



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Sawai Chinnawong, of Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand, is known for portraying Christianity through a Thai graphic idiom. Sawai is an ethnic Mon whose Buddhist ancestors migrated to Thailand from Myanmar. His drawings and paintings, inspired by traditional art from central Thailand, reflect a deep Christian faith. 80 pages, \$19.95

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He Qi, a noted contemporary Chinese Christian artist, is a professor at Nanjing Union Theological Seminary. He hopes to help change the "foreign image" of Christianity in China through his art and, at the same time, to supplement Chinese art the way Buddhist art did in ancient times. 128 pages, \$19.95



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their representation of theology in their own contexts. There are hardly any entries on theologians of Dalit theology, minjung theology, Asian and African feminist theologies, or eco-theology, so the emerging theologies from the non-Western world are not really represented. In addition, with the increasing use of freely accessible information on the Internet (from, for example, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and *Wikipedia*, where most of the entries can be found with even more extensive content), usage of this English version of the dictionary could be limited. Nevertheless, this is a very important project because it brings a more comprehensive understanding of theology from a Latino perspective to an English-speaking readership. Other examples of this approach can be seen in recent projects such as the *Dictionary of South Asian Christianity* (in preparation), the *Dictionary of African Christian Biography* (online at www.dacb.org), and the planned *Encyclopedia of Christianity in India*. The *Westminster Dictionary of Theologians* should definitely be in theology departments and seminaries and will widen students' theological perspectives.

—Sebastian Kim

Sebastian Kim is Professor of Theology and Public Life at York St. John University, York, U.K., and is Editor of the *International Journal of Public Theology*.

Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724.

By Liam Matthew Brockey. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, Belknap Press, 2007. Pp. xii, 496. \$35.

How could the Chinese be converted to Christianity? In *Journey to the East*, Liam Brockey examines the proselytization strategies of the Jesuits in China during the years 1579–1724. Aiming to provide a corrective to previous histories that present the Jesuits' strategy as "top-down" and elite-centered, Brockey reconstructs the history of the China mission "from the ground up." Readers will get little of the Chinese perspective from this book, but that clearly is not Brockey's intention. He chooses rather to reexamine archival materials in Lisbon and Rome in order to present an institutional history of the Jesuit enterprise in China "from the inside," one that seeks to understand the Jesuits' strategies and outcomes in the training that prepared these Europeans for service in East Asia and examines the "cultural baggage" that influenced their actions.

In Part 1 the author provides a

comprehensive overview of the Jesuits' activities in China. In Part 2 he explores the training and education of Jesuits sent to proselytize in the highly developed Chinese culture. Part 3 describes how the Jesuits counterbalanced the lack of priests on the ground by relying on native Chinese converts to minister to the flock in their absence. At times, Brockey presents the Jesuits' conversion process as a numbers game, one that he repeatedly notes resulted in far more converts than the Jesuits could minister to. Also, Brockey's focus on the Jesuit activities in the provinces may leave readers who are unfamiliar with the topic unaware of the important work of Jesuits serving in the capital at the imperial court. Overall, *Journey to the East* adds another important layer to our understanding of the Jesuit mission by taking readers beyond the capital and out into the provinces among the majority of converts.

—Melissa Dale

Melissa Dale is Assistant Director for Research at the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco Center for the Pacific Rim, San Francisco, California.

The African Studies Companion: A Guide to Information Sources.
4th ed.

Edited by Hans M. Zell. Locharron, Ross-shire, Scotland: Hans Zell Publishing, 2006. Pp. xxx, 833. £148 / €222 / \$296.

The *African Studies Companion* has for years served as an invaluable resource for those who research, write, or teach on African issues. In an age of rapid technological development and media expansion, including cyber research, one of the guide's major strengths is currency and accessibility. It is a credit to the publishers that the material is available both in print and in electronic format. Now in its fourth edition, *The African Studies Companion* is published "to provide a compact, timesaving, and annotated guide to print and electronic information sources, and to facilitate easy access to a wide range of information" in the field of African studies (p. xix). This is not a wild claim. The fourth edition has been thoroughly revised, updated, and expanded to keep pace with studies in the different fields of African studies. It is also international in orientation, with information on works on Africa, including publishers that deal with manuscripts on Africa (pp. 463–556), and even how to use Google to seek information on African studies research (pp. 717–86). In addition to its very helpful and innovative evaluative

entries—almost 3,000 in all—*The African Studies Companion* comes with an extensive index spanning forty-six pages, making it the most user-friendly source to date in the field of African studies. This edition of the book will undoubtedly be a great asset to the growing numbers of scholars showing interest in Africa.

African scholars themselves, however, still lag behind their Western counterparts in the ability to secure printed material in particular. The lofty aims of *The African Studies Companion* would thus be greatly

enhanced if African academic institutions could focus more particularly on the regularly updated electronic version of the book. Most African institutions, with their meager budgets, may be ill equipped to obtain the print version of this useful volume.

—J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu

J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu is Vice President of Trinity Theological Seminary, Accra, Ghana, where he teaches African Christianity, Pentecostal/charismatic theology, and new religious movements.

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The Order of the Wounded Hands: Schooled in the East.

By Kenneth Cragg. London: Melisende, 2006.
Pp. xv, 184. Paperback £12.95.

Retired Anglican bishop Kenneth Cragg is well known for his numerous writings engaging Islam with a Christian mind and heart. In the book under review, Cragg elaborates the theology of ordained ministry that has nurtured this engagement.

The first three chapters explain that

Christian ministry is authentic only when patterned according to the "wounded hands" of Christ, which abolish the order of retaliation, or *lex talionis*, that Cragg finds in Judaism and Islam. Cragg over-stretches in making this point, at least in the case of Islam. While the Qur'an does

grant the right to retaliation, it encourages leniency and forgiveness instead (2:178; 5:45; 16:126).

The middle three chapters of Cragg's book provide spirited apologies challenging Jews to take fulfilled messianic hope more seriously, Muslims to find the necessity of divine incarnation in their own faith, and secular agnostics to reconsider the spiritual and intellectual poverty of their unbelief. These apologies flesh out the vicarious involvement of the mind in the worlds of others that Cragg takes to be essential to Christian ministry.

The final part of the book explores practical issues in ministry and the obedience and discipline required to persevere. Here we find reflections on such diverse matters as interfaith dialogue and homosexual practice. Many of the rich theological insights in this volume will be familiar to readers of Cragg's earlier writings, but what makes this book unique is its autobiographical quality. Cragg situates his remarks against the backdrop of his own journey from chaplain and teacher in Beirut in the 1940s, to Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, and, finally, to his distress at the July 2006 war in Lebanon. The passion that has long characterized Cragg's ministry is hereby made more transparent in the travail of his own experience in a troubled region.

—Jon Hoover

Jon Hoover is Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies at the Near East School of Theology, Beirut, Lebanon, and a minister in the Mennonite Church, USA.

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DR. ANGELYN DRIES, O.S.F.

Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., professor of mission history and Danforth Humanities Chair at Saint Louis University in Missouri, teaches and writes about Catholicism, the Catholic mission movement overseas, women and religion, and Asian-American Catholics. Dries taught from 1989 to 2003 at Cardinal Stritch University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She was president of the American Society of Missiology (1996–97) and is a member of the Overseas Ministries Study Center board of trustees. She is the author of *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History* (1998).



DR. CALEB O. OLADIPO

Caleb Oladipo is professor of mission and world Christianity at the Baptist Theological Seminary at Richmond (Virginia). He was an assistant professor in the Department of Church-State Studies at Baylor University, Waco, Texas, and founder of the Baylor in West Africa program (2000–03). Before that, Oladipo was a visiting professor of religion and literature at the International Baptist Theological Seminary, then located in Ruschlikon, Switzerland. He is the author of *The Will to Arise: Theological and Political Themes in African Christianity and the Renewal of Faith and Identity* (2006).



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Christian Worship Worldwide: Expanding Horizons, Deepening Practices.

Edited by Charles E. Farhadian. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007. Pp. xxi, 301. Paperback \$20.

This significant book brings together two groups of scholars who rarely talk to each other: missiologists and liturgiologists. Two scholars of large vision—missiologist Charles Farhadian, who has lived in Papua and now teaches in California, and liturgical theologian John Witvliet, who directs the Calvin Institute of Christian Worship in Grand Rapids—convened seminars in 2002 and 2003 in which there was sympathetic observation of the worship practices in non-Western churches, as well as penetrating cultural and theological reflection. The aim, according to Witvliet, was "to change and deepen both the way we [Western Christians] think and worship as well as the underlying dispositions and attitudes

that shape our work" (p. 274). The result is a book that does just that.

Reports such as that of M. L. Daneel and Dana Robert about the worship of the African Initiated Churches (AIC) in Zimbabwe are contributions to missiology, but they also fascinate and challenge liturgical scholars and all worshipping Christians. The AIC's practices, Daneel and Robert contend, "should be a model for other churches around the world" (p. 70). Church musician Michael Hawn, who has wide experience in the use of world church practices in Western churches, helps readers ponder the promises and pitfalls of musical appropriation. One would have welcomed similar discussions of the challenges of appropriating healing and testimony. Inevitably, issues of culture figure largely. Chapters by Bryan Spinks, Farhadian, and Witvliet range widely, reflecting not only on the seven communities whose worship this volume studies but also on the inculturation of worship practices from Christianity's beginnings. Contributions by Andrew Walls and Lamin Sanneh develop broad themes, of which Sanneh's treatment of the parallels between Islamic and Christian prayer is especially penetrating. The editor provides the chapters with helpful introductions, which will lead to productive discussions.

—Alan Kreider

Alan Kreider is Associate Professor of Church History and Mission at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana. For twenty-six years he was a missionary in England with the Mennonite Board of Missions.

The Cambridge History of Christianity. Vol. 5: Eastern Christianity.

Edited by Michael Angold. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006. Pp. xx, 722. £106 / \$180.

Scholars owe a debt of thanks to the editor of this impressive work. Michael Angold, professor emeritus of Byzantine history at the University of Edinburgh, has done a magnificent job of touching on the highlights of Eastern Christianity in its many forms, including the Oriental churches not in full communion with the Eastern Orthodox churches. Chapters on the Copts, Melkites, Nestorians, and Jacobites make this volume a comprehensive history. There is also an excellent review of dissent movements in Russia, especially the section on the Old Believers.

What is lacking is a better treatment

of the missionary activity of the Orthodox and the Oriental churches. This lack is due in part to the date with which this volume commences, A.D. 1000. By then, missionary activity was over for Constantinople and the Nestorians. It would have been more useful for the study of Eastern Christianity if the volume had started with an earlier date, perhaps A.D. 500 or 600. A search of other volumes in the series, however, fails to give one the impression that this lacuna will be filled. Even in the 1,000 years surveyed, missions and evangelization do

not feature prominently. St. Stephen of Perm gets adequate coverage, as does the linguist Nicholas Ilminski, but Macarius Gloukharev and Nicholas Kassatkin are not even mentioned. St. Herman of the Alaska mission is noted, but the mission itself and the work of John Veniaminov are notably absent. This is all the more surprising because in later life Veniaminov, under the monastic name Innocent, became metropolitan of Moscow in 1868. Those interested in Orthodox missions will need to look elsewhere.

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This volume is, however, a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Eastern churches. The historical scope of the twenty-four chapters (divided into four parts) is impressive, as are the credentials of the scholars contributing to this volume. Having multiple authors means that there is some overlap of subject matter, but this actually adds depth for the reader who wants to study only a particular period. The work is primarily historical; theological discussions are at a minimum in most of the chapters, which is understandable in

a work of this scope. To have included the earlier period of Byzantine history, as well as the theological controversies during that time, would have made a much longer volume. Perhaps to have divided the work into two volumes and included more material would have been justified, especially when one looks at the treatment the Western churches receive in the other books in this series.

These comments need to be balanced by an honest appreciation of the tremendous usefulness this volume

will have for students and researchers. The bibliography, handily divided according to the chapters, runs to seventy-nine pages. This reviewer found the works listed a valuable resource. Those teaching in this area will undoubtedly assign reading from *Eastern Christianity* to orient students to the key historical issues.

—James J. Stamoolis

James J. Stamoolis, mission educator and consultant, has written Eastern Orthodox Mission Theology Today (Orbis Books, 1986).



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Why Have You Come Here? The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America.

By Nicholas P. Cushner. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006. Pp. vii, 255. Paperback \$29.95.

Nicholas Cushner, professor of history emeritus at the State University of New York, tells the story of the Jesuits in colonial America. He explains how Christianity became the dominant religion in the New World.

Cushner's book is a gold mine of information, but as with a mine, the nuggets of information are often unpolished and difficult to extract. Cushner's description of the Jesuit chronicles is apt: "The information was amassed rather than selected, arranged, and edited" (pp. 168–69). Cushner has little sense of narrative, and his chapters often settle into flat accounts of contrasting Jesuit and native beliefs. Chapters seem to be unaware of one another, with stories and interpretations repeated multiple times. While the author clearly has great learning, he often drops references into the middle of paragraphs for which he provides no explanation.

In addition to the poor editing, there is nothing strikingly new in the author's analysis. On the Jesuits ("No cultural relativists they!" [p. 63]), he seems to want to argue that Indian conversions were at least partially sincere, but all his evidence

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indicates otherwise. He is left to conclude: "It is difficult if not impossible to enter the minds of sixteenth-century Native Americans to try to discern motivation or sincerity in converting to Christianity. However, the quantity, quality, and continuity of institutional Christianity that persisted in Mexico indicate a lasting sincerity" (p. 69). By the author's own evidence, one could argue that it simply indicates a lasting cultural dominance.

It is hard to decide for whom this book was written. Students will likely find the writing and editing unwelcoming and will soon put the book down. Those with knowledge of the field will find little new here, although the book does collect good material into one place. It is a nice archive to have on a scholar's shelf.

—William Svelmoe

William Svelmoe is Associate Professor of History at Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Forgive Us Our Sins: Confession in Late Ming and Early Qing China.

Edited by Nicolas Standaert and Ad Dudink. Nettetal, Ger.: Steyler Verlag, 2006. Pp. 268. €40.

Nicolas Standaert and Ad Dudink (Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium) have edited a pioneering study of Christian ritual in late imperial China, with contributions by three leading scholars. The editors are sinologists specializing in Catholicism in China, as is Eugenio Menegon (Boston University). Erik Zürcher (Leiden University) is a scholar whose work over the last half century has encompassed Buddhism, Chinese popular religion, and Christianity in China. Liam Brockey (Princeton University), a historian of early modern Europe, has recently published *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Harvard University Press, 2007).

In "Deliver Us from Evil: Confession and Salvation in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Chinese Catholicism," Menegon examines the prescriptive and normative meaning of the sacrament and the way it was actually practiced, including an examination of the particular practices of women. He shows how the ritual of confession could have different meanings for priests and their followers: lay Chinese Christians increasingly perceived the sacrament as a "pastoral of fear" rather than a "pastoral of perfection." For them, confession became an efficacious ritual, not one of spiritual direction.

Zürcher, in "Buddhist *Chanhui* and Christian Confession in Seventeenth-

Century China," compares Christian confession with the communal Buddhist *chanhui* confessional liturgy. He suggests that the individual Catholic practice of confession, unlike *chanhui*, shared the Confucian notion of self-improvement through the individual's examination of conscience. Zürcher suggests that Confucian Christian converts could find Christianity appealing in this regard.

In "Illuminating the Shades of Sin: The Society of Jesus and Confession in Seventeenth-Century China," Brockey

examines how Jesuit missionaries hoped to "reform the customs" of their followers through suasion after auricular confession. Appended to his essay is a translation by Brockey and Dudink of a confession manual by the Jesuit missionary José Monteiro (1646–1720), with the original Portuguese and Chinese texts.

—Robert Entenmann

Robert Entenmann is Professor of History and Asian Studies at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota.

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Alala, Moses.

"The Mission of God in Latin America: Redefining the Theology and Practice of the Church Based in Luke-Acts."
Ph.D. Wilmore, Ky.: Asbury Theological Seminary, 2007.

Arockiam, Sebastian.

"The Yoke of the Dalits and the Cross of Christ: A Christological Study in the North Indian Context."
D.Theol. Rome: Pontifical Urban Univ., 2006.

Bose, Bobby.

"'State-After-Death': An Exploration in Christian Conversation in Pluralistic Contexts."
Ph.D. Pasadena, Calif.: Fuller Theological Seminary, 2006.

Brockman, David R.

"Turning to Religious Others: Visions and Blindspots in Modern Christian Reflection About Non-Christians."
Ph.D. Dallas: Southern Methodist Univ., 2006.

Carkner, Gordon.

"A Critical Examination of Michel Foucault's Concept of Moral Self-Constitution in Dialogue with Charles Taylor."
Ph.D. Oxford: Oxford Centre for Mission Studies (Univ. of Wales), 2006.

Constantineanu, Corneliu.

"The Social Significance of Reconciliation in Paul's Theology, with Particular Reference to the Romanian Context."
Ph.D. Oxford: Oxford Centre for Mission Studies (Univ. of Leeds), 2006.

Davies, Paul J.

"Faith Seeking Effectiveness: The Missionary Theology of José Míguez Bonino."
Ph.D. Utrecht: Utrecht Univ., 2006.

Hummel, Utwe, and Tuhoni Telaumbanua.

"Cross and Adu: A Socio-historical Study on the Encounter Between Christianity and the Indigenous Culture on Nias and the Batu Islands, Indonesia (1865-1965)."
Ph.D. Utrecht: Utrecht Univ., 2007.

Kihuu, Patrick.

"The AIDS Orphan Crisis in Kenya: Caring for Kikuyu Children in Escarpment."

Ph.D. Wilmore, Ky.: Asbury Theological Seminary, 2007.

Kim, Wonho.

"Spiritual Dynamics in Church Planting Among Turkish Folk Muslims."

Ph.D. Pasadena, Calif.: Fuller Theological Seminary, 2006.

Kwa, Kiem-Kiok.

"Towards a Model of Engagement in the Public Realm for the Methodist Church in Singapore."

Ph.D. Wilmore, Ky.: Asbury Theological Seminary, 2007.

Lee, Benjamin Youngkyu.

"A Study of Mentoring for Leadership Development of Koreans in the Multicultural Environment of Operation Mobilization."

Ph.D. Pasadena, Calif.: Fuller Theological Seminary, 2006.

Mormino, Amy.

"Intercultural Victorians: The Challenge of Modern South Korean Protestant Mission."

Ph.D. Edinburgh: Univ. of Edinburgh, 2006.

Olsen, Rolo.

"'Prevailing Winds': An Analysis of the Liturgical Inculturation Efforts of Karl Ludvig Reichelt."

Th.D. Lund: Lund Univ., Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, 2007.

Shaw, Richard.

"The Contextualization of the Gospel of Jesus Christ Among Bektashi Albanians."

Ph.D. Wilmore, Ky.: Asbury Theological Seminary, 2007.

Thujo, Philip.

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Dr. Tite Tiéno, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, works from first-hand experience in Africa to identify the “tribal” issues faced by the global church in mission. Cosponsored by InterVarsity Missions/Urbana and Mennonite Central Committee. Eight sessions. \$145

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Mr. Rob Martin, director, First Fruit, Inc., Newport Beach, California, outlines steps for building the support base, including foundation funding, for mission. Eight sessions. \$145

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Issues in Mission Theology.

Dr. Charles Van Engen, School of Intercultural Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, surveys current theological challenges and opportunities facing students of mission. Cosponsored by Areopagos and Presbyterian Church (USA) World Mission Program Unit. Eight sessions. \$145

March 10–14

Global Missions from the Non-Western Churches.

Dr. Michael Pocock, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas, explores the growing non-Western participation in global missions. The seminar looks particularly at ways missions from Latin America, Africa, and Asia seek to answer challenges posed by management, direction, pastoral care, and support of workers. Cosponsored by Bay Area Community Church (Annapolis, Maryland), Eastern Mennonite Missions, Park Street Church (Boston), SIM USA, The Mission Society, and Wycliffe International. Eight sessions. \$145

March 31–April 4

Christian Mission and a Global Culture of Violence.

Dr. Caleb O. Oladipo of Baptist Theological Seminary at Richmond (Virginia), a senior mission scholar in residence at OMSC, finds in theological and political currents within post-apartheid South African Christianity signs of faith, hope, and courage that are significant for the future of the wider Christian community. Cosponsored by Trinity Baptist Church (New Haven) and United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries. Eight sessions. \$145

April 7–11

Women, Evangelization, and Mission: The Roman Catholic Experience Since the 1500s.

Dr. Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., of Saint Louis University, a senior mission scholar in residence at OMSC, draws upon the experience of Roman Catholic women’s communities active around the world, finding in them renewed insight into mission theology and practice. Cosponsored by Episcopal Church/Anglican and Global Relations, and Franciscan Missionaries of Mary. Eight sessions. \$145

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Models of Leadership in Mission.

Rev. George Kovoov, principal of Trinity College, Bristol, United Kingdom, brings wide ecclesiastical and international experience to evaluation of differing models of leadership for mission. Cosponsored by Wycliffe International. Eight sessions. \$145

April 28–May 2

Jeremiah: Prophet for Our Times.

Dr. Christopher J. H. Wright, Langham Partnership International, London, interprets the text of Jeremiah missiologically, showing Jeremiah to be a prophet to the nations with perennial relevance to the international scene. Cosponsored by Black Rock Congregational Church (Fairfield, Connecticut). Eight sessions. \$145

May 5–9

Personal Renewal in the Missionary Community.

Rev. Stanley W. Green, executive director, Mennonite Mission Network, Elkhart, Indiana, and Dr. Christine Sine, Mustard Seed Associates, Seattle, Washington, blend classroom instruction and one-on-one sessions to offer a time of personal renewal, counsel, and spiritual direction for Christian workers. Cosponsored by Episcopal Church/Mission Personnel, Mennonite Mission Network, and Presbyterian Church (USA) World Mission Program Unit. Eight sessions. \$145

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Chu, Cindy Yik-Yi.

The Diaries of the Maryknoll Sisters in Hong-Kong, 1921–1966.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Pp. xi, 241. \$69.95.

Claffey, Patrick.

Christian Churches in Dahomey-Benin: A Study of Their Socio-Political Role.

Leiden: Brill, 2007. Pp. viii, 328. €79.00 / \$99.

Hastings, Thomas John.

Practical Theology and the One Body of Christ: Toward a Missional-Ecumenical Model.

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007. Pp. xi, 233. Paperback \$30.

Lorimer, Jack.

The Presbyterian Experience in Egypt: 1950–2000.

Denver: Outskirts Press, 2007. Pp. ii, 259. Paperback \$12.95.

Miyamoto, Ken Christoph.

God's Mission in Asia: A Comparative and Contextual Study of This-Worldly Holiness and the Theology of Missio Dei in M. M. Thomas and C. S. Song.

Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick Publications, 2007. Pp. ix, 233. Paperback \$27.

Nelson, Dana K.

Mission and Migration: Fifty-Two African and Asian Congregations in Minnesota.

Minneapolis: Lutheran Univ. Press, 2007. Pp. 204. Paperback \$14.

Oduro, Thomas.

Christ Holy Church International: The Story of an African Independent Church.

Minneapolis: Lutheran Univ. Press, 2007. Pp. 256. Paperback \$16.

Papathanasiou, Athanasios (Thanasis) N. Translated from the Greek by Elizabeth Theokritoff.

Future, the Background of History: Essays on Church Mission in an Age of Globalization.

Montreal: Alexander Press, 2005. Pp. 141. Paperback CA\$15.

Pettitt, Clare.

Dr. Livingstone, I Presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers, and Empire.

Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007. Pp. x, 244. \$22.95.

Reese, Ed.

Reese Chronological Encyclopedia of Christian Biographies.

Chattanooga, Tenn.: AMG Publishers, 2007. Pp. xvii, 1,389. \$34.99.

Sands, Kirkley C.

The Anglican Church and Education in the Bahamas: The Anglican Contribution to Education and the Building of Civil Society in the Bahamas, 1725–1890.

Nassau, Bahamas: Nassau Guardian, 2007. Pp. 170. Paperback \$24.95.

Smith, A. Christopher.

The Serampore Mission Enterprise.

Bangalore: Centre for Contemporary Christianity, 2006. Pp. xxiii, 382. \$32.95.

Vadakumpadan, Paul, S.D.B.

Mission in the North-East: A Missiology for the Emergent Church of North-East India.

Shillong, India: Vendrame Institute Publications, 2007. Pp. 210. Paperback \$10.

Van Gelder, Craig.

The Ministry of the Missional Church: A Community Led by the Spirit.

Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007. Pp. 204. Paperback \$16.99.

Wigram, Christopher E. M.

The Bible and Mission in Faith Perspective: J. Hudson Taylor and the Early China Inland Mission.

Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2007. Pp. xiii, 289. €26.50.

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